This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

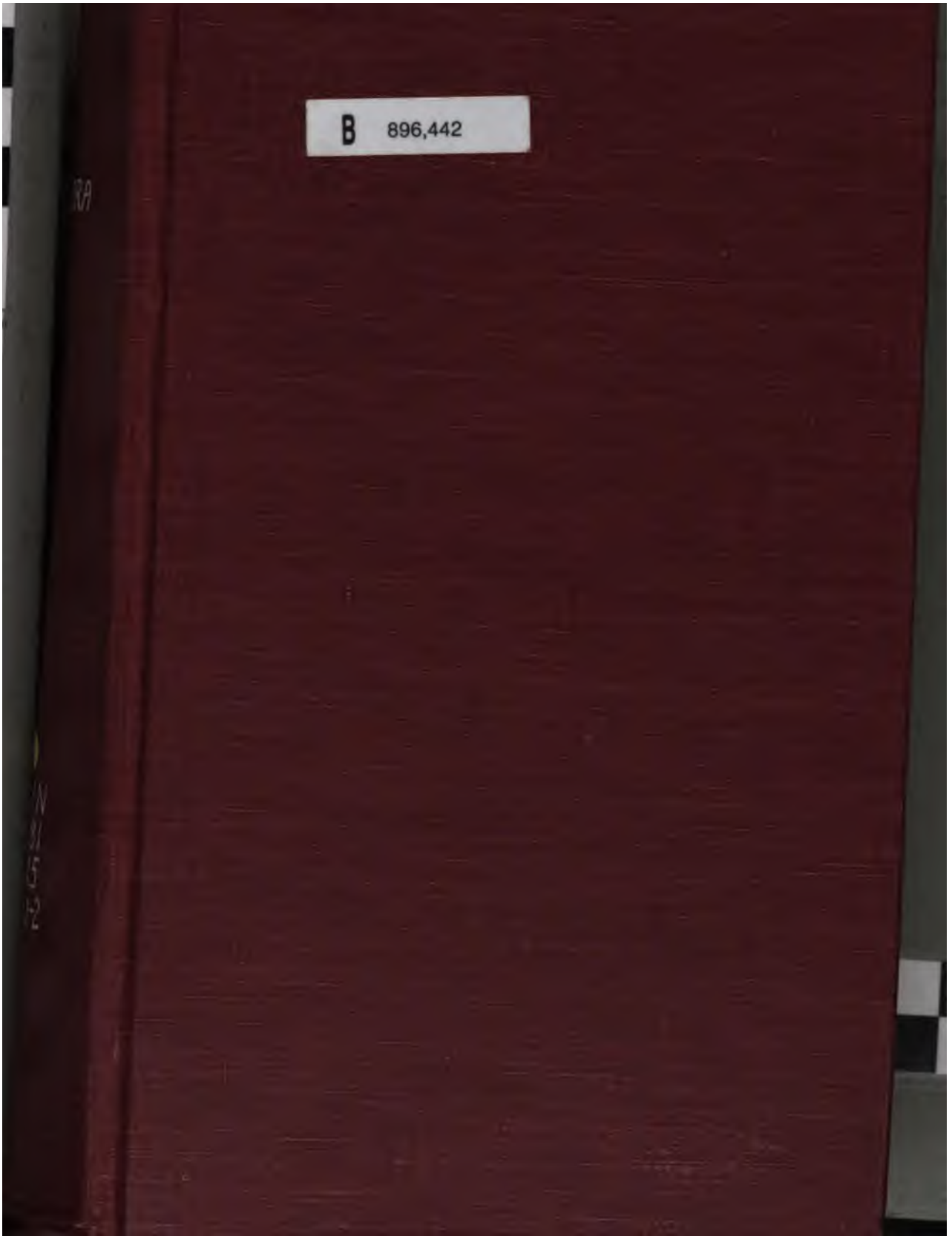
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`


B 896,442

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
LIBRARIES
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ARTES SCIENTIA VERITAS
1817

Meliora:

A Quarterly Review

OF

Social Science

IN ITS

Ethical, Economical, Political, and Ameliorative Aspects.

VOL. I.

"MELIORA VIDEO PROBOQUE."

LONDON:
PARTRIDGE & CO., PATERNOSTER ROW.
1859.

HN
381
.M5
v.1-2

London: Printed by William Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street and Charing Cross.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
MELIORA	1
SYMBOLISMS OF THE HUMAN FORM	17
THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE OPIUM TRADE	28
THE MORALS OF BUSINESS	46
THE PLACE OF TEMPERANCE IN SCIENCE	56
THE VICES OF THE STREETS	70
REFORMATORY SCHOOLS	79
KEEPING UP APPEARANCES	88
PATERSON, FOUNDER OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND	105
CONSOLIDATION AND AMENDMENT OF THE STATUTE LAW	113
HOW SHALL WE DISPOSE OF OUR DEAD?	125
HOMER: HIS TRANSLATORS AND COMMENTATORS	136
THE SOCIAL POWER OF THE PULPIT	153
POPULAR ART EDUCATION	165
TEMPERANCE IN HISTORY	176
LIFE IN ARCADIA	201
RECENT TRAVELS IN NORWAY	211
THE PHILOSOPHY OF WAGES	227
SOCIAL CLAIMS AND ASPECTS OF SCIENCE	237
GENIUS AND PROSPECTS OF NEGROES	259
THE HISTORY OF THE STRUGGLE IN MAINE	276
CASTE	294
PROGRESS OF PRISON DISCIPLINE	301
THE MORALS OF FRANCE EXEMPLIFIED	322
CARLYLE AND HIS WRITINGS	338
COTTON SUPPLY	351
THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE TEMPERANCE REFORMATION	366
OUR FRIENDS IN COUNCIL	193, 374
RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS	96, 195, 380
LITERARY REVIEWS	102, 196, 385

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE success of 'Meliora' renders any preface superfluous. An average circulation of *seven thousand* copies quarterly during the first year of its existence, and an unprecedented welcome from the press, sufficiently justify the introduction to the advancing intelligence and philanthropy of the British people, a Review of Social Science combining literary excellence with unusual cheapness. The Editors, encouraged by the support they have received, pledge themselves to increased efforts to sustain and improve the Review, and they rely on their numerous readers to aid in extending its circulation.

Meliora.

ART. I.—*Meliora.*

IN the history of civilisation it is instructive to observe the oscillations of the social pendulum. In proportion to its progress towards cultivation, refinement, intellectual and political greatness, has been its rebound towards vice and moral degradation. National advancement abroad and civil retrogression at home have followed each other in fatal sequence, until the great empires of antiquity found within themselves the elements of their decay. Occupied with the prosecution of prowess, political extension, commerce, science, and art, nations have been prone to neglect the preservation of their social health and the cure of incipient diseases; and it has not infrequently come to pass that immediately after their acquisition of glory they have been broken into fragments and ruined. As a meteor which pursues for a time a path of brightness in the heavens outrivalling the steadier light of stars, suddenly bursts by the force of its internal decomposition, and falls upon the earth a calcined mass of blackness, so have the great powers of the world risen, flourished, and fallen. Nor is that nation which was blessed with special revelations and fenced by divine interdicts an exception to the rule. The reign of Solomon was the Augustan age of Israel. Never did their commerce flourish more, or a wider limit bound their territory, or greater reputation command for them the respect of the neighbouring monarchies, or such wealth enrich them. Literature was in its ascending scale. David's harp had just yielded those Hebrew melodies which have made him ever the Psalmist of the Church, and Solomon's fertile genius and extensive research had given three thousand proverbs, and songs a thousand and five; and Natural History from the cedars of the lofty Lebanon to the hyssop which crept up the garden wall, and birds and fowl and creeping things and fishes. At peace with all around, with silver as plenty as the stones in Jerusalem's streets, with a race of men who had newly laid aside their conquering arms, the kingdom of David's son seemed to possess a brilliant prospect of strength, greatness, and continuance. But it had reached its climacteric. The sons of David's hardy and long-tried warriors lacked their fathers' manly virtue; and amidst the wealth, peace, and luxury of

their unparalleled prosperity they sank into corruption and effeminacy, until, at the death of the wisest of men and of monarchs, the polity of Israel became dismembered, lost its grandeur and *prestige*, and gradually died away. Inattention to social evils was the cause of their national disaster. It is true that these were intimately connected with their declension from piety and purity of worship; but religion was an integral part of their social system, and their temporal prosperity was dependent on its faithful cultivation. Their internal health did not bear a proportion to their outward greatness, and the explosion of the commonwealth was the ruinous and melancholy result.

It was the same with the powers of paganism. The Persians were a race inured to toil, unconscious of defeat, and had acquired in their mountains a courage that feared no difficulty. When Cyrus, with enlarged intelligence and improved observation, rose to their command, they reached, in conjunction with the Medes, the chief sovereignty of the world, and made imperial Babylon their metropolis. But the Medo-Persian empire had its culminating point in Cyrus. Babylonian manners did for a season elevate and polish them, but Babylonian luxury was too much for the temperate sons of Elam. Though possessed of extensive territory, a vast army, and many millions of people, corruption and vice lay beneath their boasting, and the time came that three hundred Greeks did not fear to meet the million-peopled army of Xerxes at Thermopylæ, and Greece, with its comparatively small states and few troops, left thousands of Persians on the field of Marathon and by the rock of Salamis, and under Alexander the Great laid prostrate one of the mightiest empires of antiquity. Social disorganisation enervated and paralysed them.

It was the same with Greece. Spartan bravery and Athenian genius had made that small country rival and outstrip greater and more imposing powers. Warfare can never furnish more illustrious examples of martial skill and bravery than those recorded in classic story. Art flourished to its height, for never has architecture or sculpture attained similar perfection. The works of Greece are models to the moderns. Literature had then its grandest development. The Athenian schools, besides being unrivalled in their day, have sent forth volumes of wisdom which have been the study of sages for the last two thousand years, and which are as worthy of renown and research as ever. The Grecian colonies were what ours are now—the reproduction of the mother country in rival commonwealths. To Greece the ardent student, the rising statesman, and the busy merchant resorted to perfect their education, to improve their manners, and promote their commerce. But at the period of most national glory Greece was degenerating by means of social diseases; and nowhere have we

we such affecting monuments of a nation's fall as among the ruins of ancient art and on the fields of matchless renown where we find one of the basest of European kingdoms.

'Tis Greece, but living Greece no more.
'Twere long to tell and sad to trace
Each step from grandeur to disgrace.
Enough—no foreign foe could quell
Thy soul, till from itself it fell.
Yes! self-abasement paved the way
For villain bonds and despot sway.
What can he tell who treads thy shore?
No legend of thine olden time,
No theme on which the muse might soar
High as thine own in days of yore,
When man was worthy of thy clime.
The hearts within thy valleys bred,
The fiery souls that might have led
Thy sons to deeds sublime
Now crawl, from cradle to the grave,
Slaves!'

It was the same with Rome. From small beginnings, and by means of a hard struggle, did that state arise to a place among Italian powers. By a zeal that nothing could quench, an ardour that nothing could chill, and a courage that ever realised a victory, did the Romans make progress in civilisation and power. Under the emperors they reached their zenith, when their arts and literature bore the palm next to the Grecian models, their civil polity was perfected to become the text-book for modern times, and their empire stretched from Britain to the rising of the sun, and from Germany beyond the Pillars of Hercules. Under the Cæsars, the intellectual refinement, political aggrandisement, and world-wide influence of Rome, were unparalleled in history. But what a decline and fall were hers Gibbon has told us in his history. At the period referred to, the scenes of revelry and dissipation were most unblushing and debasing, the corruption of the people general, slavery extensive, and the social health blighted. Inattentive to internal necessities and reforms, all was sacrificed to eternal pomp and pride and luxury, the condition of the masses grew worse and worse, and the barbarous nations of the north overthrew with little loss or difficulty the worn-out Romans. Just as the boiling lava from Vesuvius overwhelmed Herculaneum and Pompeii, leaving them ruins for the gaze of travellers, so have its own social convulsions left Rome. Its modern inhabitants reside amidst the *débris* of a mightier city, and seem to exist only to show to admiring strangers what manner of men the sires of such unworthy sons were of yore.

'Where is Rome?
She lives but in the tale of other times;
Her proud pavilions are the hermit's home,
And her long colonnades, her public walks,

Now faintly echo to the pilgrim's feet
Who comes to muse in solitude, and trace
Through the rank moss revealed her honour'd dust.
But not to Rome alone has fate confined
The doom of ruin; cities numberless,
Tyre, Sidon, Carthage, Babylon, and Troy,
And rich Phœnicia—they are blotted out,
Half razed from memory, and their very name
And being in dispute.'

With their political advancement, these proud and potent nations of antiquity allowed inward sores to fester which eventually destroyed them. Their history is a lesson to all subsequent time. It is the practical philosophy which statesmen have to study; but it is instruction which Christian states have been slow to learn, and which, amidst our many privileges in this land of liberty and religion, we have too seldom remembered. Social evils have been growing with our greatness, and are out of all proportion to the civil and religious advantages which we possess.

The greatness of this empire surpasses all antiquity. Science has attained among us its richest discoveries and its greatest powers. Our machinery has been developed to a very great extent, and made the handmaid of every species of industry. Our commerce spreads its ships over every sea. Our colonies and dependencies never behold the setting sun. Our wealth is enormous, and has been rated by economists at *eight hundred millions a year.* Our liberties are the birthright and possession of every man: they give every one a title to justice, and afford an asylum for the exiles of the world. Our literature is vast and varied, and accessible to the poorest. Our civilisation is high and real, not starched as in the days of Elizabeth and James I., nor hypocritical as in the eighteenth century, but honest and honourable. Never were more upright men in power, or more integrity in public offices. Patronage is more discreetly administered, and judges are superior to bribes. Our religion is practical and expansive, has sought to reach the degraded at home, and to extend its blessings to the nations of heathendom. Nevertheless, the condition of the masses is alarming all true patriots and philanthropists. There are social evils showing their virulence and undermining our health. Ignorance, irreligion, impurity, pauperism, crime, and intemperance, have been on the increase. Our education ranks far below some of the continental nations. The numbers who never attend a place of worship are a scandal on our Christianity. The impurity of our great cities is unblushing and vast. Our intemperance is a cancer on our industry and morals and a reproach to our nation, while it increases pauperism, disease, and crime, injures productive labour, and demoralises the masses of the people. We are all interested in the reform of these abuses, as well as of others that, owing to ignorance, prejudice,

judice, or evil, may still disgrace our statute book, or injure the morals of the people. All who value and enjoy the enlightenment which is now our privilege, should be anxious to extend the blessing to those who are degraded, to reform, and educate, and christianize them. In every view of the subject it concerns the statesman, the patriot, and the Christian, to promote healthier and purer morals among the people, and medically to deal with the diseases which endanger our social welfare. Let us not be misunderstood. It cannot be denied that a great improvement in the social condition of the people has taken place during the last quarter of a century. Class is not so alienated from class. Revolutionary sentiments are not so characteristic of the manufacturing districts. Labour is not so oppressive. Ignorance is not so gross. There is a kindlier feeling among those who had given up all religious ordinances towards Christian ministers. All this may be freely admitted: but much remains to be accomplished. Seen in the light of our improved civilisation and Christianity, there are evils of deadly virus still at work which demand the earnest consideration and persevering efforts of all practical philanthropists, who, with 'Meliora' as their motto, might strive to make things better.

Let us glance at some of the social evils that demand improvement. We cannot attempt a complete social nosology.

The subject of EDUCATION is of general and commanding interest. It is the most controversial of all public themes, most difficult to agree upon, though most necessitous to the community. Amidst the din of agitation, we scarcely hear the hum of the schools. No doubt, of late years education has received an improved development, and better teachers instruct in more intelligent and practical methods the children who are at school. But the proportion in attendance is sadly below a normal condition of popular education. The means in exercise are vastly below the existing ignorance. The institutions opened are not overcrowded by scholars. A demand is as necessary as supply. Though the State spends half a million a year on education, 158,000*l.* of which go to ten thousand auxiliary teachers as apprentices to the profession, and voluntary effort meets public grants by large contributions of money, yet the multiplication of teachers and schools have made no perceptible inroad upon the mass of ignorance in our great cities. Cheapen education, increase seminaries; but without some means of inducing or compelling the children of the lowest classes of society to attend, ignorance is not diminished. The factory competes too successfully with the school. There is a great demand for juvenile labour, and parents do not scruple to tax their tender children to enlarge the income of the household. In such centres of industry as Glasgow and Manchester this evil operates fully, and they may be taken as indices of other manufacturing towns. A recent inquiry,

inquiry, conducted with great care, revealed this astounding fact, that 'of the youth of the educational age in Glasgow, only 1 in 14 attends school.' In Manchester, on thorough inquiry, undertaken by philanthropic individuals, and more exact and reliable than the census of 1851, there were found not at school 54,670 children belonging to the labouring classes, of which number the half, at least, ought to have been receiving instruction. These are only samples of a necessity existing in the country for more schools, and some means of securing the attendance of children. Englishmen may not like compulsory education; but good government demands that 'no man shall be allowed to rear his family a burden, a nuisance, and a danger to the community.' It may be difficult to make the policeman aid the schoolmaster, as is done in Prussia; but it is surely practicable, expedient, and right that education should be made a passport to all employment, and that the Factory Act should be amended to this beneficent extent. We are not concerned at present with any of the controverted schemes of Popular Education, but with the fearful amount of ignorance that demands the attention of all interested in social reform. What may be the result of the Parliamentary Commission appointed to inquire into the state of education it is too early to predict; but we trust that it will be the suggestion of some practical *Meliora.*

SPIRITUAL DESTITUTION is another existing disease of our social condition. The census returns of 1851 revealed an amount of this quite appalling. The population of England and Wales was then about 18,000,000. The number of sittings in places of public worship necessary, according to the proportion of 58 per cent. suggested by the late Dr. Chalmers, and adopted by Mr. Horace Mann, is 10,398,013. The actual number was then 10,212,563. But this fails to represent the true state of matters. In towns containing a population of 100,000 and upwards, the proportion is only 34 per cent. Thus Birmingham lacked about 70,000 sittings, Manchester 80,000, Liverpool 90,000, Glasgow 70,000, and London nearly 700,000! But what was the actual attendance then? There were open on the census Sunday, 8,498,520 sittings for morning service, attended by 4,647,482. The other portions of the day presented a proportion somewhat similar. Here then we have, allowing for persons present at one service and not at another, a very great proportion of the people who are neglecting public worship altogether. Mr. Mann estimates the number throughout England and Wales at upwards of *five millions.* No one professing the Christian faith can regard this otherwise than as a great social evil. Mr. Mann endeavours to account for it by the following causes: 'social distinctions,' 'indifference of the ministers to the social condition of the poor,' 'misconception

'misconception of the motives of ministers,' 'poverty and crowded dwellings,' and 'the inadequate supply of Christian agency.' That these causes have operated prejudicially, there can be no doubt; but the present reveals a growing improvement on the second and third. Ministers of religion are, to some extent, interesting themselves actively in the condition of the poor, and those neglecting public worship. The people generally seem to respect their motives and welcome their visits. The sermons to the working classes, lately organised, have been wonderfully successful, and will, we doubt not, prove eminently beneficial. But when we consider the rapid increase of great cities, and the necessity for the proportionate addition to places of worship and Christian agencies, all that has been done during the last seven years since the census was taken has produced little effect. There is at home, in this field of enterprise, a sphere for all Christian men, for liberality and benevolence, that the streets and alleys of our crowded cities may become the habitations of a religious people, who rejoice when it is said unto them, on the first day of the week, 'Let us go into the house of the Lord.'

The IMPURITY prevalent in our great cities is attracting the attention of philanthropists at present. It is high time that it should engage their earnest consideration. We have allowed this sore to fester too long, until its dire results appal us. We cannot but regard the movements recently made on this subject as of the greatest importance to social health and public morals. Attention will be called to it in another portion of this journal.

The shocking SANITARY condition of many of our cities and large towns is a blot on our advanced science and civilisation, and on our professed philanthropy. In many cases we have shown zeal on behalf of those who are at a distance, and have neglected our own flesh and blood, who are passing a brief and miserable existence in the dirty, badly-ventilated, overcrowded dwellings of the lanes and alleys of our populous towns. Bad air, bad light, bad water, bad drainage, and bad homes, are annually destroying many of our fellow-citizens, who claim at our hands some sympathy and help. Until very recently we have allowed these evils to produce their fevers, and encourage cholera and other fell diseases.

In thousands of homes numbers are huddled together in apartments, where, as Sir James Clark declares:—'The atmosphere in the morning smells more like that of a charnel-house than an apartment for the repose of human beings.' In addition to this is the fact that many dead are retained in houses where whole families are living, eating, and sleeping in a single room. On this subject the statement of Mr. Hopley, in a 'Lecture on Respiration,' published a few years ago, is sufficiently alarming, when he says:—

'From

'From evidence laid before Parliament, it appears that of the deaths which take place in the metropolis, "upwards of one half are of the labouring classes;" and further, "that of these, four out of five occur in families that have only one living and sleeping room." Now the annual deaths for London may be estimated at 52,000, of which upwards of 26,000 are of the labouring population. Upwards of 20,000 of these deaths, therefore, occur in families possessing but "one living and sleeping room;" that is to say, in upwards of 20,000 instances, every year, the corpse must be kept, during the interval between death and interment, in the same room in which the surviving members of the family live and sleep.'

This consists with the harrowing description recently given by Dr. Letheby, Medical Officer of Health to the City of London, and copied into almost all the periodical press throughout the country. He found the rate of mortality increasing, the condition of the houses becoming worse, while amidst the overcrowding, the filth, and the indecency that were there, disease, licentiousness, and misery abounded. That which exists in London may be observed in many other places, and the consequences are everywhere the same. We need only to follow the footsteps of the cholera to mark the towns and villages whose sanitary condition was unhealthy. Of late, by means of the Board of Health, Acts of Parliament, sanitary associations, and other societies, considerable interest has been awakened in this matter, and some improvements made; but we are yet far from the normal condition which an enlightened people should attain. Until better air, better water, better houses be secured for the masses of the people, we cannot wonder that the narrow streets and lanes of our cities should flow with 'immortal sewerage,' while that which should be washed away stagnates and dispenses death.

There can be no doubt that an improved sanitary condition of a place is a means of diminishing disease, poverty, vice, and crime. In houses that have been erected on sanitary principles this has been remarkably exhibited. Dr. Southwood Smith cites a case illustrative of this. In Lambeth-square, near Waterloo-road, a population of 434 souls were huddled together. One person in five was diseased, and fifty and sixty per thousand annually died. The square was drained, water was made abundant, and used to carry away what formerly remained in cesspools. The change soon appeared. The mortality declined to thirteen per thousand. 'Moral pestilence,' said Dr. Smith, 'has at the same time been checked. The intemperate have become sober, and the disorderly well-conducted, since taking up their abode in these healthful and peaceful dwellings. No charge of crime, no complaint even of disturbance has been lodged at any police-station, against a resident in these dwellings since their first occupancy.' It is possible, then, to amend these evils, and to promote the comfort, the health, and the morals of the sunken masses of the people by a sanitary reformation.

The amount of PAUPERISM in the United Kingdom is great, when

when considered in the light of the industrial advantages and colonial openings offered to the whole community. A million and a half of persons are annually receiving relief, and eight millions of pounds are expended from the public rates to meet this. But in addition, according to 'The Times,' the cost of begging amounts to a million and a half; thus making the annual expenditure of *ten millions* for the support of the poor. This is a large sum. That the poor should be provided with the means of sustenance is a positive duty. It is one of the beneficent influences of Christianity, that it cares for the poor. But it is remarkable that so much poverty should abound, amidst British industry and wealth, as to require an annual expenditure of ten millions. That this indicates social disease will, we think, appear to the reader ere he finishes this paper.

The statistics of CRIME afford another means of ascertaining our social condition. Gaols are too small. Our colonies refuse to receive our criminals. The number of commitments is increasing. 'The total number of commitments in 1854 was 29,359 against 27,057 in 1853, and 27,510 in 1852, showing an increase of 8·5 per cent. on the four preceding years.' Increase of population may be pleaded against this; but crime was 30 per cent. higher in 1854 than in 1835, notwithstanding all educational efforts.

Juvenile delinquency lately reached so great a height as to awaken an interest which has vibrated to the legislature, and has resulted in the public support of ragged schools and reformatories for the prevention of crime—institutions which have been an incalculable blessing to many youths.

INTEMPERANCE is one of the greatest social evils in this empire. Our country, which ranks so high among the nations for civilisation, liberty, and commerce, is confessedly the most drunken. Its drinking customs eat out the life of the lower classes of the people. Formerly the upper and middle classes were public scandal for their drunkenness; but now, when these are reforming, the lower classes have become the prey of this insidious and destructive vice. The facilities for drink abound, and publicans outnumber all other trades. In cities and towns spirit-shops and beer-houses are at every corner, and in the most rural districts they are numerous. In some localities they are in the proportion of 1 to every 15 houses, and throughout the country there is 1 to every 137 people. They are resorted to by our mechanics, artisans, and labourers, and, alas! too frequently by their wives also:—

> 'Tis here they learn
> The road that leads from competence and peace
> To indigence and rapine; till at last
> Society, grown weary of the load,
> Shakes her encumbered lap and casts them out.'

Intemperance costs the country about 60,000,000*l.* a-year. It

is

is the chief cause of all the social evils to which we have referred. Ministers of religion testify that it is the greatest hindrance to their success. City missionaries regard it as the most powerful obstacle to their labour among the sunken masses of the people. Poor-law guardians ascribe to it the majority of cases of pauperism. Our judges and prison governors declare that it occasions most criminal offences. Medical men in hospitals and in general practice find it the most prolific source of disease. Governors of lunatic asylums refer the insanity of many of their unhappy patients to its dire influence. Commercial statistics show its injurious effects on trade and shipping, and vital statistics its evil influence on life.

It is the chief cause of *pauperism*. Sir Archibald Alison, the sheriff of Lanarkshire, attributes one-half of the pauperism to intemperance. The late Archibald Prentice, who was well versed in the social condition of Manchester, says that two-thirds of the pauperism there is similarly originated. An Edinburgh inspector of the poor made this statement: 'An experience of now nearly twenty years in the management of the poor has forced me to the conclusion that nearly two-thirds of the destitution which exists, and is relieved from the poor's funds, is traceable either to the more remote or immediate causes of intemperance.' Of 21,000*l.* expended, the same individual deducts 12,000*l.* for the fruits of drunkenness. If we take this proportion as a fair average, then of the ten millions spent in support of the poor, *six* are caused by intemperance; and of the million and a half of persons relieved, about one million are brought to poverty by drink. Were this social evil cured, or even considerably arrested, how much would taxation be lightened, and how many families would be saved from poverty!

That intemperance is the chief cause of *crime* in this country has been frequently proved before Committees of the House of Commons on the evidence of magistrates, gaol chaplains, and others interested in the subject. From some statistics now before us, procured and published by the Scottish Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness, it is abundantly attested that nearly fifty per cent. of commitments in Scotland are directly caused by intemperance, and two-thirds of the other cases indirectly. The opinions of those who have occasion to come into closest contact with criminals have frequently expressed the same conclusion. We need not repeat what has been often quoted; but we may be permitted to give a few extracts from reports and speeches by persons whose words have authority. Matthew Davenport Hill, Esq., the recorder of Birmingham—a gentleman whose interest in social reform is known to all, and whose ample opportunity for careful examination of criminal cases, as well as his painstaking consideration

ation of the question, entitle him to be heard with respect—made the following statement to the grand jury of Birmingham in January, 1855 :—

'Those of you who bear in mind the charges which have been delivered from this bench, on the causes of crime, will naturally ask how it is that the enormous consumption of intoxicating liquors which prevails through the land—a source of crime not only more fertile than any other, but than all others added together—should have been hitherto passed by, or only have been brought under notice as incidental to some other topic. The subject has occupied my thoughts for years; strange, indeed, must have been the state of my mind if it had not forced itself upon my attention, since the evils arising from the use of intoxicating drinks meet us at every turn. And, for myself, I cannot pass an hour in court without being reminded, by the transactions which are put in evidence before me, of the infinite ramifications of this fatal pest.'

He then goes on to say :—

'Crime, gentlemen, is the extreme link in the chain of vice forged by intemperance—the last step in the dark descent, and thousands who stop short of criminality, yet suffer all the other miseries (and manifold they are) with which the demon Alcohol afflicts his victims.' *

The Rev. John Clay, long the chaplain of Preston Gaol, and well known as an accomplished statist and practical philanthropist, said in his Thirty-first Report, 1855 :—

'I would note the fact, that during two years I have heard 1,126 male prisoners attribute their offences—frauds, larcenies, robberies, burglaries, rapes, homicides—to drink! And if every prisoner's habits and history were fully inquired into, it would be placed beyond doubt that *nine-tenths* of the English crime requiring to be dealt with by the law, arises from the English sin which the same law scarcely discourages.' †

Similar testimonies are being delivered every day by those who are connected with the administration of criminal law; and they are sufficiently alarming to demand the attention of our statesmen, philanthropists, and the sober and industrious people. They force the conviction upon all who desire to advance social reform that some stronger restraint than has been hitherto tried should be laid on the traffic in intoxicating liquors for the protection of public virtue and the welfare of the people.

Intemperance is a great cause of *disease*. Of course we do not mean to affirm that disease would be extirpated if the community were delivered from drunkenness. But just as the removal of filth is a prevention of cholera, so the promotion of temperance would lessen the multifarious ills which body and spirit endure from

---

* See the valuable and able volume recently published, entitled—'Suggestions for the Repression of Crime, contained in charges delivered to grand juries of Birmingham; supported by additional facts and arguments. Together with articles from reviews and newspapers, controverting or advocating the conclusions of the author.' By M. D. Hill, Esq. London, Parker and Son, 1857.

† Strong language has also been used in reference to the evils of intemperance in a late number of the 'North British Review,' by Charles Baxton, Esq., M.P., and in the 'Edinburgh Review,' by the late Rev. W. J. Conybeare, in whose early death that journal has lost one of the happiest successors of that galaxy of brilliant men who first gave it celebrity.

drunken

drunkenness. Bodily diseases are greatly induced by drinking. Indeed, the habitual use of intoxicating drinks is injurious to the constitution. It is an artificial mode of life inconsistent with the natural operation of bodily functions. They exercise a deleterious influence upon the nervous system, the eye, the alimentary canal, the liver, the heart, and the kidneys, as may be learned from medical opinions of the highest authority. It is well known that the greater part of those who fall victims to fever and other epidemic diseases are such as indulge in ardent spirits, and the vices to which they inflame them. On this subject the evidence of Dr. Gordon, of the London Hospital, given to the Parliamentary Committee, may be sufficient. 'My attention,' says he, 'was called to it some time ago, at the time I was assistant physician to the hospital, and was in the habit of seeing the out-patients to the amount of some thousands, probably, in the course of the year. I kept an account for twelve months. . . . . It amounted to 65 per cent. upon some thousands.' Coroners bear the same evidence. Mr. Wakley asserted long ago that 900 out of 1,500 deaths annually brought before him were caused by excessive drinking. Once and again, though we believe he has expressed himself otherwise since, did this able coroner state: 'I am surprised that the legislature, which is justly particular about chemists and druggists vending poison, is not equally so with the vendors of gin, which appears to cause such a dreadful waste of life.'

Insanity is occasioned more by this vice than by any other single influence, if we except hereditary disposition. Dr. Browne, of the Crichton Asylum, Dumfries, in a paper on the subject, declares that of 57,520 cases in the present century which he has carefully examined, and which were treated in public asylums, 10,717 were caused by intemperate habits. This does not include the numbers of the insane kept at home or in private boarding-houses. 'It is enough,' says this gentleman, 'that while the virtuous sorrows, the inevitable misfortunes, and the physical diseases, and the many other evils to which man is exposed, produce in fifty years 40,000 lunatics, drunkenness, drinking, the pleasures of the table, produce 10,000.' The contrast between drunken and sober countries in relation to insanity is very striking. 'In Scotland there is 1 lunatic to 563 sane persons; in Spain 1 to 7,181.' 'In Edinburgh every sixth lunatic owes his misfortune to intemperance; in Palermo every twenty-first lunatic is in the same predicament.' The late Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London, from statistics of 1,271 lunatics, found that 649, or nearly one-half, were deprived of reason by intemperance. A most lamentable fact connected with this is, that the children of drunkards are weak, hysterical, wayward, and diseased. The late Rev. W. J. Conybeare, in his able article on Intemperance in the 'Edinburgh Review,' declares that of 300 idiots

idiots in Massachusetts, 145 were the children of drunkards. These facts—and they might easily be multiplied a hundredfold—are sufficiently alarming, and call for some remedial measure to arrest a growing evil. We might assert, also, how much intemperance, and the manufacture of and traffic in intoxicating drinks injure remunerative trade and lessen the demand for productive labour. The economics of this question form an argument of singular force and of practical power, were it brought out fully, as we trust it will be in the pages of this journal. It is only necessary at present, in thus hinting at the subject, to state that, from statistics of undoubted authority, it has been proved that of 100*l.* worth of shoes, 37*l.* go to the workman, 40 per cent. of earthenware, 48 per cent. of linen yarn, 66 per cent. of woollen cloth, besides 5 per cent. for making clothes. Whereas of 100*l.* spent in alcoholic drinks, only 2*l.* 10*s.* go for labour! The manufacturer of useful articles will employ 34 men at 1*l.* 5*s.* per week, where the manufacturer of strong drink will employ but *two*. Working-men should be made to understand this fact—it is worth remembering—that the manufacturer of alcoholic drinks employs but one labourer where the manufacturer of other commodities employs *seventeen*. If the destructive vice of intemperance were prevented, the demand for productive labour in useful articles would be greatly increased, and the revenue of the State would be supplied by the greater purchases of taxed goods. But the economics of this question is too great a subject for our present limits.

It may now be asked, What is the cure proposed for this social disease? We unhesitatingly answer, that when any vice becomes dangerous to the community, it must be dealt with surgically. It must be cut off by legal restraint and moral reprehension. Those to whom ardent spirits are a temptation ought at once and for ever to abstain from their use. These stimulants, when once their fire has kindled a passion, are not to be trifled with. The passion is like phosphorus, easily ignited and rapid in its combustion. To save such a number as annually fall into poverty, crime, disease, and an early grave; to preserve many homes which annually become a waste and a place of weepers; to save wives from widowhood, children from orphanage, and generations from hereditary diseases; to save souls from suicide, the terrible spectre of their own consciences, the accusations of Heaven, and the dread retribution, let us promote abstinence. To keep feet from falling into a pit so bottomless; appetite from craving with a thirst insatiable; means from melting into water which cannot be gathered up again; men from becoming paupers, dependent on the pitiful dole of a poor-law officer; invalids, with bloated face, blushing nose, and bloody eyes; maniacs, with 'a brute, unconscious gaze,' with *delirium tremens* peopling the room with shapes of hideous fiends,

fiends, from becoming social and moral wrecks, outcasts from society and from God, let us aid in delivering the land from drunkenness.

But many of our readers may not be tempted with ardent spirits to become drunkards. They have not felt any harm from the use of strong drink. They never took too much. They let their 'moderation be known to all men.' They are exemplary citizens. But they see their fellow-citizens ruining themselves on every side, their families becoming dependent on the public, and the tax to feed and punish them grudged; but they do nothing more than show the tempted that they can play with fire and not be burned. Their weaker brethren, like Samuel Johnson, 'cannot take a little;' they cannot take coals into their bosom without being burned. Something more than has yet been attempted must be done on behalf of the drunken masses of the people. It would not be a great sacrifice to abstain for the sake of the drunkard. Sympathy with the degraded, philanthropy, patriotism, and Christianity, demand that some earnest and active and self-denying effort be made. What father would put in the power of a drunken son the temptation that would ruin him? A family has a right to protect itself; and, for the sake of one, *ten* would willingly forego the use of intoxicating drinks as beverages. There are hearts among us warm with a pure benevolence, who are ready to give labour and means to save a needy or perishing brother, who regularly surrender a portion of their money for philanthropic purposes. Here is a sphere for liberality and example. The community is cursed with drunkenness, and tempted by facilities for drinking. Let philanthropists combine to preserve social as they do sanitary health, and remove the temptation from the imperilled. A community has a right to protect itself; and it is a virtue to sacrifice for the prevention of sin. The weeping mother who has now to sally forth to scenes of revelry and debauch to seek her drunken son; the faithful wife that sits at home beside her cradle, and can scarcely sing a lullaby to her crying child for the sobs she heaves, and the salt tears she sheds over the husband of her youth, who is drinking in the tavern; all the families who have any member addicted to this vice, and there are *two out of every three homes* of the humbler classes in this painful position; the tempted, who are so often dragged to spend their wages and blight their peace by indulgence in alcoholic drinks; the besotted drunkards themselves, who are given over to the insidious vice and its consequences, and who cannot resist the opportunity, would all hail deliverance, were the traffic in intoxicating liquors totally suppressed.

But the evil is not merely domestic or provincial, it is national; and a people have a right to protect themselves. The patriotic and

and the Christian, who care for the commonweal, are bound to attempt to roll away the reproach of drunkenness from the land, and to save the tens of thousands who every year perish by this evil. More than ever is this cause growing in interest and importance. More than ever are Christian men convinced of the necessity of restraining the liquor traffic, and of suppressing it altogether, except for medicinal, artistic, and sacramental purposes. But public-houses are *licensed* by the State, and a large portion of our revenue is raised by 'the sale of what is both physically and morally injurious to the people.' That which is morally wrong can never be politically right. It is contrary to all sound morality to enact laws which will, either directly or indirectly, foster crime. That the laws at present in operation with regard to public-houses have such a tendency there can be no doubt. 'The beer-house and the gin-shop,' says the Recorder of Birmingham, 'are the authorised temptations offered by the legislature to crime.' There must be an alteration in these statutes. The conscience of the country is being aggrieved by them, and when once the public feeling is aroused on a matter of right, its demand must, sooner or later, be met. Compromise is fatal, and delay only increases the demand. Many who have never been numbered among Temperance Societies are now convinced of this necessity. Alexander Thomson, Esq., of Banchory, in his valuable work, recently published, thus puts the case:—

'Alterations in our excise laws cannot be urged on very rapidly; they must have the sanction of a large amount of public concurrence, without which the best laws may be enacted, but fail to be observed. Public opinion is showing itself strongly opposed to drunkenness; let not our legislators be behind their constituents, but grapple vigorously with the evil, commence boldly with the worst forms of it, and drive it from one stronghold after another, until it be banished as thoroughly as laws can do it from our shores. The end to be ever kept in view is, that a time must come when no portion of our national income shall be derived from the annual ruin in soul and body of thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens.'*

Already beneficent results have flowed from the prohibition of the liquor traffic on one day in the week in Scotland, and from the reduction of the facilities for drinking in the morning and at night of other days. In Glasgow there has been, during three years since the passing of the Act, a reduction of police cases of drunkenness, amounting to 18,502, while the population has increased 67,000. This success has been remarkable. But much more must be done by the legislature. The advantage gained is a fixing of the lever, and so long as there is a superincumbent mass of drunkenness legally encouraged, all available force must unite to remove it.

---

* 'Punishment and Prevention.' London, James Nisbet and Co. 1857.

It is high time that philanthropists, patriots, and Christians rise, combine, and labour in this good work. With them, and by their efforts with the people, the great cause remains, and should there be earnest action, strong sympathy, and generous self-denial, this vice may be extirpated. Already attempts remarkably successful have been made in several States of America, by the enactment of a law prohibiting the common sale of intoxicating liquors.* In a different manner, and more by a permissive than a general prohibitory enactment—by granting the people the power of prohibiting the traffic in their own localities—is the source of drunkenness to be dried up in this country. A popular movement only can be permanently beneficial in this land, where the enactment of laws arises so much from the wishes of the people, and where the majesty of law is respected.

Intemperance is not the only vice among us; but it is the most prolific source of social disease. It is the cause, directly and indirectly, of three-fourths of the juvenile depravity, one-third of the insanity, one-third of the suicides, two-thirds of the pauperism, and a great proportion of the impurity and ungodliness that abound in the land. It wastes at least 60,000,000*l.* a-year, which, considering the necessities of the world, might be spent in improving the masses at home, and evangelizing the heathen abroad. Were this vice arrested and removed, and the public-houses which foster it suppressed, by God's blessing we should see gaols emptied of two-thirds of their occupants, schools and places of worship better filled, the people provided with labour and adequately rewarded, brought under Christian influence, sanctified with the hope of a blessed immortality, and enabled to leave a legacy of sobriety and good example to generations succeeding them. 'The removal of temptation,' says that eloquent philanthropist, Dr. Guthrie, 'will not always cure the drunkard; but it will certainly check the growth of his class, and prevent many others from learning his habits, until sanguine men might entertain the blessed hope, that, like the monsters of a former epoch, which now lie entombed in the rocks, drunkards may be numbered among the extinct races, classed with the winged serpents and gigantic sloths that were once inhabitants of our globe.'

* See the cumulative evidence on this subject in Mr. Recorder Hill's work 'Suggestions for the Repression of Crime,' and in the masterly and exhaustive 'Argument for the Legislative Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic,' by Dr. F. R. Lees.

ART. II.—1. C. G. Carus. *Symbolik der menslichen Gestalt. Leipzig*, 1853. *The Symbolisms of the Human Form.*
2. *The Physiognomy of the Human Form.* Quarterly Review, September, 1856.
3. *On the Human Hand, an Index of Mental Development.* By Mr. Beamish, F.R.S. (Read at the Meeting of the British Association in Dublin, August 28, 1857.)

AMONG the great reforms which society has long been expecting from the State, the education of the people is unquestionably the most important. The philanthropist demands it as the only antidote against crime, and the moralist as the only path to virtue. The Christian, doubtless, desires it with equal sincerity; but he regards it only in its denominational phase; and rather than accept the boon in the only way in which the legislature can grant it, he keeps thousands of his fellow-creatures untaught—living and dying in utter ignorance of those laws, human and divine, by which they are judged here and hereafter. May we not hope for the advent to power of a Christian patriot who will remove this blot upon the Protestantism of England, and this stain upon the sincerity of its faith?

But while we thus claim a measure of secular education from the State, and commit to the churches militant the religious oversight of their illiterate retainers, we must urge upon those whom it specially concerns, the necessity of imparting mental instruction to the middle and upper classes of society. The power to read, write, and count is a doubtful accomplishment if we read only what is fabulous, and write only what is scandal, and count only the pelf which we hoard or misspend. The unlettered peasant who takes his religion upon trust—who performs his social duties by instinct, and counts his gains upon his fingers—is a more valuable unit in the social scale than the educated devourer of fiction, the accomplished retailer of untruths, and the most successful votary of Mammon. To be able to read his Bible is a great step in the civilisation of man; to have read it is one still greater. To have fixed in the memory every sentence of the Decalogue, the varied wisdom of Solomon, and the divine precepts of one greater than Solomon, is a hopeful advance in the Christian life; but great as these acquisitions are, and ample as some may deem them for the humble peasant who lives and toils and dies, they form a poor groundwork in the mental culture of the citizen and the Christian.

Dwelling upon a planet belonging to a great system of worlds, revolving round its axis to give us day and night, and round the sun to give us a change of seasons, it is incumbent upon every

man to know something of the wonderful laws by which these arrangements are effected. Enjoying, as we hourly do, the bountiful provision which has been made for our maintenance—the fruits of the earth to nourish us—its flowers to charm us—its life, wild and tame, to toil for us and to feed us—its minerals and its gems, the indispensable elements of civilisation—it is one of our first duties, and ought to be our highest pleasure, to acquire some knowledge of those wonderful creations which are so intimately associated with our daily life. Rejoicing in the light and heat of day, and in the pure ether which we breathe; guided over the ocean and through the desert by the magnetic needle; receiving from afar on the earth's surface, or from beneath the ocean, the electric messages of affection or of business, or trembling under the lightning-bolt and the storm, is it not our highest privilege to investigate and comprehend those various elements and powers which for good or for evil are ever at work around us?

But independently of these obligations to appreciate and extol the works and arrangements of infinite wisdom and goodness, the knowledge thus acquired is the only ballast for minds distracted by superstitious fears, craving for intelligence from the invisible world, and morbidly yearning for that knowledge of the future which is so rankly supplied by avarice and imposture.

It is among the middle and the upper classes of society, more than among the less instructed, that this credulity and love of the marvellous is most conspicuous. It is rank and luxuriant among the votaries of gaiety and idleness, who are incapable of continuous thought, and who have therefore no faith in those forces in the material world, and in those cosmical laws which are in constant operation around us. Who that is acquainted, even superficially, with the facts and laws of electricity and magnetism can for a moment believe that similar forces emanate from human hands and rush through nonconducting materials, hurling them along the floor, or hoisting them into the air, and imparting to them a knowledge of the past, the unseen, and the future? Who that confides in revealed truth, or possesses the least knowledge of the relations between our mental and physical nature, can allow themselves to believe that impostors, male and female, can summon the dead from their graves, marshal them under the table, and perform, with their physical hands, the paltriest tricks that might be appropriate among the inmates of the nursery or the schoolroom?

All such beliefs are the necessary results of an imperfect education—the freaks of ill-trained faculties—the cravings of morbid and mystic temperaments that have been suckled on the husks and garbage of literature, and reared on the rank pastures of our mushroom publications. In the past history of our race these beliefs

beliefs have operated fatally on the happiness of man; and no sooner has science exploded one of them than another, equally appalling, starts into its place. A brief history of the most fascinating of these heresies, and a denunciation of the latest, may be of use to various classes of our readers.

In tracing the history of great inventions, where minds of various powers have been engaged, we see how truth has gradually superseded error, how the speculative tendencies of one inquirer are controlled by the stern reason of another, and how great truths are finally established which command the assent of every well-regulated mind.

In the present day, however, when religion and philosophy are assuming such novel aspects—when the mysterious in revelation is subjected to the scrutiny of philosophy, and philosophy herself straying into the labyrinths of mysticism, and claiming kindred with the supernatural—the imagination has usurped the seat of reason, and we are especially called upon to remonstrate against speculations morally and intellectually degrading.

In mediæval times, when positive knowledge had hardly assumed any substantial form, when the little which did exist was confined to particular classes of society, and when education was equally limited and imperfect, minds of activity and power naturally threw themselves into depths which they could not sound, and among quicksands from which they could not escape, and thus sought in wild speculation for the excitement and notoriety which they could not find in patient inquiry.

But in an enlightened age, when real knowledge has made such extraordinary advances, and when the open fields of literature and science invite into their broad domains every variety of genius, and offer a rich harvest of truths to the patient reaper, it is difficult to discover how men, of undoubted character and high attainments, should have surrendered themselves to opinions not less visionary than the legends and prodigies of the ancient mythology. In the early history of knowledge we may find some explanation of the origin and progress of the occult sciences—of the *necromancy*, the *magic*, the *astrology*, and the *alchemy* which so long deluded the world, and, perhaps, some insight into the rise and propagation of similar delusions in our own day.

The earliest achievements of art and science soon became the cherished possessions of priests and kings; and it was doubtless by their agency that barbarous and untractable communities were first brought under the restraints and discipline of law. To the ignorant observer of nature, everything beyond the range of his daily observation is an object of wonder. The phenomena of the material universe, which have no periodical recurrence, assume

the character of supernatural events, and every new process in art, and every combination in science, become valuable agents, at first of government, at last of civilisation. Thus quickly did knowledge become power, not what it now is, a physical agent controlling the elements for the benefit of man, but a moral sceptre wielded over his crouching mind, acting upon its hopes and fears, and subjugating it to the will of a benefactor or a tyrant.

Nor was this sovereignty of a local nature, originating in the ignorance and docility of any particular race, and established by the wisdom and cunning of any individual tyrant. It existed wherever the supremacy of law was acknowledged, and was indeed a spurious theocracy under which the priest and king appeared as the vicegerents of heaven, bearing the credentials of miracles and prodigies which deceived the senses and overawed the judgments of the vulgar.

A system of imposture, thus universal in its reception, and originating in the strongest principles of our nature, was not likely to suffer any abatement, either in its form or character, amid the turbulence of domestic broils, or the desolations of foreign wars. Our passion for the marvellous, indeed, and our reliance on supernatural interference, increase with impending danger, and the agitated mind seeks with a keener relish to penetrate into the future. Hence is the skill of the sorcerer more eagerly invoked, when 'coming events are casting their shadows before;' and whether our curiosity be indulged or disappointed, or our fears rebuked or allayed, our faith in the supernatural acquires new intensity by its exercise. Nor were the evils of such a system abated by the advancement of civilisation and knowledge. Every discovery in science became a new link in the chain which bound the intellectual slave; and in the moral tariff of antiquity, knowledge was the article of contraband, which, though denied to the people, ever found its way into the bonded crypts of the sanctuary. The lights of science were thus placed under a bushel, and skilfully projected from its spectral apertures to dazzle and confound the vulgar.

In this manner did the powers of science and the sanctities of idolatry exercise a long and a fatal sway over the nations of the world; and when Christianity had widely extended itself throughout Europe, and had lost the simplicity and purity of its early days, there sprung up from its holiest mysteries a system of imposture, hostile to the progress of truth, and not less fatal to the spiritual advancement of man, than that which prevailed among heathen nations. Though the instruments of delusion were changed, the system remained the same; truth and fable entered in definite proportions into the legends of the Church; the lying miracles

miracles of saints, and the incantations of the necromancer deluded the Christian world for many centuries; and in place of having lost their influence, they have been embalmed amid the civilisation of modern times. Under this system the spiritual element obtained the ascendancy, and powerful and haughty kings laid their willing necks beneath the feet of the Bishop of Rome.

But it is not among ecclesiastics only that this love of the supernatural has uprisen with such fearful luxuriance. The pursuits of laymen have been marked with the same extravagances of pretension, and with even a higher demand upon our faith.

The *astrology* of former times was the creed of men who were astronomers, and *alchemy* the creed of chemists; but in both science and imposture were so strangely combined, that *Tycho* and *Kepler* practised the one art, and *Napier, Boyle, Locke, Newton,* and *Leibnitz* the other. But while we denounce these arts as false in their principles and immoral in their tendencies, we must recollect that they had a better foundation than the delusions of the present day; and it is due to the memory of the great men we have named, to make that apology for their belief in alchemy which is to be found in the discoveries of their successors. When we consider that a gas, a fluid, and a solid may consist of the very same ingredients in different proportions; that the same elements, with one or more atoms of water, form different substances; that a virulent poison may differ from the most wholesome food only in the difference of quantity of the same ingredients; that gold and silver—and, indeed, all the metals—may be extracted from transparent crystals, which scarcely differ in their appearance from a piece of common salt; that *aluminium*, a metal with many of the most valuable properties of gold and silver, can be extracted from *clay;* that several of the gems can be crystallized from their elements; and that diamond is nothing more than charcoal—we need not wonder that the most extravagant expectations were entertained of procuring from the basest materials the precious metals and the noblest gems. In the daily experiments of the alchemist, his aspirations must often have been encouraged by the startling results at which he arrived. When any of the precious metals were obtained from the ores of lead and other minerals, it was not unreasonable to suppose that they had been formed during the process, and men not disposed to speculate might have been led to embark in new adventures, to procure a more copious supply, without any insult being offered to reason, or any injury inflicted on morality.

Nor were the attempts of the alchemists to obtain an universal medicine altogether irrational and useless. The success of the Arabian

Arabian physicians, in the use of mercurial preparations, naturally led to the belief that other medicines, still more general in their application, and more efficacious in their healing powers, might yet be brought to light, and we have no doubt that many important discoveries were the result of such overstrained expectations.

Lady Mary Wortley Montague informs us that, so late as the year 1717, there was at Vienna a prodigious number of alchemists.

'The philosopher's stone,' she says, 'is here the great object of zeal and science; and those who have more reading and capacity than the vulgar, have transported their superstition from religion to chemistry; and they believe in a new kind of transubstantiation, which is designed to make the laity as rich as the other kind has made the priesthood. This pestilential passion has already ruined several great houses. There is scarcely a man of opulence or fashion that has not an alchemist in his service, and even the emperor is supposed to be no enemy to this folly, in secret, though he has pretended to discourage it in public.'

Even at the commencement of the present century some eminent individuals thought favourably of alchemy. Professor Robison, a distinguished natural philosopher, in writing to James Watt, in 1800, expresses his opinion 'that the analysis of alkalis and alkaline earths will presently lead to the doctrine of the reciprocal convertibility of all things into all.' . . . 'I expect,' he adds, 'to see alchemy revive, and be as universally studied as ever.'*

The apology which we have now made for the alchemist is not so easily extended to the astrologer; and yet this very year, before the assembled science of England, Dr. Daubeny, the distinguished President of the British Association, did not hesitate to say a little in its favour:—

'If the direction,' he remarked, 'of a bit of steel suspended near the earth, can, as General Sabine has proved, be influenced by the position of a body like the moon, situated at a distance from it of more than 200,000 miles, who shall say that there was anything preposterously extravagant in the conception, however little support it may derive from experience, that the stars might exert an influence over the destinies of man?'

Guarded as this sentiment is, we can hardly accept it as a palliation of the preposterous extravagance charged against astrology. While the solid matter of the moon acts upon our seas with such obvious power, there is nothing at all startling in General Sabine's discovery that her magnetic matter should act upon a bit of magnetised steel. Both of these facts, indeed, are of an entirely different order from the astrological conception, the extravagance of which they are supposed to abate. The most startling scientific fact can never add to the probability of a moral influence contrary to all experience. The American sailor, who, for money, bolted clasp knives, or the milliner who swallowed a paper of needles, or

* Muirhead's 'Life of Watt,' vol. ii. pp. 271, 272.

the

the invalid who has been dealing with steel powders, might, in virtue of General Sabine's fact, be under lunar influence, and yet the moon be quite guiltless of tampering with human destinies.

We have made these remarks on the sciences, falsely so called, of ancient times, in order that we may be able to contrast them with those more presumptuous and dangerous speculations against which it is our intention to warn the reader. We do not allude to clairvoyance and spirit-raising—which are even now accepted by some men of high attainments, both in the literary and religious world—but to other extravagancies appealing at this moment to our faith, and more likely, from their supposed foundation in science, to captivate the young and unwary.

The speculations to which we refer have been long working their way into the public mind, fascinating us occasionally in the creations of the poet, and investing the humblest observer with a power which he delights to exercise, and which he is, therefore, unwilling to resign. We speak of the so-called science of *physiognomy*, but especially of that new and morbid expansion of it called the *physiognomy of the human form*, which has been elaborated in Germany, and is now likely to obtain possession of the English mind.

The fundamental proposition of this new art is, 'that every man's mental nature may be discovered in his external form;' and the avowed benefit which it is to confer upon society is, '*that we may, with as little trouble as possible, ascertain the character of our neighbours;*' or, continuing to use the words of its votaries, 'that the inner mind may be known by watching the outer man.'

The physiologist who has taken the most active part in advocating these opinions is Dr. Carus, physician to the king of Saxony, a gentleman whom we have the pleasure of knowing personally, and a man of high intellectual and moral character. A French writer has applied the doctrine to the human hand, and an English author to the most prominent feature in the face.* Had these doctrines been buried in the German tongue we should not have attempted to exhume them; but having been brought prominently forward, defended, and amplified in the most religious, and conservative, and best-circulated journal of the day,† they have taken an aggressive position, which it is a public duty to storm.

The leading argument in this science of 'symbols in the human form,' as it is called, is derived from the nearly universal assent implied in the practice of judging of men by their personal appearance. The opinion of Sir Thomas Browne, Addison, Cowper, Fielding, Southey, and others—men who were quite incapable of

* 'Notes on Noses.' London, 1852.

† 'Quarterly Review,' No. 187. September, 1856, pp. 452-492.

carrying

carrying on a scientific investigation—are all marshalled in its support, and the student is thus prejudiced, at the commencement of his inquiry, by the authority of great names. The second argument is derived from the occurrence, in various languages, of the expressions, *long-headed, shallow-brained, brazen-faced, supercilious, hard-featured, stiff-necked, open-faced, hard-mouthed, a good hand, a cunning hand,* which are adduced to establish the existence of a general belief in the correspondences not only of *mind* and *body*, but of *mind* and *shape*. Another argument, and certainly a very weak one, is derived from 'the *simple probability* that the outer form would be designed *on purpose* to represent the mental character;' and the expressions of rage, or grief, or fear are dogmatically pronounced to have been 'divinely designed on purpose that the *inner mind* may be known to those who watch the *outer man*.'

Without attempting to show the futility of such arguments, and their absolute inefficiency to prove any truth whatever, it may suffice to state that no attempt is made to establish any one point by an induction of admitted facts, the only legitimate process of dealing with this, or, indeed, with any class of truths. If a hundred soldiers or sailors had their external shapes, general and particular, measured by a physiognomist, ignorant of their inner life, and if, upon a comparison with their real characters, there should be a decided agreement between the two in a majority of cases, we should then have an important fact as our guide. But in order to arrive at a general law, the same experiment must be made, with the same result, on many groups of persons, male and female, in all professions, of all ages, and in all countries.

Such a class of experiments, we venture to say, will never be made, and if they were, they would be incapable of generalisation. In the *first* place, no two physiognomists, if acting separately, would agree in measuring and characterising the forms and indications of the head, hands, and feet of the patient; and, in the *second* place, no two individuals called upon to pronounce upon their real character would agree in their decision. We know very little of the true inner life of our neighbour. In one it is openly and injuriously displayed. In another it is artfully and advantageously concealed; and we may safely aver that character is frequently hid by the very marks which are supposed to display it.

In illustration of these views let us consider the individual features which are supposed to be most symbolical of the intellectual and moral character. Of these the size and shape of the head is one of the most important. The form of the head, as indicated by the facial angle of Camper, and its bulk, as shown by its length, and by an ample forehead, have been too generally admitted as signs of intellectual power. The enemies of phrenology

logy have been in the habit of granting this to their opponents, and upon this basis has been erected the common craniology in which the brain is divided into 36 regions. We now, individually, withdraw the rash admission, and assert that it is not supported by any sound induction. When we hear that certain individuals, of high capacity, have large brains, or ample foreheads, we never hear of the small brains and contracted brows of others who have evinced the same talent; or of the opposite class of imbeciles who have heads and brains equal to those of their neighbours. If the fundamental principle, then, has no statistical support, what truth can we expect in the minor details? According to the new physiognomy, which acknowledges no relationship with phrenology, a head *large in the mid region* indicates a predominance of the feelings over the other faculties; if a little higher it marks a *proneness to superstition or fanaticism;* and if the head is large in the hinder region, it indicates *practical ability*, characterising a race from whom will spring great historic names! Small heads are symbolical of *talent* but not of *genius*, while *very small* ones belong to the excitable class from whom, Dr. Carus says, 'a great part of the misery of society arises.' These properties of heads are obviously incompatible with modern cranioscopy. The reviewer, indeed, expressly declares 'that the phrenological division of the *cerebrum* into the assumed organs is utterly inconsistent with physiology.' This is a valuable admission, for, to change the proverb, when two heresies quarrel, truth has some chance of getting her own.

In the varying expression of the human face the physiognomists find a better support for their opinions. That the emotions of the past and of the present leave permanent traces in the human countenance is doubtless true, and to this extent we are all physiognomists, often very presumptuous ones, and, excepting accidental coincidences, always in the wrong, *when we infer from any external appearance whatever the character and disposition of our neighbour.* In every class of society we encounter faces which we instinctively shun, and others to which we as instinctively cling; but how frequently have we found our estimates to be false? The repulsive aspect has proved to be the result of physical suffering, of domestic disquiet, or of ruined fortunes; and under the bland and smiling countenance, a heart, deceitful and vindictive and 'desperately wicked,' has often been found concealed. The countenance, too, which in manhood was noble and benign, we may have seen scarred in the battle of life, and inscribed with the deep lines which the baseness of friends and the injustice of the world never fail to imprint; and when the manly aspirant after wealth and fame has been cruelly worsted in the race of ambition, and has displayed on the outer man the impress of the emotions which disturbed

disturbed him, how often have we seen him, under altered circumstances, resuming the peaceful and joyous expression of his youth which disappointment and misfortune had but temporarily disguised!

But these views will acquire additional support if we examine large groups of individuals, living under the same influences, and therefore likely to have the same external development. In the haunts of vice, within the precincts of the gaol, in the stock exchange, and in the marts of commerce, we shall find the same variety of form and expression, and the same difficulty in discovering vice or virtue in the outer man. The criminal in the dock, charged with murder, will often bear an honourable comparison with the judge that tries him.

From the general expression of the human face our new physiognomists descend to individual features, and especially call our attention to the *eyes*, the *mouth*, and the *nose*. The eyes, they say, speak to us in their colour. The *dark blue* indicates *effeminacy*,—the *light blue* and *grey*, *activity*,—the *green*, *courage*,—the *hazel*, *mental depth*,—and eyes of a *yellow* cast, *genius*. The *brightness* and *dullness* of the organ—its glance, or flash—are so richly symbolical that in Carus's opinion, instead of saying that 'the style is the man,' we might more justly say, 'the eye is the man.' In refutation of these extravagancies, we boldly assert that there is no expression whatever in the human eyeball, in which we see only the transparent *cornea*, the coloured *iris* with the *pupil* in its centre, and the white *sclerotic*. You may as hopefully search for expression in a *watch-glass* as in the *cornea*, as hopefully in a coloured *wafer* with a hole in its centre as in the *iris*, and as well in a bit of white *leather* as in the *sclerotic coat*. In proof of this we have only to compare a glass or artificial eye with an eyeball, when the eyelids are invisible, and to repeat the common experiment in which we cannot recognise the eyes of our friends, when they are looked at through a hole in a window curtain. In the parts of the face in which the eye is set there is doubtless much expression; but when we are told that the width and the height and the angles of the oval aperture in which the eyeball moves, are indications of every variety of intellect and disposition, we feel that we are in the hands of teachers who themselves require to be taught.

In a similar manner, the *nose*, the *mouth*, the *chin*, the *ear*, and even the *hair* are made to instruct us in the character of our neighbour, and the *neck*, the *trunk*, the *hands*, and the *feet*, all become monitors in the same school. Of all these teachers the *nose* is by far the most accomplished. The *Roman* and *Greek*, the *snub* and the *flat*, the *turned up*, and the *turned down*, are made to discourse most dogmatically on all the varieties of human

human temperament; and to measure all the phases of human capacity.

The physiognomists are not agreed upon the number of shapes in the *human hand.* D'Arpentigny adopts *six*, and Dr. Carus *four;* namely, the *elemental*, the *motor*, the *sensitive*, and the *psychical;* and he assigns the same number to the *foot*, viz., the *elemental*, the *sensitive motor*, the *pure motor*, and the *athletic motor.* The elemental foot is that of the Mass, the sensitive motor is that of the *Venus de Medicis*, caricatured in the *Negro;* but when accompanied with a good hand, it indicates elastic power and speed, as in the antique statue of *Mercury.* The *pure motor* is the medium foot, indicating nothing; and the *athletic motor*, symbolising vehemence of will, is that of the *Farnese Hercules.*

Such is a very brief sketch of the new science, which is to maintain the waning excitement of clairvoyance, table-turning, and spirit-rapping. The talents and eloquence of its German and English expositors may obtain for it an extensive popularity, and philosophers, male and female, will not fail to study and apply its symbols. The phrenologist had some difficulty in plying his vocation, even at the social board; but the open countenance cannot be hid, and 'he who dippeth his hand with us in the dish,' may be studying in the taper of our fingers, or in the configuration of our nails, the proofs of imbecility, or the indications of crime.

To desire more knowledge of our neighbour than is indicated in his daily life is to seek an unenviable privilege, and to gratify a dangerous curiosity. Society could hardly have existed had such a power been conferred on man; and if it is impertinently assumed, every exercise of it is either an offering to vanity, or a calumny against virtue. Nor is it less dangerous in its intellectual bearing. If the soul of man is inwrought into every part of his corporeal frame, modifying its outline, and moulding its forms, it cannot be otherwise than material. In the interest, then, of morality and truth we warn our readers against speculations thus fraught with danger. In the blue heavens above,—on the smiling earth beneath,—within its deepest caverns, teeming with the remains of primeval life,—in its ocean depths, instinct with wondrous creations;—and in the arrangements of the social world to which we belong, there is ample scope for the exercise of our noblest faculties. Science has never derived any truth, nor Art any invention, nor Humanity any boon, from those presumptuous mystics who riot amid Nature's subverted laws, burrowing in the caverns of the invisible world, and attempting to storm the impregnable sanctuary of the Future.

ART. III.—1. *The Opium Trade.* By D. Matheson, Esq. Edinb urgh : Constable and Co. 1857.

2. *The Contraband Traffic in Opium the disturbing element in all our Intercourse with China.* London : Seeleys.
3. *Rise and Progress of British Opium Smuggling.* By Major-General Alexander. London. 1850.
4. *A Word about Opium; and more Words about Opium.* By the Same.
5. *Opium Revenue of India.* London : Allen and Co.
6. *The Question Answered.* A reply to last named. Seeleys.
7. *The North British Review,* February, 1857.
8. *The Edinburgh Review,* April, 1857.
9. *The Reports of the House of Commons, from* 1781 *to* 1783. *Vols. V. and VI.*
10. *'Insults in China.' Parliamentary Blue Book,* 1857.
11. *And other Parliamentary Papers relating to China.*

'FELIX qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,' sounds but commonplace. Turn the words into plain English, and we lose the point of an aphorism in our familiarity with the language and everyday ideas to which we are accustomed ; while, quoted as they stand, they seem rather to enrich the graces of eloquence, or supplement its deficiencies, than successful in drawing attention to the philosophy that is embodied in one of those proverbial expressions, which have been happily described as the 'wisdom of many, and the wit of one.' 'The knowledge and power of man,' writes Lord Bacon, 'are coincident ; for, whilst ignorant of causes, he can produce no effects.' True as this is in interpreting nature, and extending the empire of man over the creation, we fear that with regard to the subject upon which we are about to enter, our readers will be led to a conclusion that in the extension of political empire by man over his fellows, the most calamitous effects are produced by power, while we remain wilfully ignorant, or careless, of the causes that lie open to research.

We have put the foregoing as a preface to what we shall bring under consideration regarding the present position of affairs in China, of which we believe the cause to be as infelicitous as it is generally unknown or misunderstood. England is in death-dealing antagonism with the most populous, and yet the weakest and most unaggressive empire upon earth ; and we are carrying bloodshed and devastation to the homes of millions of the human race, against whom neither has war been formally proclaimed, nor the constitutional sanction of our Parliament given for the expense and loss which it involves. For such a state of things there ought to be some reason as readily assignable as having to deal with the

the consequences of an earthquake, or to meet the sudden exigencies of a political convulsion, which the very existence of society requires to be suppressed with the stern promptitude of avenging justice. It is because we can find no such reason that we are induced to bring before our countrymen a simple narrative of events that have occurred in our intercourse with the Chinese; and in doing so, we must remind them that the limitation of our space obliges us to be, not only concise, but to condense the subject as much as is compatible with the clearness of the information we are desirous to impart.

It may seem strange that we should seek for the cause of the present war in the dusty records of the Parliaments of last century. In them, however, is to be discovered the germ of that mighty evil, which, bedewed with blood and tears, has expanded with frightful rapidity, cast its upas influence over the fairest portions of the East, poisoned with the deadly exhalations of the opium traffic the pure breezes which should have wafted the blessings of beneficial commerce from shore to shore, and made the name of Britain a byword and a reproach among all the nations of the earth.

In that period of our Indian history which the genius of Macaulay has so vividly brought before us in his remarkable Essays on the lives of Warren Hastings and Lord Clive, we can perceive the growing consolidation of the power we have hitherto wielded in the East, and the first transition from unprincipled, desultory aggression of rapacious traders, to the final assumption of all governing authority by the Ministers of the Crown. Step by step we have arrived at this consummation, until in A.D. 1858 the traditional prophecy of the native Indians has been fulfilled with at least oracular accuracy, and though not in the way that they imagined or desired, the Koompānee kā Rāj has passed away exactly at the period of its predicted century of duration after the battle of Plassey. A new rule is now to be inaugurated, for better or for worse, as the unrolling of the solemn future only can develop.

The first traces of the baneful opium monopoly are to be discovered in the annals of the year 1761, when the servants of the East India Company were not paid by adequate salaries, but obtained remuneration for the duties they performed, from the profits each derived by trading on his own account. When the Company obtained a grant of the Dewanee of Bengal from the sovereign of Delhi, the oppression which had been carried on under some faint possibility that natives might obtain redress from their own authorities, to whom appeal might legally, if not effectually be made, was hopelessly aggravated by the relentless rigidity of monopolies, established wherever there were European agents.

agents. In the Ninth Report from a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1783 are to be found references to the system which had previously prevailed; 'when,' in the words of the Report,—

'The servants, for themselves or their employers, monopolised every article of trade, foreign and domestic; not only the raw merchantable materials, but the manufactures; and not only these, but the necessaries of life; or what, in those countries, habit has confounded with them; not only silk, cotton, piece goods, opium, saltpetre, but not unfrequently, salt, tobacco, betel-nut, and the grain of most ordinary consumption.'

The acquisition of the Dewanee in 1765, having brought the East India Company into the immediate government of the country, extended and confirmed all the former means of monopoly; and we learn what were the consequences, from a letter addressed by the Court of Directors to the Council in Bengal, admonishing them that,—'It is with concern we see in every page of your consultations, *restrictions*, *limitations*, *prohibitions*, affecting various articles of trade;' while, on their part, the authorities in the Indian Presidency confess,—'that these monopolies of trade were the foundation of all the bloodshed, massacres, and confusions which have happened of late in Bengal.'

Our narrative will be given, as nearly as may be convenient, in the already written language of history: should our readers require more recondite evidence of the facts we adduce, we must refer them to the records of Parliament from the year 1757 onwards, which they will find to be a mine from which we can but present some extracts of its ore. During the time of the Moghul Emperors, the princes of that race, who omitted nothing for the encouragement of commerce in their dominions, bestowed large immunities and privileges on the East India Company, exempting them from several duties to which their natural-born subjects were liable. The Company's *dustuk*, or passport, secured to them this exemption at all the custom-houses in the country. The Company not being able, or not choosing to avail themselves of their privilege to its full extent, indulged their servants with a qualified use of the passport, under which, by themselves or in association with natives, the servants carried on a trade which afforded full compensation for the scanty means of living allowed by their masters in England. In the novel position in which the Company found itself by the grant of the Dewanee, and of which it understood neither the relations nor legitimate power, not only did the local government consider itself a privileged trader in other States, but its subordinates intruded their private adventures upon the territories of potentates, in the prosperity of whose countries or commerce they had neither interest nor duty. The first measures were simple evasions of the ancient subjection that was due to the authority of the Moghul Empire. In a short time the passport,

or

or *dustuk*, was used by the Company's servants without restraint, and their immunity covered all the merchandise they monopolised. A neighbouring nabob, named Cossim Ali Khan, bore the yoke of this imperious commerce with even greater impatience than the other native rulers. He saw his own subjects excluded as aliens from the profits of their own trade, and the revenues of the prince overwhelmed in the commercial ruin of his subjects. Finding remonstrance vain, he had recourse to a bold expedient; and, to place his own people on a footing with the foreigners who arrogantly usurped their rights, he abolished all duties and imposts throughout his territory. The government at Calcutta promptly denied the power of the prince thus to protect his subjects, and his fall was hastened by the just policy he had adopted.

While the servants of the Company were so arrogantly aggressive upon the rights of the people of India, they were equally unfaithful to the interests of their employers. Instead of providing investments required for the corporation of proprietors in England, all, from the members of council down to the lowest ranks of the service, were bent upon realising the largest profits from their iniquitous monopolies. The goods purchased by the servants were sent home in ships belonging to their masters, whose remonstrances were met by the not less bold than fallacious argument, that it was more for their advantage to dispose of the merchandise and be remunerated by a commission for doing so, than to incur the risks of a commerce which so rapidly enriched every one who engaged in it.

It was impossible for matters to continue in this course, and one of the wisest and best measures of Clive's chequered administration, was to put an end to the system of private trade, and initiate the better policy of paying public servants by salaries proportionate to the duties and responsibilities of their offices.

In the general suppression of monopolies, however, there was still a clinging to three which were particularly lucrative—those of opium, salt, and saltpetre. We will confine ourselves to the history of the first, which was not then retained for the purposes of the government in the way in which it is at present carried on. The authorities in India were prompt to yield a partial obedience to the orders sent from England, and at once proceeded to deprive all inferior officers and servants of their privileges of trade, while they appropriated to themselves the monopoly of opium, and divided the profits accruing therefrom as a compensation for losses alleged to have been sustained by members of council and others of the highest officials in the assignment of salaries. The pecuniary advantages derivable from the monopoly, whether by contracts or agencies, were made over to different parties, according to the prevailing influences in the Calcutta Council, until corruption reached its climax

climax when Warren Hastings gave a contract for supplying opium to Mr. Sullivan, the son of the Chairman of the Court of Directors, on terms and under circumstances that were considered to be too bad even in those days of extreme badness.

In the same year (1773) that the Court of Directors ordered the opium monopoly to be assumed by the Indian government, they wrote,—

'We wish we could refute the observation, that almost every attempt made by us and our administrators at your presidency for the reforming of abuses, has rather increased them and added to the miseries of the people we are anxious to protect and cherish. Instituted as chiefs and supervisors have been to give relief to tenants, to improve and enlarge our investments, to destroy monopolies, and retrench expenses, the end has been by no means answerable to the institution. Are not the tenants more than ever oppressed and wretched? Has not the raw silk and cocoons been raised upon us 50 per cent. in price? We can hardly say what has not been made a monopoly.'

There seems to be an apparent inconsistency here between acts and words, and the records according to which we are writing, show that there was wide difference of opinion among the members of the Calcutta Council. Warren Hastings, though opposed to private monopolies, argued warmly for keeping that of opium; and Sir Philip Francis, the reputed author of the letters of Junius, recorded an opposing view of the subject in the following words, extracted from an elaborate State paper written by him on the Revenue of Bengal:

'With respect to the revenues which the Government should derive from the manufacture of salt and opium, I declare my opinion that it ought to be by way of duties only. The ancient Government was content with such a duty. The object of the institutions of the present Government, and of all the Company's instructions to us is, to destroy all monopolies. All these orders show that salt was to be left as free and unburthened as possible. Their object was the ease and convenience of the natives. On the subject of opium we have received yet no instructions. The monopoly of this article is highly prejudicial to the foreign trade of Bengal, nor have we a right to consider the whole revenue arising from it as a clear gain to the Company, since it is beyond all doubt that the landed revenue suffers by Government engrossing the produce of the lands.'

In 1775 this monopoly was the subject of much discussion in the Calcutta Council. As our object is to expose the conduct of Great Britain towards China with regard to it, and the deep injury that has been inflicted on ourselves, we will merely observe that every false and fallacious sophistry brought forward delusively in the present day, was argued upon, refuted, replied to, readduced, and met with rejoinders and surrejoinders, as vigorously in the last century as in this. The questions of the flow of specie to the East, of balances of trade, of exports and imports, were reasoned upon then as they are now. The result was the same as in our day; the unscrupulous energy of the few who are deeply interested in opium-smuggling, was exerted to deceive the many who were more honest and credulous. Every principle of political economy was violated to extract a precarious

precarious revenue in India by means which must eventually destroy a nation's wealth; the manufacturers and merchants of this country seem determined not to perceive that the opium traffic flourishes at their expense, and that Patnah, Malwah, and Benares, beat Manchester, Sheffield, Glasgow, and Belfast out of the Chinese markets, while we make war with, and destroy our Chinese customers, simply because they are wiser, and, in this respect, better than ourselves. Leaving the sad history of injury and oppression inflicted upon opium-growing ryuts in India, we learn, from the previously quoted Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, that the Council in Bengal commenced the contraband traffic with China, in violation of international law, under the protection of an armed ship, and carried it on without the advice or suggestion of the British factory at Canton, and without the approbation of the Board of Trade at Calcutta. The Report shows, moreover, that in order to embark in this trade, the Company borrowed 200,000*l.* at a high rate of interest, and allotted portions of the debt to some of their servants. To quote the exact words, 'it appears, a mere trading speculation of the Council, invading the department of others, without lights of its own, without authority or information from any other quarter. In a commercial view, it straitened the Company's investments. As a measure of finance, it is a contrivance, by which a monopoly, formed for the increase of revenue, instead of becoming one of its resources, involves the treasury, in the first instance, in a debt of two hundred thousand pounds.'

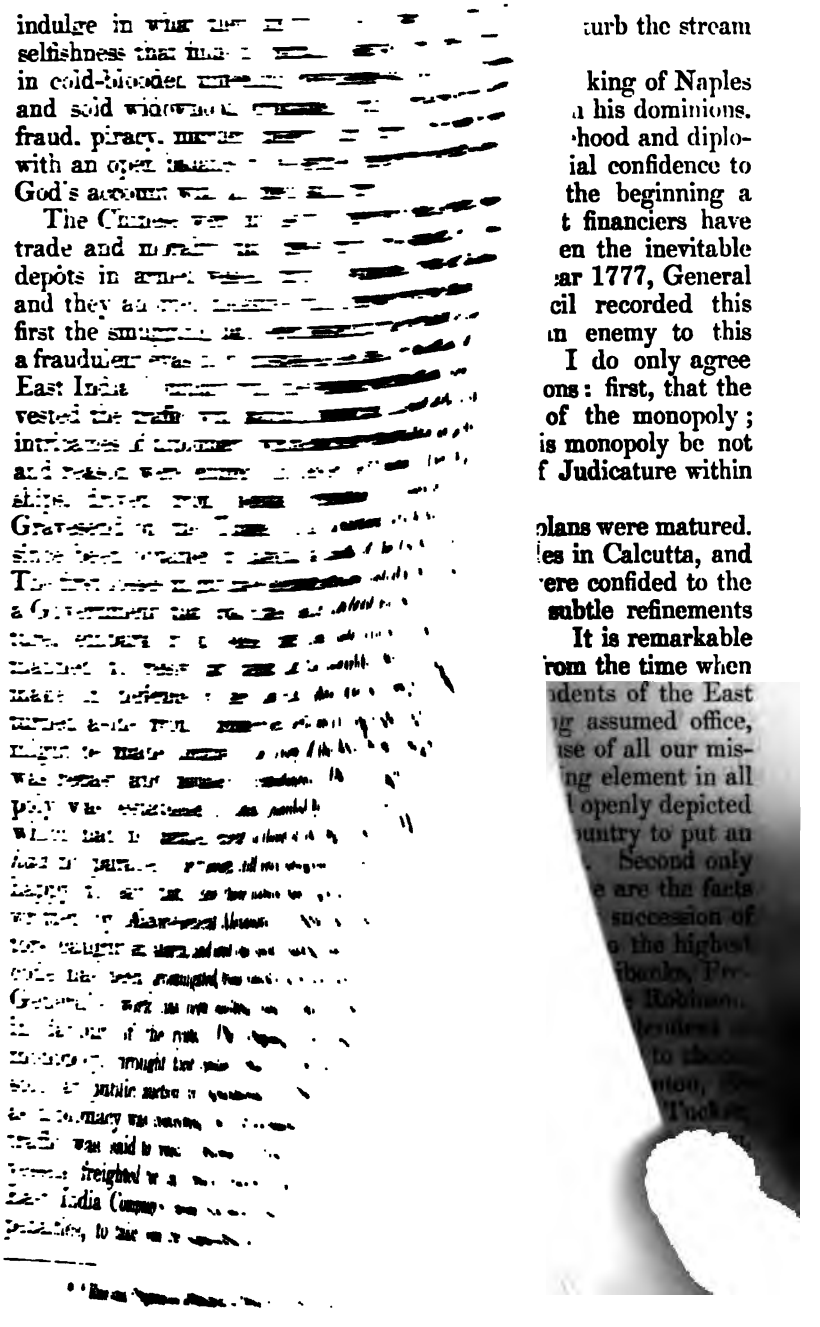
From the same authentic source, we learn that at the time the Government engrossed the monopoly, the produce of opium did not exceed 2,500 chests. The only trade carried on with China in the drug was principally conducted by Portuguese merchants on the Bombay side, who imported it from Turkey, and landed it in Canton, where it was received at the custom-house as a medicine liable to a duty of about 13*s.* on 100 lbs. The quantity thus honestly imported annually into Canton was 200 chests, each weighing about 133 lbs.

No sooner had the Government of India resolved to carry on the contraband aggression against Canton, than there was a rush of competition for vessels to be engaged in the service. Colonel Watson, the chief engineer, and closely connected with the Council, urged successfully the offer of his ship, the 'Nonsuch,' to carry thirty-two guns, and be well armed and manned for the purpose. A Mr. Thornhill obtained the engagement of the 'Betsy,' on similar terms, and thus the buccaneering began. But with the importation, it was necessary to create among the Chinese a market to make it profitable; and we find the singular fact in the history of the world, that a nation professing the

 holiest

holiest religion and purest morality upon earth, absolutely introduced a vice before unknown, in order that an otherwise unsaleable drug should find a price in Canton. We have the authority of Sir George Staunton and of opium agents, that the drug, as used by the Chinese smokers, is, after its peculiar process of manufacture, different from that which is so valuable in our pharmacopœia, and entirely deleterious. It is no longer a medicine, but more intensely a poison.

The next step taken by the East India Company was to diminish the difficulty attendant upon the sale of the contraband drug in small quantities and by dangerous opportunities. Orders were given to establish a large ship at Whampoa, the anchorage for the port of Canton, as a depôt for opium, from whence the native smugglers, who undertook all the risk of landing and running the article, could obtain it in such ways and at such times as suited their desperate hazards. The natural effects of this unparalleled conduct by a professedly friendly power, were soon apparent to the Chinese authorities. Vice produced crime, and crime misery. The beneficial course of commerce was disturbed by the introduction of what was only destructive of the industrial habits and morality of the people. Instead of exports being exchanged for useful manufactures, or paid for in dollars, the means of purchasing British goods were absorbed by indulgence in a vice that was ruinous to its victims, and the country was drained of its circulating specie, which the smuggler carried away instead of the more cumbrous teas, silks, and merchandise that could not be embarked without discovery by the mandarins. Thus trade was injuriously affected by the introduction of a non-reciprocating element. The importation of hardware, woollens, calicoes, &c., tended to the social and moral good of the largest population upon earth; and in proportion as the Chinese benefited by them, they were enabled to produce more abundantly and cheaply tea, sugar, rice, and silk, for our consumption. Every lawful import and export was profitable to both nations. Opium, however, was not only entirely unreproductive, but as its inevitable effect was to destroy life ultimately, and to impoverish and debase it during the shortened period of its existence, every chest that was landed represented, not only an incalculable amount of evil, but the value of British goods which it prevented the people from buying. It was first to be smuggled, then smoked. It was gone with the death-hastening delirium of its victim, who staggered forth impoverished to have again recourse to a fascination from which few, *very very few*, have been able to emancipate themselves. Delightful as is the shortly-enjoyed intoxication of opium-smoking, the most reckless drunkards, the most licentious sensualists of our own countrymen, have been appalled by its consequences. They have dreaded to indulge



their vessels; while private traders were bound, under as stringent obligations, not to carry any other opium than that manufactured by the Company for the Chinese market, and prepared expressly and avowedly, in quality and packages of quantity, for the purpose of being smuggled. When the Chinese remonstrated with the British representatives, the dishonest answer, always ready, was that the Government did not carry on the trade, and that our laws did not authorise the punishment of our people for a breach of the regulations of a foreign custom-house; the unwarlike Chinese must guard their own coasts against our heavy-armed and powerfully-manned contrabandists.

The course adopted by the Chinese was simple and honest, as became a friendly people. They made laws and issued edicts forbidding their own subjects to trade in opium or to smoke the drug. They remonstrated with our authorities; and, pointing to the desperate acts of both Chinese and English smugglers, to the bloodshed and murders that were of continual occurrence, to the piracy that was growing out of the habits of men who exchanged the peaceful duties of life for the reckless licence of daring contrabandism, they entreated us over and over again to put a stop to opium smuggling, to trade with them on fair and honourable terms, and as they made laws against the traffic, and punished their subjects for engaging in it, appealed to us to do the same, and to establish tribunals at Canton for the adjudication of our own people. It will scarcely be credited, but it was not till after the opium war of 1841-2, that there was any tribunal for the English community in China before which a British criminal could be arraigned. The Chinese were told, and our people were told, that they were amenable, and must submit to Chinese law. Lord Palmerston, in later days, reiterated the same language in the plainest terms, and warned our countrymen that they were not to expect the protection of our Government if they were detected in opium smuggling. The Chinese were informed that they might seize the vessels and punish the culprits. But the cautious authorities of the empire declined the proffered authority over our bad characters. They replied, with the utmost sincerity, that they were ignorant of our laws and customs, and did not consider it just to hold our subjects liable to judgment by Chinese rules, with which the English were unacquainted. They quoted our own professions of good faith, and were so willing to abide by them, that they proposed that if the English would but establish a court, they would make every Chinese subject who had transactions with us amenable to it; and when sums of money were in dispute, Chinese respondents should lodge the amount claimed in the British court to await the British decision upon their cases. But nothing would do: the sheep might argue wisely; the

the wolf would hear no reason; he would both disturb the stream and devour his victim.

It has been shrewdly said that the tyranny of the king of Naples does not leave him to be the only happy man in his dominions. Neither have the tyranny in India, nor the falsehood and diplomacy in China, afforded the calm repose of financial confidence to the monopolists of opium. It has been from the beginning a *quæstio vexata;* the wisest statesmen and ablest financiers have always been opposed to the system, and foreseen the inevitable ruin in which it must end. So far back as the year 1777, General Clavering, a member of the Calcutta Council recorded this protest:—'I have always professed myself an enemy to this monopoly, as well as to that of salt. . . . I do only agree to giving it to Mr. M'Kenzie on two conditions: first, that the Company do not disagree to the continuance of the monopoly; secondly, that the Company's right to make this monopoly be not decided against them by the Supreme Court of Judicature within that time.'

In the year 1800 the East India Company's plans were matured. Their direct trade in opium ceased with the sales in Calcutta, and from that point the interests of the monopoly were confided to the smugglers, to secure whose impunity the most subtle refinements of the worst Machiavellian policy were evoked. It is remarkable that the opinions of every authority in China, from the time when England had its representatives in the superintendents of the East India Company's Factory until Sir John Bowring assumed office, have all been against the opium traffic as the cause of all our misunderstandings with the Chinese, and the disturbing element in all our commercial intercourse. They have fairly and openly depicted its evils, and called upon the authorities in this country to put an end to them by adopting more honourable measures. Second only to the wise and temperate arguments of the Chinese are the facts stated and practical suggestions offered by a long succession of men whose characters and judgments are entitled to the highest respect. We need but mention such as Mr. Marjoribanks, President of the Select Committee in Canton; Sir George Robinson, Sir John Davis, Captain Elliot, Her Majesty's Superintendent of Trade, who informed Lord Palmerston he could see little to choose between the opium trade and piracy; Sir George Staunton, Sir Stamford Raffles, Captain Shepperd and Mr. St. John Tucker, both Chairmen of the East India Company; Lord Broughton, President of the Board of Control; Mr. Montgomery Martin, who held high office in China; Lords Jocelyn and Shaftesbury; the Hon. A. Kinnaird, M.P.; the Bishop of Victoria; the Rev. Dr. Medhurst, and the missionaries of the various American and European Protestant Societies; Mons. Huc, the Count de Montalembert,

alembert, Messrs. Howard Malcolm, King, Dr. Parker, and many other distinguished Frenchmen and Americans. In short, with the exception of the few who derive large and ill-gotten gain from the traffic, we know not a Christian, a philanthropist, a fair trader, a political or commercial economist, nor a sound statesman or jurist, who has ever turned attention to the subject and has not denounced the opium monopoly and its consequences as that curse to mankind which deprives the slave trade of its sole and undisputed pre-eminence in iniquity.

We must leave a few facts for consideration. In 1800 the import of opium to Canton was 2,000 chests; in 1821, 7,000 chests; in 1824, 12,639 chests; in 1834, 21,785 chests; three years afterwards, 39,000 chests; and from 52,500 chests in 1848-9, it increased to 100,000 in 1856-7.

In 1839 the Chinese, having exhausted all their powers of remonstrance and persuasion, resolved that they would suppress the smuggling. They first addressed the most urgent requests to our authorities, entreating them to put an end to a trade which commenced with our Government, and ended in lawlessness and bloodshed. They pointed out the individuals engaged in it; told the quantity of opium each had in store; urged upon them that they should take it quietly away and continue the legal trade, which they, the Chinese, were only anxious to increase. They reminded us of all the outrages that had been committed by British subjects, whom we left without legal control or responsibility; of the courts which they had invited us to establish; of the risk of collisions between the mob of Canton and along the coast, whom our smuggling operations had been mainly instrumental in converting to pirates when opium dealing was slack. They reasoned that such a state of things must always endanger political and diplomatic relations; and their Commissioner Lin used the following words in his address to our countrymen: 'It is a traffic on which Heaven looks with disgust; and who is he that may oppose its will? If, then, your laws forbid it to be consumed by yourselves, and yet permit it to be sold that it may be consumed by others, this is not in conformity with the principles of doing unto others what you would they should do unto you.'

But all was in vain. Captain Elliot, who then represented the majesty of Britain and the integrity of our national character, reported faithfully to Lord Palmerston all that occurred, and the true state of affairs. We have not space to relate the vile trickeries that were ineffectually resorted to, to make a case of quarrel against the Chinese, and place them, if possible, in the wrong. Captain Elliot pointed out the anomalies of his own position; the misconduct of our lawless countrymen whom he had no authority to control; begged for consideration of the painful circumstances in which he

he was placed; and showed the opium traffic to be the cause of all. Lord Palmerston left him powerless, cautioned him against assuming criminal jurisdiction, and again consigned his fellow-countrymen to the Chinese tribunals in these words: 'No protection can be given to enable British subjects to violate the laws of the country to which they trade. Any loss, therefore, which such persons may suffer in consequence of the more effectual execution of Chinese laws on this subject must be borne by the parties who have brought the loss on themselves by their own acts.'

As the English would not take their opium away, nor stop the smuggling in of more—as they would neither make laws for themselves, nor obey those of China, the Chinese commissioner at length proceeded to carry his emperor's commands into execution. He gave in the names of the opium dealers, with an account of the number of chests in the possession of each. He said he did not wish to interfere with the business of any other merchant, and he required the opium to be given up for destruction. This request not being complied with, he carried out his threat of stopping all trade, and cutting off all supplies. Captain Elliot now unwisely stepped in, gave the smugglers a receipt for their opium as delivered up to the British Government, and then made it over to the commissioner, who destroyed the whole of it before witnesses, and sluiced it away into the sea.

For this we made our first opium war upon the Chinese, forced them to pay the smugglers for their contraband drug, and reimburse the majesty of Great Britain the expense incurred for destroying 30,000 men, besides women and children, and rendering their homes desolate by all the horrors of bloodshed, fire, and plunder.

In dictating the terms of peace upon payment, every attempt to obtain a legalisation of the opium trade, whether by persuasion or intimidation, completely failed. The dignified reply of the emperor will remain as an eternal reproach to our nation:—

'It is true,' said that heathen potentate, under the helplessness of defeat; 'it is true I cannot prevent the introduction of the flowing poison; gain-seeking and corrupt men will, for their own profit and sensuality, defeat my wishes; but nothing will induce me to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of my people.'

Hear this, O Christian Englishmen! whose Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the late Crimean war, laid a heavy duty upon sugar used for domestic purposes, but *allowed a drawback when it was carried to the brewery and distillery, to increase the revenue that is derived through pot-houses and gin-shops, from drunkenness and poverty, ending in the misery and vice of our people.*

Since 1842, the Chinese have made no attempt to prevent the smuggling for which they paid so severe a penalty. It is no longer necessary to bribe the mandarins, who allow opium to be landed

landed openly at the ports into which we are *bound by treaty* to prevent its entrance. The smugglers have often spread reports that the traffic was legalised because it is unresisted. Last year, the Chinese authorities at Shanghai, having imperial troops quartered upon them, for whom the impoverished treasury furnished no pay, seeing that the soldiers must either starve or plunder, adopted the expedient of levying a tax upon every chest of opium, in order to avert the danger of military anarchy and outrage. This was proclaimed by the smugglers to be a legalisation of the trade; but when the affair was known at Pekin, the emperor reiterated a proclamation of the law of death to every subject who shall import or smoke opium. Of course it is impotent; a mere *vox et preterea nihil;* but still it is consistent even in weakness.

If our readers will turn to Blue Books and Parliamentary Reports, they will find that we have been but compiling an article from their contents. We have felt the difficulty of selecting extracts from volumes full of information as important as we have adduced, and sorrow for the valuable matter we are obliged to leave untouched. We must, however, make brief allusion to passing events, and here we quote, in juxta-position, our treaty with China, and Sir John Bowring's evidence of the way we have observed it.

Extracts from the Supplementary Treaty between Her Majesty and the Emperor of China. Signed at Hoomun-chae, October 8th, 1843. Declared to be one of perpetual peace and friendship.

ARTICLE IV.

After the five ports of Canton, Foochow, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai shall be thrown open, English merchants shall be allowed to trade only at those five ports. Neither shall they repair to any other ports or places, nor will the Chinese people, at any other ports or places, be permitted to trade with them. If English merchant-vessels shall, in contravention of this agreement, and of a proclamation to the same purport, to be issued by the British Plenipotentiary, repair to any other ports or places, the Chinese Government officers shall be at liberty to seize and confiscate both vessels and cargoes; and should Chinese people be discovered clandestinely dealing with English merchants at any other ports or places, they shall be punished by the Chinese Government in such manner as the law may direct.

ARTICLE XII.

A fair and regular tariff of duties and other dues having now been established, it is to be hoped that the system of smuggling, which has heretofore been carried on between English and Chinese merchants—in many cases with

Extract relating to the Working of Ordinance No. 4, 1856—from the Colonial Treasurer's Memorandum of Estimates, 1857.

59. If anything has been and will be pre-eminently beneficial to this colony, it is that very system of granting Colonial Registers, particularly to respectable Chinese settled here; or, as the Ordinance says, 'Chinese Crown Lessees, entitled to hold Colonial Registers,' since it has already added to, and still tends to increase the coasting trade in goods, the manufacture of Great Britain, or the produce of India, such as cotton, *opium*, &c.; and on the other hand, brings to this colony more of the produce of China, for export to Europe and India, or transhipment to other parts of the coast of the empire.

Legal Opinion on the Legality of the Manufacture and Sale of Opium by the East India Company.

In the last session of Parliament, at the instance of the the

the open connivance and collusion of the Chinese custom-house officers—will entirely cease; and the most peremptory proclamation to all English merchants has been issued on this subject by the British Plenipotentiary, who will also instruct the different consuls to strictly watch over and carefully scrutinize the conduct of all persons, being British subjects, trading under his superintendence. In any positive instance of smuggling transactions coming to the consul's knowledge, he will instantly apprise the Chinese authorities of the fact, and they will proceed to seize and confiscate all goods, whatever their value or nature, that may have been so smuggled, and will also be at liberty, if they see fit, to prohibit the ship from which the smuggled goods were landed from trading further, and to send her away as soon as her accounts are adjusted and paid. The Chinese Government officers will, at the same time, adopt whatever measures they may think fit with regard to the Chinese merchants and custom-house officers who may be discovered to be concerned in smuggling.

PROCLAMATION OF SIR H. POTTINGER.

Extracts from Proclamation issued by Sir Henry Pottinger on the 22nd July, 1843.

Her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary, &c., trusts that the provisions of the Commercial Treaty will be found in practice mutually advantageous, beneficial, and just as regards the interests, the honour, and the future augmented prosperity of the Governments of the two mighty contracting empires and their subjects; and his Excellency most solemnly and urgently calls upon all subjects of the British Crown, individually and collectively, by their allegiance to their sovereign, by their duty to their country, by their own personal reputation, respect, and good name, and by the integrity and honesty which is due from them as men to the imperial rights of the Emperor of China, not only to strictly conform and act up to the Earl of Shaftesbury, a legal opinion was taken by the East India Company on the question, 'Whether the legality of the manufacture and sale of opium by the East India Company, in the manner aforesaid, is in any way affected by the Supplemental Treaty entered into by Her Majesty with the Emperor of China in October 1843?' And the opinion given by the law officers of the Crown* on this point was in these words:—'We think, now that opium is made contraband by the law of China, and that its importation into China is made by Chinese law a capital crime, the continuance of the Company's practice of manufacturing and selling this opium in a form specially adapted to the Chinese trade, though not an actual and direct infringement of the Treaty, is yet at variance with its spirit and intention, and with the conduct due to the Chinese Government by that of Great Britain, as a friendly power, bound by a Treaty which implies that all smuggling into China will be discountenanced by Great Britain; and we think that if the practice in question were to be made the subject of expostulation by the Chinese Government, the British Government would be under an obligation to alter or modify the mode adopted by the East India Company of manufacturing opium, and to abstain from so manufacturing or preparing it as to involve a peculiar adaptation of the article to the Chinese

* This legal opinion, signed by Sir J. D. Harding, the Queen's Advocate-General, Sir R. Bethell, H.M. Attorney-General, Sir H. S. Keating, H.M. Solicitor-General, and Mr. Loftus Wigram, Standing Counsel for the East India Company, is given, not upon Lord Shaftesbury's question, but upon one prepared by the East India Company. His lordship's runs thus: 'Whether—having regard, also, to the supplemental treaty between Her Majesty and the Emperor of China, bearing date the 8th of October, 1843, which contains the following words: "A fair and regular tariff of duties and other dues having been established, it is hoped that the system of smuggling will entirely cease"—it is lawful for the East India Company to deal in such opium in the manner stated in the first question, with the full knowledge that it is so purchased at the abovementioned sales for the purpose of being smuggled into China in contravention of the laws of that empire, and so to cultivate and manufacture the same with a view principally to the China market, and to its being so purchased for such purposes as aforesaid, the Company with that view manufacturing the opium into that form which the Company consider best adapted to facilitate and promote that contraband trade.'

said

said provisions of the Commercial Treaty, but to spurn, decry, and make known to the world any base, unprincipled, and traitorous overtures which they or their agents or employés may receive from, or which may be in any shape made to them, by any subject of China, whether officially connected with the Government or not, towards entering into any collusion or scheme for the purpose of evading, or acting in contravention of the said provisions of the Commercial Treaty. contraband trade, as distinguished from other trades, and to adhere to this modification so long as opium is absolutely prohibited in China.'

Her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary, &c., will not allow himself to anticipate or suppose that the appeal which he now makes to all Her Majesty's subjects will be unheeded or overlooked by even a single individual; but at the same time it is his duty, in the responsible and unprecedented situation in which he has been placed by the course of events, to distinctly intimate that he is *determined*, by every means at his disposal, to see the provisions of the Commercial Treaty fulfilled by all who choose to engage in future in commerce with China; and that in any case where he may receive well-grounded representations from Her Majesty's consuls, or from the Chinese authorities, that such provisions of the Commercial Treaty have been evaded (or have been attempted to be so), he will adopt the most stringent and decided measures against the offending parties; and where his present powers may not fully authorise and sanction such measures as may seem to him fitting, he will respectfully trust that the legislature of Great Britain will hold him indemnified for adopting them in an emergency directly compromising the national honour, dignity, and good faith in the estimation of the Government of China, and in the eyes of all other nations.

On the 6th of October, 1856, a Chinese vessel called a lorcha, and named, for European purposes, the 'Arrow,' was lying in the Canton river, manned by Chinese subjects, of whom one or more were known, or suspected to be, pirates. A foreigner had obtained from Sir John Bowring's Government at Hong Kong, one of the registers above alluded to, for the purposes therein specified, the said register having been granted for a year. Whether that register was a legal instrument in the hands of Englishman or foreigner, we will not stop to question; Lord Lyndhurst, in the House of Peers, and other eminent lawyers in the House of Commons, said that it was not. The Chinese do not appear to have disputed that; nor whether it conveyed authority for the English flag to cover the goods which the said lorcha was employed to smuggle; but anxious to avoid all disputes with us, they waited till eleven or twelve days after the date on which its immunity expired, and then sent their policemen to apprehend the culprits. It has been asserted that there was an English flag on board the vessel; possibly or probably there was; but we have the strongest evidence, short of that given legally upon oath, that none was flying, nor was there any person on board the lorcha but Chinese subjects.

In the course of the day this arrest became known to Consul Parkes, at the British Factory, who demanded the Chinese culprit and subjects to be given up to him. After some very reasonable, or to put it on the very lowest terms, plausible remonstrance, pointing out the Chinese view of the lawful bearing of the matter, Mr. Parkes' request was complied with, the Chinese were humiliated

miliated for their act, and the vice-regal Commissioner Yeh conformed to the dictation of an English agent, not of the highest diplomatic rank. It would have been well had this been sufficient; but Anglo-Chinese diplomacy demanded more; even that the commissioner, as representing his emperor, should apologise to as much of the majesty of our sovereign and nation as was impersonated in its consul. The refusal of this demand led to an attack upon Canton, which was retaliated by the destruction of our factories. Then followed on blockade, attacks, and the incidents of scarcity of food, and loss of life by war. A few of our smallest men-of-war, with some ships' boats, gained a glorious victory over the Chinese fleet of junks, armed with 900 guns, and manned by 9,000 men. We read of the boldness of our approach, and glowing eulogia upon the valour of our officers and men, and then felt some consolation in the thought that, with such a terrific enemy to assail, our whole loss amounted but to 84 killed and wounded; and that the foe, who had opposed to us the formidable resistance that was described, had inflicted less than at the rate of *one* wound with every ten cannons, throwing musketry and small arms out of all account. Neither on that occasion, nor in the more recent attack upon their million-peopled city, have the Chinese shown themselves to have the slightest knowledge of the art of war; and if they should have been superior in diplomacy, or happened to have justice on their side, the arguments of artillery and the conclusions often, but not always arrived at, *à coté des gros battalions*, have hitherto been entirely in our favour. Meanwhile, the talented correspondent of the 'Times' informs us that our trade is impeded, our establishments at other ports in danger, and that the result of all our wars and negociations is, that we succeeded, in 1854, in forcing upon the Chinese 24,000,000 dollars' worth of opium, and only obtained sale for 4,000,000 dollars' worth of British manufactures, although that gentleman states, that if they were not impoverished by the opium traffic, they are willing to take from us, in profitable commerce, any amount of goods we can export. All this was submitted to the consideration of our legislators, statesmen, and merchants, just at the very moment of that great monetary crisis which closed our factories, and threw our workmen out of employment, to the alternatives of starvation, beggary, or parish charity. When our commerce was paralysed, we were employing a navy to prevent our merchant ships from trading with Canton; when we were calling for reduction of our taxes, we were equipping an army to destroy the people who were waiting to buy our goods; and it is a remarkable event, in these remarkably eventful days, that when the first detachment of that army destined for the second opium war reached the intermediate port between the British and Chinese

Chinese empires, it was met by an urgent call to hasten and defend our yet unmassacred countrymen, women, and children, and to save the endangered supremacy of England, on the fields of those districts where the accursed opium is produced. We will not presume to link acts upon earth to the councils of heaven, nor dogmatically to pronounce upon cause and effect; but we believe that we may go so far as to say, that if these things are not indicative of a retributory connexion, they are at least very like it. We speak as to wise men, judge ye for yourselves.

As Lord Elgin's instructions are that he is to obtain, *by persuasion, of course,* a legalisation of the opium trade, we will, before that desideratum is accomplished or defeated, point to another embarrassment in which our Indian and home authorities are involved. In 1833 the East India Company was deprived of its Charter, and commanded by Parliament to cease from trading. The Act is explicit, that all accounts were to be closed, all ships and warehouses sold; officers were appointed to see that this should be carried out in the course of two years, and no buildings or depôts were to be retained except for the purposes, not of trade, but of Government. Still the East India Company audaciously reserved their opium and salt monopolies!!! In 1843 this was ineffectually brought before the House of Commons by Lord Ashley, who, in 1857, as Earl of Shaftesbury, again agitated the subject in the House of Lords by laying on the table two questions to be submitted to the judges for decision. In a false confidence of their position, the Ministers of the Crown acceded to Lord Shaftesbury's proposal, but were soon warned by the Lord Chancellor that if the decision of the judges should be to pronounce the opium traffic and our breach of treaty with the Chinese illegal, the President of the Board of Control, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, the Governor-General of India, and every authority engaged in the illicit contraband, would be amenable to criminal indictment. A strong appeal was made to Lord Shaftesbury, whether it was his desire to produce such consequences, and whether, as it was his object to have a great constitutional question settled, he would not accept the legal opinion of the law officers of the Crown, which would determine the merits of the case without involving the embarrassment that might ensue upon the verdict of the judges. In the debate that took place the Noble Lord stated, that in framing his questions his object was to shut the Government up to all the difficulties of the case; but as he had not contemplated such results as the Lord Chancellor set forth, he would be content to withdraw his motion on condition that the opinion of the law officers should be obtained. The Lord Chancellor promised that a legal case should be prepared for the purpose; but mark how it was done! Lord Shaftesbury's questions were sent

sent to the President of the Board of Control, who transmitted them to the India House. There they were put into the hands of the solicitors of the East India Company, who drew an *ex parte* case with their own recital of alleged facts and assumptions, which ended by substituting two other questions for those propounded by Lord Shaftesbury. Objection was taken to such a case, and it went back for amendment. As the session of Parliament was drawing to a close, after months of delay the second edition of the Company's solicitors' work was produced, which differed little from the first except in being more closely and cautiously worded; with it was coupled a proposal that the standing counsel of the East India Company, who has no official status, should be joined with the law officers of the Crown in framing an opinion on questions upon which he must have been previously consulted by his employers. Notwithstanding a remonstrance, the case went forward as proposed, and the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, assisted by Mr. Loftus Wigram, the counsel of the implicated East India Company, gave their opinion upon the questions substituted for Lord Shaftesbury's, which opinion was laid upon the table of the House of Lords just a few days before Parliament was prorogued, and when no more business could be entertained. Thus was monopoly respited for a season, and we may presume with a hope that before Parliament should re-assemble the question of breach of treaty would be settled by the Chinese being forcibly persuaded to legalise the opium trade.

So far as Lord Shaftesbury is concerned, the above extraordinary proceedings in the highest court of British legislature and honour are not so important as might at first be thought. His Lordship's avowed object was to know whether he was legally right or wrong in the views he had taken; and he solemnly pledged himself that if, by any possible construing of the technicalities of an Act of Parliament, a claim to monopoly of opium can be sustained by a British Company having no charter to trade, then he would introduce a Bill to render such monopoly illegal, and never cease to do so, session after session, if necessary, until so foul a privilege shall be exterminated. In his Lordship's high character we have full assurance that he will pursue his righteous object, and redeem the gage he has thrown down to war unto victory against one of the most formidable and detestable evils of our times, the reproach of Britain, the direst curse to more than one-third of the whole family of man.

Our readers may reasonably ask, Is not 'Meliora' making out an *ex parte* case? and must not what so many say be true, that the Chinese have overwhelmed us with insults which we have borne only too patiently? We dare not have written these pages without being prepared for such a question. We would not have risked

risked our character for justice and impartiality if we had not drawn our information from official and authentic sources, and we have given at the head of this article the authorities to which we appeal.

We fearlessly challenge an examination of the bitterly-denounced Commissioner Yeh's correspondence with the English authorities since the fatal day on which the Chinese culprits were taken out of the Chinese lorcha the 'Arrow;' and call consideration to the fact, that in 1849 Sir George Bonham had, on the part of his sovereign, agreed to waive that part of the treaty which stipulates for free access to the city of Canton. We merely speak here of Yeh as a diplomatist and statesman, and not with reference to what may yet be proved to have been his conduct to prisoners of war.

And now, in conclusion, what are we to do next in China? If we force our opium upon them, that will not avert the ruin which the monopoly must ultimately bring down upon India. If we go on slaughtering along the coasts, up the Yang-tsi-kiang, and bombard Pekin, that will not increase our trade, nor strengthen our political position. If we are right, we can well afford to be magnanimous: if we are wrong, we may find it wise to remember that these words are written where they must prove true:—

'For, behold, the Lord cometh out of his place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity; the earth also shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain.'

ART IV.—*The Commercial Crisis of* 1857: *its Causes and Results.* By Wm. Romaine Callender, Jun. London: Longman and Co.

WHEN continental kinglets and their courtiers taunt us as a nation of shopkeepers, our answer is ready, and our answer is good. Our system is more rational, more solid, more comfortable, and more honourable than all the military pomp of despotic governments. That which is sometimes thrown in our teeth as our shame, really constitutes our glory. If merchants are honest men, they need not be ashamed of being merchants. If our traffic were kept pure, it would be to the nation what the Nile is to Egypt, the main artery of its economic life. There is neither sin nor shame in making bargains, if the bargainers do not cheat.

At the present crisis it is peculiarly important to distinguish clearly between the sound and the unsound in our mercantile system. In our circumstances, the comprehensive rule of Scripture is eminently necessary and suitable: 'Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good.' On the one hand, we must not, through pride and prejudice, cling to evil habits because they are our own: on the other hand, we must not, by the sneers of adversaries

saries, be driven from principles or practices that are right. It cannot be denied, that the rank fresh growth of the nation's commerce has attracted some vile worms to its root. We must uncover and destroy the vermin, but cherish the noble plant on which they feed.

The reader, if he is pleased to accompany us through this paper, will find some plain-speaking but no croaking. The writer loves his country with a fervent love, and specially exults in her pre-eminent commerce. He has travelled a little in several foreign countries, and has always been pleased to be recognised by his look, as well as by his language, as a denizen of this much-envied isle. Although by profession he is only a spectator of the busy scene, he is one in spirit as in destiny with his brethren who strip and strive, like ancient athletes, on a more spacious stadium, and for a nobler prize. We love merchants; and love them so well, that we shall proceed incontinent to tell them some of their faults. If they take the reproof as frankly as it is given, they will find it an excellent oil which will not break their heads.

As our object is intensely practical, we shall endeavour to place before our readers in relief some of the more important causes and forms of the disease, and afterwards throw out some suggestions regarding the remedy. For a succinct yet comprehensive history of the crisis, written in a manly style, and pervaded by a healthful moral sentiment, we refer to the pamphlet whose title is prefixed to this paper. We shall assume that the principal features of the gloomy period are still fresh upon the reader's memory, and shall not burden our page with details and figures.

The commercial crisis through which the country has just passed, or is still passing, seems greater than any that we have heretofore experienced, as to the number of bankruptcies, the magnitude of the amounts involved, and the moral delinquencies brought to light. Some portion of this last count, however, if not the whole, is due to the improved machinery which we possess for the detection and exposure of dishonesty.

The *forms* of the evil, and its *immediate causes*, are various and easily observed. At the very outset of the disastrous course lies the morbid eagerness of each to be his own master, while circumstances demand that he should still be the servant of another. To be no longer a working man, earning wages, but a merchant or manufacturer on his own account, is the ambition that fires the heart of our youth. It is, in itself, an innocent and honourable aspiration. As long as it is under subjection to the law of righteousness, it is not only harmless, but eminently conducive to both individual and national prosperity. It is the vital force that makes the machinery go round; and as long as it is regulated by the solid, steady, massive balance-wheel, its operation produces only

only good; but when, weary of restraint, it snaps asunder the belt which bound it to the balancer, and spins round at will without impediment, it speedily shatters the machine to atoms, and perishes itself in the débris. In a former generation, the indulgence of this tendency to an almost unlimited extent produced no mischief, because, although many were masters, the servants of each were few. Each man was contented with a very diminutive business. The emancipation of one man did not involve the thraldom of hundreds. In our grandfathers' days, you and I might both have been chiefs, although our own roof sheltered all our subjects. Now, it is scarcely possible to be a small merchant. The competitory spirit has spurred science on, and science has served the competitory spirit, until profits, unless they are drawn from a very wide surface, cannot be drawn at all. In providing a supply of water for a large city, if you have access to a great lake, a draught from its depth, not greater than the thickness of cream on a basin of milk, will serve your purpose, as well as many fathoms of a smaller reservoir. This principle has been discovered in merchandise, and driven to a fatal excess.

The next step in the process is, when a man, prevented by the physical conditions of his time from becoming a small merchant, is nevertheless determined to be a merchant, and in absence of cash, extends his operations on credit. Having no foundation on the rock, and being determined to build, he rears his edifice on sand, taking care to shovel in the earth about the roots of his wall, in order to hide the falsehood from his neighbours. Here lies the chief vice of our system. A man extends his business until it touches all the corners of the earth, and involves many hundred thousand pounds. His profits are great if he succeed; his losses great, if he fail: but he has no money of his own: therefore, if he gain, the gain is his; if he lose, the loss falls on his neighbour. And this discreditable thimblerigging is not an exception confined to a few desperadoes, it constitutes a very large proportion of the actual aggregate of trade. In the multitude of the speculators, and the fast methods of their life, each man grows giddy and reckless of results. Accustomed to hard driving and narrow escapes, they dash along, like London cabmen, taking a positive pleasure in grazing the precipice, and flourishing the whip as the danger passes, with a leer and a boast that 'an inch is as good as an ell." But if, at the next turn, the whole concern is upset, the driver trusts that he will leap off in time, and keep at least his own skin whole. It is a heartless system. There is no brotherly love in it. It is loathsomely selfish; and it has become so common, that it has ceased to be wonderful.

An unfailing concomitant of the malady is an extravagantly expensive style of living. One man keeps an establishment of eighteen

eighteen servants; another must have his table-napkins made of rich flowered silk; a third maintains, simultaneously, three mansions, two for himself, being town and country residences, and one for a 'friend,' whose name cannot be told. We have given at random some cases that were brought to light in a single city during the past winter. None of these men possessed a penny of their own in the world. They knew quite well that they had nothing wherewith to pay for these luxuries, for they were rogues, not fools. They obtained credit from the banks, and the money so received enabled them to set up establishments which seemed evidence of wealth. In this way retail dealers were deceived; and thinking their shops honoured when the dog-cart and the flunkey halted at the door with an order, gave out goods without limitation, and fell in the crash that followed.

The community are mysteriously bound together. We have all an interest in maintaining the channels of commerce pure. Dishonest dealings by one set of merchants render it impossible for another and better set to transact any business at all. In one city two concerns of fabulous magnitude had grown up in the sewed muslin manufacture. For several years, honest men, with abundant means in the same department of trade, had been brought to a dead lock. They could do nothing. In order to prevent loss, they stood idle; while the trade flowed towards their overgrown neighbours like a mighty river. It is known now that these gigantic manufactures had been carried on at a loss. Money to the extent of half a million had been drawn from a bank by swindling or collusion, to keep the surface of the cheat whole a while. The bank which gave the money has fallen, and many thousands have been crushed in its fall. Honest men could not trade at all on their own money; because they were undersold by dishonest men, who squandered the money of the community.

Perhaps the bitterest bit of all is the impudent bearing of the criminals after the catastrophe. When they have by wholesale dishonesty ruined many families, they seem suddenly to become mightier men than ever they were. We give a case which we personally know. A young mother, who was reared in the most affluent class of a first-rate city, is travelling by railway with her own infant in her arms, and without an attendant. At a certain station a fine equipage drives up, a gentleman steps out, and, through ranks of well-dressed, obsequious servants, enters the same carriage. The lady could not guess what great personage was in her presence. When her husband met her at the terminus a nod of recognition passed between him and the great man, and the young wife's curiosity was for the first time satisfied. Her husband had, with many others, during the dreary winter been checked in a career of honourable industry by large losses in

trade, and this was the magnate whose bankruptcy had brought him down. Her delicate hands were plied to menial work, because she had not the means of hiring servants; and the man who deprived her of her means drove past her in his carriage, with a flunkey perched behind. These are the things that gnaw the very heart of the community. Unless private virtue and public justice united succeed in putting down overgrown impudent dishonesty, the ascendancy of the nation cannot long be maintained. These things are morally as bad in one direction as the cruelties which prevail under despots are in another. We need not point the finger of scorn at Naples; injustice equally great, though of a different kind and from a different quarter, is inflicted and endured amongst ourselves.

The *effects* of these oppressions are disastrous to both the material and the moral interests of the people. Many thousands of the feeble are now pining in poverty, who six months ago possessed the means of living in comfort all their days. Some have been driven to labour at a period of life when it was their right to rest; and not a few have been by the calamity hurried off to a resting-place in the grave. Let the rash and dishonest speculators know that the guilt of many murders lies on their heads. The collapse of a joint-stock bank, especially, scatters distress over a very extensive area, and sends the thrill of its deadly stroke down through every rank. The fruits of these gigantic bankruptcies are ripening and dropping one by one even now. Yesterday the magistrate of a remote country town was followed to the grave by a large circle of sorrowing friends; and the well-known fact passes in a whisper through the sad procession, that, having lost three-fourths of his means by the annihilation of his bank shares, the remaining fourth was demanded as a "call" upon the proprietors. This last blow, falling on the shattered frame, completed the work, and the victim fell. To-day, once and again, a rustling is heard among the leaves, and a heavy plunge succeeds. You ask the agitated bystanders what fruit has fallen this time. They answer, here a widow lady has left her beautiful mansion, and been immured within the grated doors of a madhouse; there, a rustic, who had saved a few hundred pounds and lost it, has taken his own life. Such fruits as these are dropping fast all over the country while we write—apples of Sodom, the cursed offspring of the haste to be rich, which gendered in the hearts of dishonest, selfish men. Let the spectators take warning. Fear, and sin not. Will this bitter experience be lost? God and men expect that in the coming years we shall learn wisdom from the errors and falsehoods and misfortunes of our day.

There is a species of crane which may be seen flinging its giant arms up into the sky at the side of every considerable building while it

it is in the process of erection. It has caused a revolution in the method of constructing houses, especially where heavy stones are employed. The greater the reach of its brawny arm, the greater is the convenience to the builder; but the longer that the lever is made, the stronger must be the chain which supports it. Suppose a builder has been using a crane with a horizontal stretch of twenty feet, and a chain sufficient to bear it; but, being greedy of gain, he doubles the horizontal length of the beam, without increasing the strength of the chain. When the strain of the stone's weight is applied at the extremity of the lengthened lever, the feeble chain gives way, and some workmen are killed or maimed by the accident. The builder is brought to the bar, and convicted of culpable carelessness. He is compelled to pay for the support of wounded men or bereaved widows.

This crime is committed on a large scale by great merchants and bankers. They lengthen their lever in order to pick up gains from a wider surface, while their supporting capital, instead of being greater, is, perhaps, much worse of the wear. When you make these immense reaches over the world with your slender capital, or no capital at all, you run imminent risks of breaking the whole machine; and when it breaks, hundreds will be hurt by it, while you, the real author of the evil, sit at home in safety.

For a long period, and in a very great measure, the practical rule amongst us has been that the great swindlers escape and the small ones are caught and put in prison. The net which poor blind Justice spreads over the robbers' den seems to be constructed on a principle precisely the reverse of that which regulates other nets—the big fishes get through, and the little ones are taken. Of late some slight efforts have been put forth to remove this anomaly, and some symptoms of advancement begin to appear. Now and then, with much ado and at great expense, some of the great criminals are caught and punished with edifying impartiality. So strange and new are these events, that people can scarcely believe their own eyes when they read the record. We hail these instances of impartial justice with hopefulness; but we stand amazed that greater things have not been at an earlier period achieved. We hope the best from what has happened; but we do not think that the work is finished yet. Something has been done, and something further may yet be done by impartial legislation and a vigorous execution of the law; but it is not our purpose at present to enter upon that department of the subject. Our immediate object is to generate and consolidate such a sound public opinion upon the morals of business as will afford a sure foundation for future progress both in the legislative and executive departments. One swallow does not make a summer: we must not throw up our caps, and proclaim the jubilee of justice, because the direc-

tors of the British Bank have been compelled to taste the cup which smaller rogues drink to the dregs. It is not such a puny conjuring that can stay the plague: we need a public opinion, wide, and deep, and pure, and all-pervading, like the air of heaven, against falsehood of every form and in every place.

We have suggested some of the *immediate* causes of our commercial unhealthfulness: we direct attention now to the *remote* cause, which lies several strata beneath the surface. The cause of our backwardness in the morals of trade is the same that accounts for our low attainments in spiritual religion—the want or the weakness of FAITH. In business most men walk not by faith but by sight, and short sight too. The merchant who hires milliners' and haberdashers' assistants to adhibit their names to bills, in order that he may pass off the signatures at his bank as those of monied men, would not steal goods from his neighbour's counter. Why? Not because the act is dishonest, but because it would be found out. In matters of petty theft, men believe in righteous retribution, because they see it; but in the secret tricks of trade they do not see punishment instantly following the crime, and they hope it will never come. When vengeance is not within sight, they have no faith to behold it under a vail. They have not faith in truth and righteousness and law. They have not faith in Providence—in God.

You will not bend over an open cask of gunpowder, and drop fiery sparks into the bunghole; and you know the reason why. Neither would you cast poppy seed or peppel into your field among the wheat in spring: in this case, too, you know the reason why. Retribution by law will certainly follow, in the first case instantly, in the second after the lapse of some months. You have faith in these physical laws, even although a long delay intervene between the cause and its effect. But in the moral department, the working of the law is more deeply covered, and your faith will not reach so far. In the interstices of your bargain, you drop here a lie and there a cheat; and because the explosion does not come so soon as in the case of the gunpowder, you flatter yourself that its coming is not so sure. You flatter yourself indeed. The moral laws are as stern as the physical, although not so palpable to the senses. The connecting wire between sin and punishment is longer and more circuitous in the moral department; but it conducts the avenging fire with unfailing precision to the victim's head.

The methods which are acknowledged and adopted in practical physics are denied or ignored in practical ethics. An astronomer or a chemist will not omit a figure in his arithmetic, or a sign in his algebraic formula, in order to lighten his labour and round off his calculation. He will not knowingly introduce a lie into the heart of his process. The injection of a falsehood, or the omission of

of a truth, however secretly, in any part of the process, he knows would vitiate the whole. He acts on this principle, and acts uniformly on it. The mistakes which occur from time to time in his deductions are errors into which he has inadvertently fallen, not lies which he has deliberately made.

The same rule does not hold good in matters of commerce. A very considerable number of those engaged in it intentionally and deliberately deviate from truth and righteousness in their transactions, with the view of promoting thereby their own interests. No natural philosopher of any standing, either in his own esteem or that of his fellows, intentionally deviates by a hair's-breadth from truth, while conducting the processes of his philosophy: but there are merchants not a few, with a good standing in their own eyes and in the world, who do intentionally deviate from truth in the processes of their business.

Such is the difference of practice in regard to truth which obtains in these two departments of human action: the reason of it may be discovered without danger of mistake, and expressed without danger of misapprehension.

It is in human nature to dread a punishment near, more than one at a distance. If to distance of time there be added indefiniteness of period, the terror of the infliction is still farther diminished. When a child is learning his lesson in the evening, dread of the master's displeasure on the morrow is a much more potent motive than dread of meeting the world fifteen years afterwards with an imperfect education. A fraudulent teller in a bank would not pocket a hundred pounds if it were sure as the laws of nature that the manager would know the fact next day; but he has the means of doubling and hiding in the columns of his ledger, so as to postpone for a year, and perhaps longer, the discovery of the fraud. It is this that emboldens the dishonest man to do the dishonest deed. Given two men of moral principle equally frail, and placed under temptation equally potent; but in one case the sin is such that, if committed, it will soon and certainly be discovered; and in the other case, such that, although committed, the discovery will certainly be delayed for months, and possibly never made at all: it is probable the first will do an honest act, and the second a dishonest one; and yet they may be both alike dishonest men.

Such is the difference between the philosopher and the merchant as regards the tendency to deceit. In the pursuits of philosophy it is certainly known that judgment against an evil work will be executed speedily; but a violation of truth in the transactions of commerce does not so soon and so evidently bring punishment upon the transgressor. We smile at the celebrated Spartan law which permitted stealing if the thief did his work cleverly

cleverly; but punished it if he stole clumsily and allowed himself to be caught in the fact: but this is the very law which many men make for themselves. They allow themselves the liberty of making false representations, if circumstances seem to afford sufficient cover for the cheat. In the laws of nature retribution for these offences does not come instantly, and men hope that it will not come at all. But retribution will follow these transgressions as certainly as other sequences in nature. The moral region into which they are admitted is not beyond the jurisdiction of God. He is everywhere present, resenting and repressing the violation of his own laws. As the ripple generated along the centre takes a longer time to reach the shore at the wider portions of the lake, the consequences of violating law in one department take a longer time to reach the human agent, than they do in another; but he that doeth evil shall receive a due reward, for there is no respect of persons with nature or with God. When a dew-drop is exhaled by the sun, the water which composed it is not lost. It is all kept; and it will be gathered and used again in time and place convenient. When it vanishes from our sight in air, it remains in the hands of the living God, and subject to inexorable law. A lie in bargain-making seems to go out of sight as completely, but it is kept as surely in the moral atmosphere, and will cast up again when it is least expected, but most needed, to inflict the vengeance-stroke.

Such is the law: but faith in law, and in retributions that lie far in the future, is not, among the multitude, of sufficient power to control passion and direct the life. Faith, in order to be efficient, must attach itself to the personal and the present. You may indeed get hold of an evil-doer by his understanding, but it is like seizing a horse by the shoulders: you have not a good purchase upon him to control his waywardness. If you can grasp him by the conscience, you have got a bit in his mouth, and the bridle in your hand,—you can turn him whithersoever you will. The sum of the whole matter lies here:—it is not reason's respect for natural laws, but dread of displeasing God in the heart of a moral being, that will tell with effect on the intercourse of men. It is not a philosopher's calculation of what is the greatest good, but a Christian's consciousness of right and wrong that will avail to reduce the dislocations of the mercantile machine. We must fall back on the old rule, 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.' A tender conscience, with the Bible for its law and God as its judge—this is the one sovereign preventive of these terrible epidemics which periodically devastate the domain of trade.

While the chief guilt of abounding fraud lies on the actual perpetrators, a part of it belongs also to that large portion of the community who enjoy, and on the whole deserve, the reputation of

of honesty. If a sounder public opinion prevailed on the method of conducting commerce, it would not be in the power of a few reckless depredators to prey upon the life of society. If certain principles were acknowledged, and certain habits adopted by the mercantile classes, a compact coat of mail would encompass the body, and the proboscis of the greedy spoiler could neither find nor make an opening. Honest men must league together and exclude utterly certain methods now current, which afford facilities to those who seek them for perpetrating and concealing crime. There are certain kinds of bills manufactured in a particular way, and bearing a specific name, which honest men do not need, and which afford capital cover for thieves and robbers. Sweep them out of the domain of commerce as you would cut down the trees and brushwood that surround your fort, when a numerous and unscrupulous enemy is hovering in the neighbourhood. Much may be done by honest men to make it more difficult for dishonest men to drive their trade.

Again, merchants who are conscious of right intentions should jealously watch, not only their roguish neighbours, but also themselves. There is a strange proclivity in human nature to lean over to the side on which self-interest lies. The law of the Great Teacher, if rigidly applied, would keep all the marches clear: 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' A high wall between him and the shining apples may powerfully contribute to make the urchin honest; but there is no impassable wall confining a merchant, whether he will or not, within the limits of truth and righteousness. A line is stretched along to mark the border; but if he press, it will yield. A mason builds his wall by such a slender line. He could press it aside, and make it bend in the middle, and get his stones laid beyond the plumb; but he does not so press it aside, for if he did, his wall would tumble, and his labour would be lost. A merchant, however, is always liable to the temptation to push the line of righteousness aside a little, and to hope that the wall will stand as long as he is near it. 'He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool.' Suspect it, and test it by changing places with your neighbour, and considering whether the change of place would change your conduct.

Do not permit riches, or the appearance of riches, to cover a multitude of sins, in the regulation of your intercourse with society. If the man with the gold ring and goodly apparel is admitted to high places in your assemblies, sacred and social, in church or drawing-room, although he has cheated his neighbours and oppressed the poor, you flatter vice and court retribution. Men speak of courage in politics and in war! Courage in social intercourse is much more rare—courage practically to count 'a poor man better than a liar.'

Not

Not as a substitute for a sound public opinion in practical morality, but as an instrument which that opinion may effectually wield, let laws be made and executed which shall make the high position and large transactions of the criminal, not an alleviation but an aggravation of his crime. The comparative impunity with which large frauds are still committed exercises a disastrous influence on the morals of those who are young in years and subordinate in position. We know a young man, lying at this moment in a narrow prison cell, who had been morally and religiously trained by worthy parents, and who never before was charged with any vice. He has been detected in the act of taking the accommodation of a hundred pounds or so, that belonged to his employers. He says, and we believe with truth, that while much was passing through his hands, he only took the loan of a small portion, intending to repay it in due time. His conduct was wrong. It was a sin in God's sight, and a crime against society. His punishment is just. But he knows full well that many are this day sauntering in the Exchange, and returning to their elegant houses, who have notoriously committed the same crime, the only difference being that in their case the appropriation was vastly greater in amount. We do not adduce these facts to support a plea either for setting the smaller culprit free, or for vindictively incarcerating the greater. But we say deliberately and earnestly to the trading community of Britain, that as long as these glaring partialities flaunt shamelessly on the high places of trade, you will labour in vain to educate into tender moral sensibility the crowds of young men who occupy its low places. The escape of a great criminal, with the connivance of public opinion and public law, stimulates and forces into maturity the roots and seeds of crime that slumber indigenous in the hearts of hundreds.

ART. V.—1. *The Illustrated History of Alcohol.* By Frederic R. Lees, Ph.D. London: John Chapman and Co. Nos. 1 to 4. 1843-46.

2. *On the Use and Abuse of Alcoholic Liquors.* A Prize Essay. By William B. Carpenter, M.D., Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in University College. London: C. Gilpin, 1850.

3. *The Pathology of Drunkenness.* A View of the Operation of Ardent Spirits in the Production of Disease, founded on Original Observation and Research. By Charles Wilson, M.D. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1855.

4. *Refutation of the Westminster Review.* By Dr. F. R. Lees, and J. M. MacCulloch, M.D. London: W. Tweedie, 1855.

5.

5. *Principles of Human Physiology.* By W. B. Carpenter, M.D., F.R.S. Fifth Edition. London: John Churchill, 1855.
6. *Alcohol; its Place and Power.* By James Miller, F.R.S.E., Professor of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh. London: Houlston and Wright, 1858.

THE possibility of a Science of Life is founded on the assumption that vital phenomena, like all others, are regulated by laws, invariable and mathematical—that is, by 'forces,' at once precise, ascertainable, and calculable. On this supposition solely is the study of physiology, of diet, disease, and medicine, of any conceivable utility or interest. Neither temperance nor intemperance, neither wisdom nor folly in relation to health, can be possible, where *no sanitary laws* exist, or where the forces at work are transient and fluctuating. Morality itself becomes meaningless, where physical laws are unknown; even the very idea of causation has for its background and basis the ultimate conception of *fixedness*. Hence the practical interest of the world in biological studies. Physiological law is the unfaltering expression of that Omnipotence which rolls along the planets in their orbit, and poises the sun in his central effulgence. These laws accept no bribe, endure no rival, and hold no parley. The body of man lives under the stern covenant of works, 'Do and live, disobey and die.' In vain you plead a throbbing head—a burning thirst—a morbid craving—a strong temptation and weakened will—in arrest of judgment. Whatsoever is sown in *this* field of action, of *that*, and no other seed, must be the harvest which is reaped. The violated law (though, after all, mercy in disguise) marches on, like a remorseless Nemesis, to the fulfilment of the covenant. He who fully apprehends this truth, will feel the absurdity of the common but latent expectation, 'that the cunning physician can reconcile intemperance with health.'

The fact of the complexity of the conditions and processes of life, and the consequent difficulty of discovering them, is by no means a reason for abandoning their persistent pursuit; much less is it any justification for indifference or doubt: it is rather a more urgent call for the careful consideration of the methods and paths to be followed, in order to reach and master these laws. The history of biological inquiry is pregnant with examples of the extent to which science may be retarded in its progress by exclusive methods, scholastic authorities, and hasty hypotheses. On the one hand, vitalists have discarded the explanations of mathematicians and chemists; and on the other, mechanists and chemists have attempted the solution of vital phenomena by the partial, and therefore exaggerated, application of their favourite principles. Now obviously, in the incessant molecular motion characteristic of vital

vital structures, we have a process which furnishes no fixed quantities for the geometers to manipulate; yet it cannot be denied, that a rational understanding of animal mechanics—of the complex structure and play of the human organism—presupposes some previous acquaintance with mathematical science; and it is equally certain that the laws of equilibrium and of motion, of the conversion of forces, as of heat into steam or electricity, are mathematical questions of *quantity* (or energy), irrespective altogether of the special character of the force. It is a pernicious fallacy to suppose that the complexity of forces and operations in man at all detracts from the *certainty* and *stability* of their action—in short, their 'invariableness;' or that the general truths of statics and dynamics are not as perfectly illustrated in the body of man, as in any machine of art, or in the masses of the solar system. The only material difference is this, that in man there resides a power which enables him to change the direction of movement, and to disturb the equilibrium *at will;* and by this unique endowment he is constituted a morally responsible being.

The mathematical method of *exactness* is essential to the success of biological pursuits. The *facts* to which that method is applied, must of course be collected by careful induction—by crucial experiment which shall eliminate extraneous conditions on the one hand, and by a broad and varied experience which shall, so to speak, absorb them, on the other. In fine, the strict conditions of scientific evidence must be fulfilled, and all 'authority'—all mere 'plausibility' and seeming—rigidly rejected. We would not, however, absolutely exclude all conjectural *hypotheses.* As in the well-known cases of Newton's law of gravitation, and Dalton's atomic theory, a rational hypothesis may be provisionally adopted. Ideality may carry the torch which lights the way to reality; but we must not mistake it for the object itself. Let it be regarded as a fiction *waiting* to be tested by fact, and no harm can come of it. Of the dignity and worth of biological study, few can entertain a doubt. Apart from its practical value, a mastery of the laws of life has in the past, and will still more in the future, be accepted as the surest measure and most certain mark of intellectual superiority.

To biology several other studies and collateral sciences are subordinated, such as anatomy and pathology, pharmacy, therapeutics, and regimen, but more particularly chemistry, which forms a distinct *preliminary* science. The modern doctrine of TEMPERANCE, associated with one of the most notable popular movements which the historian of the nineteenth century will have to record, blends itself intimately, as a theory of regimen, with both physiology and chemistry; while, regarded as a personal and social question, it finds an appropriate chapter in the science of ethics.

ethics. Temperance doctrine, therefore, has a prime and essential relation to three things:—

1st. To the *physical agent* of intoxication, by virtue of which the question comes within the domain of chemistry.

2nd. To the *work of alcohol in the living body*, which limits the question to a discussion in physiology.

3rd. To the *moral and social consequences* of drinking, which refers the problem to the decision of deontology, or the science of duty.

These, in fact, are the three cardinal points to which the agitation of temperance has constantly tended, notwithstanding occasional divergencies, which may be compared to the oscillations of the magnetic needle. The common sense of the reformers has adhered with sound Saxon insight and pertinacity to the true issue; and there can be no doubt in the minds of careful observers, that this agitation and discussion, in its entire bearings and consequences, has not only had all the effect of a *national education* on the important and specific topic of food and drink, but has done much to waken up the popular mind to other subjects of great social and moral interest. The advocates of temperance, lay and cleric, have been the itinerant instructors of the people, the heralds of sanitary improvement, the preachers of physical and social purity, the apostles of a dawning science of daily life. Within our memory—though time has not yet silvered our locks—not only the educated portion of society, but the general members of the medical profession, entertained the rudest and most confused notions as to diet; whilst the nation at large was shrouded in the crassest ignorance. Everybody, no doubt, felt their *need* of 'daily bread;' but not one could have given an accurate, and few even a plausible *explanation* of the need, or of the adaptation of the food to the want. Not merely did the people not know what *was* food; they believed almost universally that 'drink' was food—that alcohol was a 'necessary of life;' at once innocent, invigorating, and nutritious! The first light which broke in upon the darkness arose from the progress of chemical analysis, and its application to the chemistry of the body. Dr. Prout's division of food into the *saccharine* and *oleaginous* on the one hand, compounds of three chemical elements only (carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen)—and into the *albuminous* on the other, compounded of a greater numerical complexity of elements (especially of nitrogen)—naturally suggested a distinction of *function* or use. It furnished, moreover, a natural standard of comparison for the value of all food, real or alleged, founded upon the presumed perfection of natural law, as the expression of Divine wisdom. Then came the providential discoveries of Mulder and Liebig, which, at first supposed to countenance the use

use of strong drink, were astutely seized on by the earliest scientific expositors of temperance, in 1843, as demonstrations of 'the science of teetotalism.' Now a flood of light illuminates this entire plane. Analysis, experiment, and, above all, experience, have contributed their testimony; and confusion, obscurity, and darkness have given way to Science—to clear-seeing.

Much opposition had to be encountered by the early and earnest advocates of this new physical temperance, or rather, of an old forgotten temperance revived. But the contest was their discipline and their strength. The conservative critics of custom, the professional advocates of prejudice, as in all similar cases of discovery, sought, in the quaint words of Carlyle, in the opening chapter of the 'Sartor,' to 'erect turnpikes, spiked-gates, and impassable barriers,' in the path of the *unlicensed* adventurers. The obstructions, however, were removed, one by one, and Science, year by year, opened the pages of her illuminated missal to the eager eyes of these new truth-seekers. Perhaps to none can the wise words of Carlyle be more justly applied than to these pioneers of a movement which now constitutes at once the most important branch of life-science popularized to the nation, and that particular field of biological inquiry which is most completely cleared from the doubt and uncertainty that yet hang over so much of the domain of physiology:—

'How often have we seen some adventurous, perhaps much-censured wanderer, light on some outlying, neglected, yet vitally momentous province; the hidden treasures of which he first discovered, and *kept proclaiming till the general eye and effort were directed thither, and the conquest was completed;* thereby planting new standards, founding new habitable colonies, in the immeasurable circumambient realm of nothingness and night. Wise man was he who counselled that speculation should have free course, and look fearlessly towards all the thirty-two points of the compass, whithersoever and howsoever it listed. It is written, "Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased." The plain rule is, Let each *considerate* person have his way, and see what it will lead to: for not this man and that man, but all men make up mankind, and their *united task* the task of mankind.'

From the issue of the prize essay, 'Bacchus,' in 1840, to the publication of Professor Carpenter's 'Human Physiology' in 1855, which contains an admirable summary of the established truths of temperance, there has been a sure and steady advance in science towards the stand-point of the water-drinker. For the verification of this remark we appeal to the scientific works and able popular treatises, written by scientific men of our own land, the titles of which are prefixed to this article; and we may add the interesting fact, that the series of eminent experimenters on the Continent, whose researches and productions have given a new direction and an enormous impetus to biological inquiries—amongst whom we may especially name Liebig, Otto, Huss, Vierordt, Mulder, Naas, Böcker, Moleschott, Morel, and Lehmann

mann—have confirmed, in every particular, the leading principles of the temperance reformers of Britain; and in no instance have they turned up any nullifying or hostile fact. Putting aside as inconclusive, or impertinent in science, a lax phrase or loose 'opinion' here and there, the temperance doctrine may be absolutely *formularised* out of their own works, and even in their very words.

We proceed to indicate some of the chief facts and principles which may now be regarded as *established* in relation to this subsidiary branch of chemical, physiological, and ethical science.

1st. As to the CHEMISTRY of alcoholic liquors. 'The substances (lignin, sugar, starch, and gum) which constitute the *principal mass* of every vegetable, are compounds of carbon, with oxygen and hydrogen *in the proper relative proportions for forming water.* In another class (the organic acids) the proportion of oxygen is greater than would be required for producing water by union with hydrogen. A third class (volatile and fixed oils) may be regarded as compounds of carbon with the elements of water, and an *excess of hydrogen.*'* Alcohol ranges under this type of substance. 'Nature never forms spirituous liquors; she rots the grape upon the branch; but it is *art* which converts the juice into wine.' † 'Alcohol does not exist ready formed in plants, but is a product of the *vinous fermentation.*' ‡ 'This name is given to the peculiar decomposition which the different species of sugar undergo *in certain circumstances.*' § 'The formation of alcohol takes place *at the expense* of the destruction *of a vegetable principle*: thus spirituous fermentation is a commencement of the *destruction* of principles formed by vegetation.' ‖ Chemistry may be defined as the science of the transformation of matter, by the play of mutual affinities. Sugar is that special combination expressed symbolically as $C_{12} H_{12} O_{12}$. 'Substances containing no nitrogen *require*, in order to their undergoing this metamorphosis [of fermentation], the presence of a nitrogenized substance already in a state of putrefaction' [*i. e.* yeast]. This ferment disturbs the existing equilibrium, or cohesion of the sugar-atoms, and effects a literal cleavage. All the hydrogen-atoms, 8 of the carbon, and 4 of the oxygen re-form as 2 equivalents of *alcohol* ($C_4 H_6 O_2$), and the remaining 4 atoms of carbon and 8 of oxygen adhere as 4 equivalents of carbonic acid gas ($C_2 O_2$). 'It follows from these results that, in fermentation, sugar produces these *new substances* by a new grouping of its elements.' Thus, to the old, and we

---

* *Liebig:* 'Organic Chemistry,' 1st ed., p. 3.
† *Chaptal:* 'L'Art de faire le Vin,' p. 2.
‡ *Turner:* 'Elements of Chemistry,' 2nd ed., p. 664.
§ 'Turner's Chemistry,' edited by *Liebig*, p. 990.
‖ *Fourcroy:* 'Philosophy of Chemistry,' c. xii.

would

would fain hope exploded notion, that alcohol exists *in* the sugar, science gives its emphatic answer in the negative. 'None of the atoms of carbon are contained in the sugar *as carbonic acid.* . . The hydrogen of the sugar does not exist in it *in the form of alcohol*, for it is converted into water and a kind of carbonaceous matter, when treated with acids; and this manner of decomposition is never suffered by a compound of alcohol. Sugar, therefore, contains neither alcohol nor carbonic acid.' * Alcohol, it is clear, can have no claim to rank amongst the *natural* gifts of Providence; and is distinctly different in its typical chemical composition from the chief bulk of them. It is, moreover, a fluid, not a solid, and the result of decomposition, not of growth. If these facts are indications of its general unfitness as food, its chemical properties determine its absolute unsuitableness as a circulating medium like water. 'Alcohol greedily absorbs water [even] from the atmosphere, and *deprives animal substances of the water they contain*, causing them to shrivel up. Hence its use in *preserving* anatomical preparations.' † An antiseptic fluid is obviously not an appropriate vehicle of life.

It is a singular fact, that in the vital organisms, both of plants and animals, *precautions* seem to have been taken against the formation of alcohol. In the grape the albumen is not only separated from the saccharine matter by a membrane, but, as if to protect the albumen from being changed into *yeast* by the action of the air, it is put into the very *cellar*, or innermost repository of its structure. It has been shown by experiment and analysis ‡ that *putrefying* grapes yield no alcohol; and even in the abnormal chemical processes set up under disease in the living body there is no reason whatever for believing that the *vinous* fermentation, attended with the production and manifesting the presence of alcohol, ever occurs. Fermentation of starch no doubt takes place in gastric catarrh, as it would out of the stomach, according to the nature of the secreted mucus. Frerich observed the gummy, lactic, acetic, and butyric variety; but we find no proof on record of the alcoholic.§ Physiological chemistry has demonstrated that grape-sugar (*glucose*)—and this kind of sugar alone is susceptible of the vinous fermentation ‖—will not become oxidized in the blood until the liver has changed it into *animal* sugar; and that it then yields by oxidation, not alcohol and carbonic acid, but *lactic acid*, which has a special work to do before

---

* *Liebig*: 'Organic Chemistry,' p. 248.

† 'Turner's Chemistry,' edited by *Liebig*, p. 874.

‡ Works of Dr. Lees, i. p. 124.

§ *Lehmann*: 'Physiological Chemistry,' ii. p. 134.

‖ Cane-sugar ($C_{12}H_{11}O_{11}$) is changed into *glucose* by combination with an atom of water (HO), before it can be split up into alcohol and carbonic acid.

it

it is burnt up.* 'Scherer has called attention to a peculiar kind of sugar (*inosite*), incapable of fermentation, and found in the muscular juice.'† The most extensive survey of chemical physiological facts ever made by one man, and collated in one work, has led the philosophical and accomplished collector to this conclusion, in regard to *normal* processes within the living body:—'It must be frankly confessed that the assumption of fermentative actions in any process, is nothing more than an indication of our positive ignorance.'‡

Chemical analysis has shown that the 'virtues' of the best wines of the Continent, and the principles which render them costly, reside *in the grape*, and are, therefore, not the products of fermentation, but of growth. A passage from the 'Animal Chemistry' of Liebig has been frequently cited in laudation of the famous wines of the Rhine, the true purport of which has been strangely overlooked. The Baron says:—'The nobler wines produce a minimum of injurious after-effect.' Why? Because 'the consequences of the action of alcohol on the nervous system are, *after a certain time*, more or less neutralized.' The evil *to be* neutralized is distinctly admitted; and that it consists in the action of the alcohol, which is, therefore, *not* the valuable element of the wine. Now, how are 'the effects rendered harmless?' 'By a corresponding increase in the excretions of the lungs and the kidneys.' And how is this effected? By the action of the *organic acids and salts*, which pre-exist in the grape-juice.§ Mulder has shown, in his recent 'Chemistry of Wine,' that it is not the alcohol nor the sugar, but the acids, salts, and 'bouquet' in wines which determine their price. Amongst the new elements produced by fermentation of grape-juice (*must*), the chief are alcohol and œnanthic ether—'a fœtid liquid.' 'Let no one imagine,' says Mulder, 'that since fresh wine is not fragrant, it cannot, therefore, *contain* odoriferous substances, and that these must necessarily be the products of fermentation. The juice of many grapes is fragrant before fermentation; but the young wine contains excess of œnanthic ether, which causes the wine to affect the head, and *masks* at first the fragrance of the aromatic ingredients of the grape-juice. It is not until the wine has been some time in store, and other fragrant ethers have been engendered from œnanthic ether, that *the original aroma of the grape-juice reappears*. The etherial oils also pre-exist in grape-juice.' If we might give a hint to the

* Vide *Bernard's* Experiments. † *Lehmann*, ii. p. 90. ‡ *Lehmann*, p. 103.

§ Our readers may recollect the famous experience of the Venetian centenarian, Cornaro. He was always best in health during the vintage and the first half of the wine year. He fell off towards summer, because, as the wine aged, it grew *more alcoholic*, and the *saline constituents* (potash, &c.) so healthful to the blood, and previously held in solution, were *precipitated* by keeping.

friends

friends of temperance in Britain, we should suggest the formation, not of a wine company to procure genuine port and sherry, but of a *dessert company*, which should apply the known principles of science, illustrated in the preservation of cauliflowers and green vegetables, to the preservation of luscious grapes and other matured fruits—the profuse introduction of which would rapidly displace from most tables the factitious and poisonous compounds now designated as 'wines.'

2nd. As to the PHYSIOLOGY of alcoholic beverages. We say 'beverages,' because the therapeutical uses of alcohol have no relation to the dietetic save that of *contrast*, and because the facts of that question are in too unsettled a state to have any pretensions to the name of scientific verities. Even were that not the case, we should remit the topic to a properly-qualified medical tribunal; on the one hand, content to concede that 'in poison there *is* physic,' and on the other to infer the converse, that 'in physic there is *poison*.'

> 'Within the infant rind of this small flower,
> Poison hath residence, and med'cine power.' *

Arsenic often acts excellently as an antidote to the poison of the viper, and, for anything we know, alcohol may possess similar virtues. It is no doubt an agent of great potency; as a beverage for the people it has proved itself an agent of vast evil; but as a medicine it may, nevertheless, possess some utility.

The question of the *topical* effects of alcohol may be dismissed on the ground that no one disputes the fact that pure alcohol is a violent and deadly poison, inasmuch as, applied to the extremities of a nerve or muscle, it produces precisely the same reactions and disturbance as the vegetable alkaloid poisons, as the mineral acids, and as prussic acid or chloroform. What, however, if it be largely diluted? Fact evinces that in such case the virus is sheathed, not neutralized. Proof spirit undoubtedly manifests, not only an inflammatory and corrugating, but corrosive, influence on the living tissue. Common rum, of which 70 per cent. is water, will not only warm but burn the mouth, and *deaden* the nerve of a decayed tooth. In the remarkable and now well-known case of St. Martin, who had an orifice into his stomach, rendering the interior of that organ visible to the naked eye, Dr. Beaumont records two conclusive facts: 1, that fermented liquors had the same topical effects as ardent spirits, and when continued for some days, alike reddened and inflamed the gastric surfaces; and, 2, that the serious lesions of this organ were *unfelt* by the subject of them. These facts certainly tend to show that it is a delusion to infer innocency of result from the mere absence of

* *Shakspere*: 'Romeo and Juliet.'

sensation

sensation of injury; or to believe that the copious mixture of 'honest water' with an acrid stimulant will reduce the effect of the poison to *zero*.

The general influence of alcoholic beverage, as it exists diluted in the blood, in 'relation' to the chemico-vital processes involved in the appropriation of food, and the functions of nutrition and excretion, is the question of primest importance.

Mulder was the first chemist who enounced the great law of the dependence of the animal on the vegetable kingdom for the *materials* of its nutrition. Nature, which supplies no alcohol, has nevertheless spread upon her table a rich banquet of adapted food; yet, amidst a vast variety of form and flavour in the dishes, the essential proximate elements of human aliment are reducible to three—*sugar*, *oil*, and *albumen*. Of these, at a rough proportion, 7-10ths should be saccharine or starchy matter, 1-10th oleaginous, and 2-10ths albuminous. To explain the function of these substances, we must remind the reader, that the human body is a vital machine, an animated locomotive, the parts of which are in a condition of perpetual flux, or molecular change. Within the vital wrappings of an adult body of 150 pounds weight, we have—

	lbs.
Motive and sensitive structure (flesh, nerve, &c.)	17
Earthy substance for support (bones, &c.)	10
Oil, sugar, and waste circulating matter (awaiting combustion)	6
Water of circulation	113

The beautiful experiments of Schmidt and of Chossat agree in bringing us to the conclusion, that *the daily quantity of properly-selected food* demanded by an animal body, in order to sustain its structure without loss, *must be* 1-23*rd of its own weight*. The food divides itself into two kinds, corresponding to two general functions (nutrition and combustion)—namely, *histogenetic*, to nourish or build up the fabric, and *combustible*, to sustain the temperature. Sugar and oil primarily and mainly constitute the fuel, while albumen typifies the plastic or nutritive elements. This classification, however, though true in a broad sense, is not to be accepted as exclusive or exhaustive. The fat, for example, is also required as an adjunctive element in the *digestion* and *deposit* of nutritive matter. The tissues, again, after becoming effete, and undergoing certain regressive changes, are economically employed as combustible material. Indeed, it is by the action of *oxygen* that all tissues are reduced to excretive forms, and thus finally eliminated from the body. 'The oxidation of combustible matter in the blood is effected *in the capillaries*. The oxygen is taken up in the lungs, and carried by the blood to the distant capillary vessels. Here the *combustion* takes place;'* not directly, how-

* *Fownes:* 'Chemistry.' Ed. 1844, p. 514. Not in the lungs, as loosely

ever, but by discrete degrees, an equivalent of sugar, for instance, being changed into 2 of lactic acid ($C_6 H_6 O_6$), not at once converted into carbonic acid and water. It is this property of oxygen which constitutes it *vital air*, though one which led mere chemists some years back into the fallacy of regarding oxygen as a *foe* to living structure. The fallacy yet lingers, for we occasionally hear of alcohol being recommended as a combustible to *protect* the tissues from the *destructive* action of oxygen!—quite an imaginary evil, since 'there is no disease characterised by a *too sudden* or rapid oxidation of the blood.'* Lehmann thus refers to the threefold elements of food:—'The proportions in which these factors of nutrition are mixed in the diet, exert the most decided influence on the welfare of the organism, their intermixture being essential to the metamorphosis of matter. Great as are the fluctuations which nature allows in these proportions, *an undue preponderance of one or other* of the factors *always acts injuriously* upon the due course of nutrition. No single section of this process can go on without the concurrence of *all* these factors. Thus all experiments teach us that the carbo-hydrates (*sugar*, &c.) alone are not sufficient for the formation of fat; protein bodies (*albuminates*), as well as *salts*, must co-operate in the metamorphosis.'†

Alcohol has no pretensions to rank as a histogenetic aliment. '*Beer, wine, spirit*, &c., furnish no element *capable* of entering into the composition of blood, muscular fibre, or any part which is the seat of the vital principle.'‡ 'Alcohol does not effect any direct

---

implied in the witty and popular work, No. 6 (pp. 6, 24) at the head of our article. But a Liverpool newspaper lately announced, on the alleged authority of Liebig, that '*the stomach* was the place of combustion!' Challenged to the proof, he adduces a passage which says that combustion takes place '*in the living body!*' This is the fallacy, of which another most amusing form is the following:—'Food is force: alcohol is force. Therefore, alcohol is food!' The fallacy consists in identifying two *things* because one of their *attributes* is the same, as thus:—'Man is mortal, an ass is mortal: Ergo, An ass is (that) MAN!' The conclusion would seem just enough if restricted to the logical architect of such a syllogism, which contains, besides, fallacies of equivocation and confusion. Food *gives* nutritive force; while alcohol only *expends* it. Hence the sophism of the copulative '*is*.' Alcohol, in fact, neither increases heat, nor contributes to nutrition. The same writer, in an article on 'Food and Drink,' maintains that water is food—salt is food—lime is food—and that there is *no ground* for the distinction between histogenetic and combustive food! We have carefully considered his reasons, which amount simply to this: that, under certain circumstances, both kinds of food may serve to form *part* of tissue, while both are undoubtedly burnt, and that all these elements are *essential*. All this does not reconcile us to the paradox, nor alter the obvious facts—that though *air* unites with the body and is essential, it is not 'food;' that our daily drink is not our 'daily bread;' that the matter of the muscle is not oil, though oil may be needful in the process of making it; and that, though albumen may be finally decomposed, its *first* use was that of a building material.

* *Lehmann:* iii. 'On Respiration.' † *Lehmann:* iii., p. 430.

‡ *Liebig*: 'Chemical Letters,' 1844, p. 57.

restitution

restitution, *nor deserve the name of an alimentary principle.** Still it passes into the blood. By the oxygen we inhale it is burnt into acetic acid and water, and finally into water and carbonic acid. But the oxygen [necessarily limited], which decomposes the alcohol, *is withdrawn from the albuminous and fatty substances* of the blood. . . . In addition, both special experiment and ordinary experience prove that alcoholic beverages *diminish the quantity of carbonic acid exhaled.*' The fatty and effete matters of the blood, therefore, remain to *accumulate*, since the alcohol appropriates the oxygen appointed to consume them, and which, by their combustion, is destined at once to warm and purify the living temple. Thus alcohol is obnoxious to the charge of perverting both nutrition and excretion; impairing the integrity of the one, and diminishing the activity of the other. It has the same tendency on another ground; because it is an exciter of the nervous system, expending 'force,' but never *conferring* it. It is upon the full and regular activity of that system, which it disturbs, that the normal intensity of all nutritive and excretive processes are regulated. Obesity, biliousness, and fatty degeneration of the tissues, are the natural developments of these tendencies;† and to prevent, as well as alleviate such disorders, abstinence is plainly indicated.

'While the enlightened practitioner is disposed to attach at least as much importance to a rational *dietetic* as to a specifically therapeutic mode of treatment, the value of investigations on normal respiration, in reference to the science of medicine, can never be over-rated; for when once the fact is universally admitted, THAT THE FIRST THING IN MANY DISEASES IS TO FURNISH A COPIOUS SUPPLY OF OXYGEN TO THE BLOOD WHICH HAS BEEN LOADED WITH IMPERFECTLY DECOMPOSED SUBSTANCES, *and to remove as speedily as possible the carbonic acid which has accumulated in it*, these observations will have afforded us true *remedial agents*, which exceed almost every other in the certainty of their action.'‡

Under the influence of alcohol, the respiratory function is never *normal*, a tenth of the carbonic acid being retained. The characteristic property of food, as distinguished from that of foreign or toxic bodies, is its *innocency* in relation to structure. It does not excite, irritate, or inflame. Syrup, flour, oil, white of egg, are soothing or neutral. Hence, in following their changes in the human body, we can calculate upon them as chemical compounds of a fixed value for their respective purposes. There is no *disturbing* element—no drawback—no complication. Their values as heat-givers can be tabulated. Fat, in 100 parts, is equal to 240 of starch, 249 of cane-sugar, and 266 of brandy. 'But although,' as Lehmann remarks,—

* *Moleschott:* 'Lehr der Nahrungs-mittel. Erlangen, 1853.

† Alcohol, as Naas shows, occasioned an augmentation of the *fluid* bile, but a diminution of its solid constituents. On the other hand, Bidder and Schmidt found that water increased the solids of the bile greatly. The same distinction holds of the gastric juice. Alcohol, by *arresting* vital metamorphosis, dries up the fountain of the solid *effective* constituents of the digestive juices. Hence, water-drinkers have the best appetites and digestion.

‡ *Lehmann*, iii.

'In our considerations of the influence of ordinary food on the respiratory function, we have deduced the results of the observations from purely *chemical* relations, *we should greatly err* were we to adopt the same method in reference to certain substances occasionally introduced into the organism, such as the *æthereal oils, alcohol, theine, &c.* Their immediate effect reminds us that there are *nerves* in the animal organism which exert the most important influence on all its functions, *on nutrition as well as on respiration*, and that, consequently, they in some degree disturb that uniform course of phænomena which we might suppose would result from chemical laws. WE CANNOT, THEREFORE, BELIEVE THAT ALCOHOL, THEINE, ETC., WHICH PRODUCE SUCH POWERFUL REACTIONS ON THE NERVOUS SYSTEM, BELONG TO THE CLASS OF SUBSTANCES CAPABLE OF CONTRIBUTING TOWARDS THE MAINTENANCE OF THE VITAL FUNCTIONS.'

May not alcohol be regarded, however, when taken in moderate doses, so as not to narcotize the nerves, as an element of *fuel?* Is it not certainly decomposed, and so gives out heat? Yes, all this *is* certain: but the common inference that alcohol *therefore* warms the body is, nevertheless, a fallacy. The fact is, as long since pointed out, that 'alcohol robs the blood of oxygen, and thus *keeps* within the system uncombusted an amount of oil and waste matter, which, if permitted to unite with the fresh air now abstracted by the alcohol, would have given out to the vital current *a much greater amount* of animal heat.'* Oil and sugar are always present in the blood: they are of greater value than alcohol as fuel; hence, as the oxygen inbreathed cannot combine at once with *both* the natural and artificial element, *the drinker loses the difference in value.* In accordance with this calculation, the experiments of Dr. Davy, in 1845, and of Professor Davis, of America, in 1850, show that the thermometer indicates an invariable fall of temperature after the use of alcohol.† Dr. Lees, and Professors Carpenter, Gregory, Miller, and others, have adduced an overwhelming mass of experience to prove the superiority of a natural fatty diet in the Arctic regions for resisting cold; as well as furnished some very striking examples of the exemption from disease in warm climates conferred by habits of water-drinking. Want of space compels us to pass by with a bare reference numerous interesting experiments in relation to the effect of alcohol upon the structure of the tissues and of the blood, and upon the functions of the liver. Dr. Böcker's curious observations confirm all preceding inquiries as to the effect of *small doses* of alcohol (whether as wine, beer, or spirit) in diminishing the amount of carbonic acid, and of the phosphates, eliminated. It 'increased the coloured clot, *which reddened much less rapidly* on exposure to the air; and contained many more of the pale *unnucleated discs* than is usual in perfect health; and which Dr. Virchow regarded as *defunct bodies*, or partially effete matters.'‡

3rd. As to the ETHICS of this question. One great fact stands

---

* *Dr. Lees:* 'History of Alcohol,' 1846. 'Works,' i. p. cli.

† 'Works of Dr. Lees,' iii. ‡ 'Beiträge zur Heilkunde.' Crefeld, 1849.

prominently

prominently forth from the pages of experience and of science—that alcohol is, in a special sense, a *brain-poison.* It attaches itself to brain-substance with peculiar avidity—remains there last and longest. Its peculiarly deceptive power depends upon its action on the nerves and nervous centres. It first delights and then enslaves. It is, indeed, 'a very dangerous and tricksy spirit.'* When it is recollected that the power of the will is greatest over the automatic actions of the cerebrum, and least over the lower nervous centres ministering to 'the flesh,'—that alcohol and other narcotics *intensify* the automatic action of the lower centres, while they weaken and disturb the functions of cerebration involved in the development of moral volition,—the Christian moralist will perceive what a momentous individual duty this knowledge imposes.

Nor are the relations of temperance to social science less important. Alcohol, in subverting intelligence and self-control, antagonises the government which paradoxically sanctions its sale. This question, moreover, has its relations to trade and commerce, wages and capital, pauperism, insanity, and crime. As one affecting public health and economy, it transcends all others. Alcohol is a great anti-ventilator. It feeds disease internally, and perpetuates the chief objective conditions of it amongst the poor. Its use is as constantly fatal to the health of our population at home, as it was to our soldiers in the Crimea, when, at *the very time* that the sick rate of the British force encamped under better sanitary circumstances than the Turkish contingent, was 6, 7, and 8 per 100, the Turkish rate was but 2 per cent.; and while the Turkish sickness, under the prevalence of *scurvy*, never *rose* higher than 5 per cent., the sickness of the British force, in its most *healthy* state, never *sank* lower than that proportion. If statistics, at home and abroad, prove anything whatever, there is the clearest evidence that one-half of the sickness of the civilised world is, simply and solely, due to alcohol. When our social leaders may be disposed fairly to examine and grapple *this* aspect of the 'Condition-of-England question,' we cannot tell; but the need is pressing. An intestine war is being waged between the tavern and intelligence, appetite and knowledge, legal temptation and moral suasion; during which temperance societies can barely keep their own. Enthusiasm should be guarded by conservative laws, which would bring our *institutions* into harmony with our theories. With much to encourage, there is no little to fear. Sensualism is robust and rampant, while the moral bonds of society seem to wax feebler, and on some hands to be dissolving. The destiny of Britain, we verily believe, turns upon this question of temperance. If our national vice be not effectually stemmed,

* 'Westminster Review,' July 1855.

the

the mental and physical constitution of the people alike will become corrupted and depraved. The Continent, through some of its wisest men, has already lifted up its warning voice. If drinking goes on, mental and moral imbecility will increase; nameless *taints* will ramify and spread, broader and deeper; until successive generations of physical deterioration ultimately terminate in national decay. But England a *sober* nation—what would be the glory of her past, compared to the splendour of her future!

ART. VI.—1. *Prostitution, considered in its Moral, Social, and Sanitary Aspects.* By William Acton, M.R.C.S. London: John Churchill. 1857.

2. *The Greatest of our Social Evils.* By a Physician. London: H. Baillière. 1857.

3. *Reports of Associate Institute and Society for the Protection of Women.*

4. '*The Times*,' *January, February, March.*

A CONSCIENTIOUS and zealous desire to correct the social evils that beset us constitutes one of the most encouraging signs of the times. The efforts that have lately been made to reform the criminal, to instruct the ragged, to educate the ignorant—however short these efforts may be of what is required—furnish, nevertheless, so many unanswerable proofs of the existence and spread of the conviction that it is the duty of every one individually to promote, as far as he can, the welfare of all collectively. Man is not more distinguished from the brute creation by his reason, than by his social instincts. The heathen philosophic poet felt this;* but it remained for the divine Author of Christianity to consecrate the sublime principle of universal benevolence, and to give the authority of God himself to the glorious command 'to love our neighbour as ourselves.' That this ennobling and exalted moral principle should have been so lamentably forgotten and practically forsaken by men professedly Christian, is only one proof, amongst many that might be adduced, that mankind are very little apt to carry out principles which they theoretically profess so positively that no greater insult could be offered them than would be implied by a suspicion of the sincerity of their profession.

Yet it is quite certain that, in this Christian land of England, many—very many—thousands of women are leading lives of open, notorious profligacy; many of the streets of our great cities are thronged at night with shameless creatures, who, not content with

* Juv. 'Sat.' xv. 131—140.

parading

parading their dishonour before the world, do not scruple to annoy and disgust even unwilling men with their solicitations; infamous houses are kept for the avowed purpose of prostitution; an acknowledged trade is carried on by panders and procuresses, in the bodies of women, both foreign and English. All this national disgrace and personal brutality has been carried on, and is spreading, in the very heart of us, to the disgust and scandal of the moral, the just horror of the pious, and the danger of all; yet, until within a short time, hardly an effort has been made to check this prodigious and abominable evil. Legislators, statesmen, and philanthropists, who have been the foremost to acknowledge and lament the mischief, seem, by general and almost unanimous consent, to have despaired of a remedy, and to have resigned themselves over to the toleration of one of the most alarming of all social evils, from fear or incapacity to grapple with it. We have no hesitation in attributing this inactivity and strange unwillingness to attempt the correction of an admitted public plague, *to a want of moral courage.* Men, whose labours on behalf of the needy, the ignorant, and the oppressed, are beyond all praise—men who shrink from no labour, and care for no peril, in the prosecution of their generous works of benevolence—nevertheless refuse to take active part in applying a remedy to a social disease, infinitely more dangerous and fatal to the well-being of the body politic than many of the various evils which it is their business and their glory to hunt out, and to endeavour to cure. There are few men in either house of parliament who would willingly introduce a Bill to check prostitution. Yet the man who should succeed in putting a legal restraint on prostitution would be entitled to as deep gratitude and a reward as noble at the hands of the people, as any philanthropist who ever made their welfare his special and successful study. The introduction of a wise enactment on this subject would expose the mover to the ridicule of the profligate and the silly; and men who are brave enough to face death itself are afraid of a sneer.

It must be confessed it is a matter in which the conduct of the best men is liable to misconstruction: which, however, is no reason whatever for relinquishing it; but an unanswerable reason for bracing our moral nerves up to a higher pitch, and resolving to exert them with firmer and bolder muscle. Let us hope that the increased interest in the matter which has lately been manifested by various public bodies will produce a wholesomer and braver spirit in our legislators. The vast parishes of St. James and Marylebone, in London, have felt and are still feeling so sorely the injurious social effects, as well as moral infamy, which prostitution has brought on them, that several public meetings have been held in them for the purpose of devising methods of abating the

plague.

plague. There is a society called 'The Associate Institute for Enforcing and Improving the Laws for the Protection of Women.' It has courageously and successfully carried on about a hundred and thirty prosecutions of brothels, procuresses, and others concerned in the iniquitous trade of prostitution. The publicity given to its proceedings, and especially its annual reports, have emboldened many private persons to come forward and assist them in their work; have put public bodies in possession of important statistical facts; and have left every one without excuse who remains ignorant of the magnitude and malignity of the evil, which is really sapping the foundations of our social welfare.

We fear there can be no doubt that the pestilence is increasing amongst us. As for the numbers of women now living in England on the wages of prostitution, it is quite impossible for any reliable statistics to be made out on the subject. The numbers may be calculated, however, at all events by twenties of thousands; and this vast multitude comprises women of all ranks, conditions, and degrees. Many of those who live on the wages of prostitution drive about the London parks in dashing equipages, are to be seen at the opera, and are well-known riders in various hunts. Many of them are the daughters of gentlemen, who, having fallen from honour, often become as low in thought, as degraded in feeling, and as brutal in manner, as the vilest and most uneducated members of their unhappy calling. Many of them are the daughters of tradesmen, who having been seduced, or willingly ruined, never return to their family: it is remarkable that the moral fall of a daughter seems seldom or never to be forgiven by parents in this rank of life. Some of these poor women get married; but the large majority of them go through a tolerably regular process of intemperance, disease, misery, beggary;—and all is ended by an early death of ignominy and agony.

Many of them are persons of the very lowest rank; utterly ignorant, unlettered, and brutal: they are the most to be pitied of all,—for they are the children of parents who cared nothing for them,—often, indeed, of parents who encouraged them in their sin, for the sake of getting rid of them, or of enabling them to gain money. The control exercised by farm-servants and agricultural labourers over their daughters is generally trifling—very often nothing; and this class of persons unhappily contribute a considerable item to the multitude of public prostitutes. French women now form a regular and important part of the courtesans in our cities. Sorry also we are to add, that many girls of very tender age, under sixteen, are to be found carrying on this trade of sin. Thus, almost every rank and class in the state furnishes its proportion of supply to the enormous amount of public infamy and misery. If the numbers of these unhappy women may be reckoned

reckoned by twenties of thousands, the sums of money annually spent on them may certainly be estimated at several millions!

The systematic audacity and effrontery with which their proceedings are now carried on, particularly in the metropolis, is as remarkable as it is offensive. Certain parts of London are appropriated by certain sections of them as if they claimed them by tacit and indefeasible right of possession. The eastern side of Regent-street is the exclusive beat of French women, after, and for some time before, sunset. As soon as these foreigners have taken their ground, no decent Englishwoman can venture to be seen in the greatest and noblest of the thoroughfares of the metropolis!

St. James's Park is invaded, after dark, by a body of some of the vilest prostitutes of London. It is very extraordinary, but quite true, that in no place in England is the brutality of open profligacy more disgustingly exhibited than in the space immediately under the windows of the palace of our Queen! St. James's Park, after dark, is forbidden ground, not only to respectable women, but to respectable men!

Such scenes are publicly enacted nightly in these places as would not be tolerated in the worst part of any continental city. We may reasonably ask, Have the English people lost all sense of personal respect, and all regard for national character and honour?

It is impossible to form anything like a correct estimate of the extent and magnitude of the evils produced by this detestable system of prostitution. The amount of physical suffering, in the shape of loathsome and ghastly disease, is prodigious. The records of our hospitals bear hideous testimony to the ravages of this frightful system. The number of victims who are sacrificed every year to our public allowance of brutal sin is enormous. The ramifications of mischief and misery produced by prostitution are almost countless. There is probably not a single family in England that has not suffered in some way from this national sin. Many lads and young men are sent from the country to our great towns as apprentices, or students, or shopmen, or labourers. Virtuous, amiable, unsullied as yet by the grosser vices, but inexperienced in the ways of the world, multitudes of them fall into the pit of ruin prepared for them by the allurements of prostitution. Of those that escape bodily and physical ruin, very many contract such habits as are no less ruinous. There is a peculiar moral degradation which accompanies and marks this sin: companionship with abandoned women breaks down all the finer feelings and affections of the heart absolutely and often irretrievably. Many a young man, from being the companion, learns to be the accomplice of a strumpet, and gradually becomes as dishonest; and he who, before his fatal connection with prostitutes, was upright, honourable, and noble in disposition, not seldom ends his days in the felon's

felon's prison! Who can tell how many parents have died heart-broken in consequence of prostitution being publicly permitted, or at least not publicly checked? How many youths, who might have been the pride, the comfort, and the blessing of their family, are consigned year by year to dishonoured and untimely graves, the victims of legislative toleration of exorbitant national sin!

We may be told that, however enormous may be the evils of prostitution, it is impossible to put an end to them. We are quite aware that all the Acts of Parliament in the world cannot hinder men and women from committing sensual sin; but Acts of Parliament may check the open commission of sin; nay, it is the highest, the first, and most solemn duty of a legislature to protect the morals of the people. The indulgence of vice is one thing; its public profession is another and very different thing. Law can deal with public actions; and there is no clearer axiom in political morality than this—that it is the duty, the right, and the business of the state to punish such actions as are inconsistent with the virtue, the happiness, and the welfare of the people. If it is only reasonable that there should be a power of indicting a manufactory where such stench is produced as is inconsistent with the health and comfort of the neighbourhood, how much more reasonable is it that there should be a power of indicting a house which spreads a moral pestilence around it far and near!

Yet almost countless houses are notoriously, avowedly kept as dens of prostitution; and it is idle to say that they may be indicted, for the legal proof required to convict a house of being a brothel is of such a nature as to be a disgusting scandal and disgrace to our statutes. The penalty incurred on conviction is seldom such as to deter any one from continuing or commencing the business of brothel-keeper. Indeed, it may safely be said that the law for putting down these houses of filthy abomination could not have been more cunningly framed if it had been the intention of the legislator, under pretence of checking, really to encourage prostitution, for the expense of prosecuting a brothel is incurred by the parish in which the nuisance stands. It often happens that the officers of a parish infested by these houses are unwilling to prosecute, because they are justly afraid of entailing such unfair expenses on the parish; and, indeed, no great advantage arises to the public from a conviction; for a man who has been convicted of keeping a brothel in the parish of St. James can snap his fingers at his prosecutors, and open a new house on the other side of the street, which happens to be in the parish of St. George! If a boy steals a turnip worth twopence he is prosecuted at the expense of the county, not of the parish, in which the theft was committed. Why is the stealing of a turnip to be brought under county jurisdiction whilst the incalculably greater nuisance and plague of a brothel,

brothel, which is a curse, an infamy, and a scourge to the people all around, whether in the parish or out of it, is to be regarded as matter solely of parochial concern?

It is hardly possible that any one act of felony should produce half as much public evil as the keeping of a brothel is certain to produce. On this primary and fundamental point we are confident that our case is unanswerable and complete. The law for prosecuting brothels is obviously defective and ought to be amended. We are sure that no lawyer, or layman of common sense, will deny the justice of our remarks. But if proper legal facilities were provided for proving a house to be a brothel, and if the expenses of prosecuting such a house were laid, as they ought to be laid, on the county instead of the parochial rates, there can be no doubt that these houses would very soon diminish in number; it would become a bad speculation to keep them: and if they were not absolutely extinguished in time, the inhabitants of them would at least be compelled, in self-defence, to carry on their hateful trade in comparative secrecy; it would be their interest to avoid provoking public attention and arousing public indignation.

The trade of prostitution thrives if it is encouraged. It needs publicity and advertisement. It is in *this* respect that the unrestrained practice of street-walking is so ruinous. Street-walking is the method that prostitutes have of advertising their loathsome trade, and at the same time of exhibiting themselves in the most attractive, because the most deceitful, manner.

We should be glad to know on what principle of public morality, or political expediency, it can be pretended that many of the streets of our great cities should be rendered forbidden ground to all decent people, whilst occupation of them is exclusively claimed by profligate women and their profligate companions. Of the young men who are ruined through prostitution, a large number would have escaped the sin altogether, had they not been exposed to the incessant temptations thrown in their way by the women who infest the streets. The facility of committing sin naturally encourages and multiplies its commission.

For the removal of the plague of street-walking we apprehend that no new law need be enacted: there can be no legal doubt that it is in the power of the Home Secretary to order the police to keep the streets clear of all persons who do not use them for the purposes of passage and legitimate traffic. We can hardly fancy any case in which the police are less likely to abuse their power than this. Prostitutes, in their several beats, are perfectly well known to them. And that a respectable woman should be apprehended, or molested, on the ground that she was acting as a prostitute, is in the last degree improbable: the very fear of the consequences, which an unlucky or unjustifiable prosecution would entail

entail on themselves, must evidently act as a sufficient reason for caution with the police.

There are 'penitentiaries' for the reform of fallen women; but there is a fatality about these institutions,—*they want classification:* and the result of this defect is, that there exists a disinclination on the part of all prostitutes, except those of the very lowest class, to enter them. Indeed, how can we wonder that a woman, who, however degraded she may be in her present condition, is, nevertheless, a lady by birth, education, and feeling, should prefer perishing in misery, to being classed with women of the most abject, the most brutal, and the most uncivilised of their sex? We by no means object to the establishment of penitentiaries; but if they are to exist at all, they should be *public* penitentiaries, regulated by public control, and under the management and care of the legislature.

One main reason why so few steps have hitherto been taken to remove these miseries is to be found in the popular ignorance on the subject. The world at large has no idea of the facts of the case. Let us produce some calculations and statistics, furnished by the best authorities, and to be found collected in Leon Faucher's book, 'The greatest of our Social Evils,' translated and enlarged by 'a Physician.' It is computed that 400,000 persons are, directly and indirectly, connected with prostitution in London; and that a sum of 8,000,000*l.* is expended annually there on that vice alone. There are at least 5,000 brothels there, and not less than 80,000 prostitutes.* This number is, in proportion to the population of London, much greater than the number of prostitutes in Paris. Immense multitudes of children are prostitutes in London. In eight years 2,700 cases of venereal disease, the result of prostitution, in children of from 11 to 14 years of age, were admitted into three London hospitals: at the same places a still greater number were refused admission, for want of room. Two-thirds of the prostitutes of London are under 20 years of age. The great majority of the whole body are themselves thieves, and the agents and accomplices of thieves. Such a machinery for decoying, importing, and using women for the vilest purposes, exists in London, as is to be found in no other European nation. The number of years during which prostitutes in London live is, at the highest average, 7; at the lowest, 4. Many perish by suicide; many become mad. Epidemic fevers invariably carry off multitudes of them. Many end their lives as felons in gaol, or at the antipodes. Dr. Holland calculated that prostitution causes annually 1,652,500 cases of venereal disease in

* With reference to these appalling figures, we find authorities differ. The number of prostitutes is variously given as from 10,000 to 80,000. The first of these statements is bad enough, the last incredible.—Ed.

England:

England: but this calculation was based on the very erroneous theory, that there are not more than 50,000 prostitutes in the United Kingdom. Dr. Holland's estimate ought to be at least tripled, if not quadrupled. Of the recruits for the militia, one-fourth are found, on examination, to be suffering from some form of venereal disease.

Two-thirds of the known thieves of London are in confederacy with the keepers of brothels. These houses furnish thieves with the means of refuge in case of pursuit; with complete organisation and head-quarters; and with money to baffle, or, at all events, resist justice, in case of apprehension. Of 10,000 persons arrested, in one year, in London, 3,605 were prostitutes. Yet only a small portion of the robberies and crimes committed by these women are ever brought to light; because men who have been robbed and half murdered in brothels are generally unwilling, because ashamed, to prosecute. Dr. Ryan states, that near Fleet-ditch almost every house is a low and infamous brothel. Liverpool exceeds in vice even London itself. But it is impossible to make even a probable guess at the multitude of prostitutes to be found at a given moment at this port, because they are perpetually on the move, coming and going. In Manchester, according to the last Report presented to the Watch Committee, by the head constable, Mr. Willis, in the year 1856, there were 263 brothels, and 615 prostitutes. These, in a population of 330,690, are not large numbers. But the mingling of the sexes in our manufactories must be a fruitful and frightful cause of demoralisation. In Edinburgh, with a population of 166,734, according to the valuable calculations of Mr. Tait, there are 800 public, and 1,160 secret prostitutes. These figures, however, are undoubtedly far below the truth.

M. Leon Faucher, from whose book these statistics have been taken, is an able and valuable writer. We regret, however, to see that his English editor, 'A Physician,' throws out constant, and, we may add, most unjust taunts against those moral and religious societies now established amongst us, and which have endeavoured to check public vice. They may have done but little, as compared with what they desire to do; but they have awakened public attention to most important social and moral questions; they have directed and concentrated public thought; they have cleared the way in the public mind for the reception of the 'Physician's' statistics.

We are certain that we have produced enough facts to prove the enormous and awful evils of prostitution. Our space will not permit us to do more than glance at some of its more immediate causes. The first and most striking of these is to be found in the dwellings of the poorer orders. When men, women, boys and girls,

girls, fathers, mothers, sons and daughters;—when multitudes of people of both sexes and all ages herd and sleep together in the same room;—it is obvious that the preservation of any moral sense is impossible. Children literally begin the business of prostitution without knowing the nature of what they are doing. The details of this dreadful system have been published by Mr. Mayhew, and renewed by others, especially by Dr. Acton, in his able book on Prostitution.

This is an evil which it ought to be a primary duty of Government to redress; and there can be no doubt that, in its grosser and more atrocious forms at least, Government *could* redress it.

Another immediate cause of prostitution is to be found in the inadequate wages which multitudes of women, particularly needlewomen, receive. They are—we will not say driven—but strongly tempted, to gain additional money enough to furnish them with the necessaries of life, by going into the streets. The field for female labour in England is almost confined to needle-work and domestic service. Multitudes of men are employed in shop-work, which *ought* to be done by women.

We do not pretend that we have remedies to propose for these evils; but it is a great thing, in endeavouring to apply a remedy to a disease, whether in the natural or the political body, to ascertain the real seat and cause of it.

Dr. Acton thinks, and with justice, that educated youths should be warned and advised by their moral guides and instructors of the ruinous nature and consequences of sensual indulgence. Instead of this, the subject of all others the most important to them, is scarcely ever alluded to. We will add, that the ministers of religion ought to make this matter the subject of their discourse from the pulpit. Why is the most ruinous and degrading of all vices to be passed over in silence?

People who never hear a vice alluded to are not unreasonably apt to think it a venial vice, or one that, if not conventionally permitted, is not to be severely condemned. But when Dr. Acton proposes (p. 177) that a man who seduces a woman should be obliged to pay 'a sum of money to the community, recoverable in the county court or superior court, at the suit of its engine, the union,'—we cannot agree with him. It is evident that he is proposing an enactment which will have no terror for the rich man, and will lessen the enormity of sin in the judgment of the woman.

Seduction ought to be rendered a crime in law: at present it is no crime. The law provides no penalty for it. Yet the man who really seduces a woman is a deeper villain, and commits a more cruel sin against domestic happiness, than the highwayman who lives by plunder on the road. But we must have done.

We

We have been unwillingly compelled to touch with brevity on matters of the highest import to the moral and social interests of the state; but we feel that a great point has been gained, inasmuch as the public mind has now assumed so wholesome a tone, that we can venture to treat this social evil as a legitimate subject of public discussion.

Art. VII.—*Liverpool Police Report*, 1857.

NO Institutions can more truly adopt 'Meliora' as their motto and watchword than Reformatory Schools; for they not only aim at rendering better, in the highest and holiest sense, the unfortunate boys and girls who are the subject of them,—better now, far better in their future life in this world, and infinitely better prepared for the eternal state;—but they have a direct bearing on the next generation, and through it, indirectly, on all future men.

This may seem an exaggerated statement to those who take a superficial view of the subject, or who regard Reformatory Schools only as the offspring of a recent popular movement zealously taken up by a few enthusiasts, and likely soon to share the fate of so many that have had their day and disappeared. But those who comprehend the full bearing of the question, and who have taken a personal share in the work, know full well that it is not so. They believe the words of Him who cannot lie—that just as much at the present day as four thousand years ago, the iniquities of the parents are visited on the children to the third and fourth generation; and will be so for ever, unless those who strive to be fellow-workers with Christ and God, do their very utmost, using every means that experience, and wisdom, and love can dictate, to *seek* and to *save* them that are spiritually lost.

The trustful faith in all that is good and holy which the word 'meliora' implies, is especially needed in the reformatory work. Such faith gives trust that every good seed sown by an earnest loving hand *will* be watered by the heavenly Father's dews, and warmed into life by His sun, and that, while daily watched and tended with prayerful care, it will receive an increase given by no human means;—that a small mustard-seed now, as truly as in the days of the Apostles, may become a large and beneficent tree, shadowing thousands. Such faith had Wichern, when with his mother he gathered two or three miserable children, the outcasts of society, into his 'rough house;'* now his spirit has gone forth,

* A German engraving of 'Das alte Rauhe Haus,' with its large overshadowing tree, and the inmates engaged under it in their daily work, has inscribed under it, in a fac-simile of Wichern's handwriting, the verse 'Luc xiii. 19.'

and

and those that have been saved, first through his faithful work, none may number. So did the venerable John Pounds continue for more than thirty years, with no help but the Divine Spirit within him and his own loving heart, to draw around him as many neglected young ones as his narrow room would hold: bystanders only wondered at the strange taste of the uncouth lame old cobbler; but he was really working out every principle which has now been found essential to the true action of Ragged Schools; and these have touched with Christ's hand of mercy, and will continue to touch, millions, rather than thousands. And when more recently, Sheriff Watson, undaunted by the apparent failure of his first Industrial School, because it did not reach the very class that needed its action, knew that his principle was right, and that he *must* overcome all hindrances in the way of doing his Master's work,—he had that same faith, though he probably little imagined that the system which he was then steadily developing would be carried out extensively and most beneficially, within no very long lapse of years, not only in his own, but in the sister country.

It is proposed in this series of papers, to state succinctly the actual position of the Reformatory movement, confining ourselves to such part of it as is directed especially to the young of the present generation, but embracing all Schools which aim at influencing a class of children, either in the way of *prevention* or of *cure, who, through the extreme poverty, vice, or negligence of their parents, are untouched by the educational movement of our country.* Our particular object will be what are commonly called Reformatory Schools, whether voluntary, or certified by Government for the legal detention of convicted children, embracing both boys and girls. Then, after having taken a general survey of the position of this movement in England, it is intended to enter into such practical details of various institutions, as may help those who either are, or purpose to be, fellow-workers in the cause.

A few preliminary remarks are, however, needed, for on this subject a clear and distinct idea of the nature of the evil we are attempting to remove, and of its causes, is especially needed to guide us in our attempts to remove it.

Reclamation from habits of theft, which are injurious to society, is the obvious intention of Reformatories; teaching habits of industry to begging and vagrant children, and giving them food because they cannot otherwise have it, is the general notion of an Industrial School; teaching in an inferior school little ragged children who are too poor and too miserable to go to the British and National Schools, is the prevalent idea of a Ragged School. The existing evils are commonly believed to be extreme poverty,

poverty, arising from various causes, a certain peculiar tendency to steal, and excessive ignorance. Hence, as there have been recently stated to be as many as four million children in England, who ought by their age to be at school, but who are not in attendance at any, the remedy proposed by some for this ignorance, is a compulsory rating for school purposes of the whole country, so that no child need be debarred by poverty from attending school. The remedies proposed for the *poverty* which is assigned as the cause of the wretchedness of the children vary with the political or philanthropic views of each individual: some suggest a better form of government, the removal of certain abuses, laws to restrain vicious indulgences which are the proximate causes of all the wretchedness; some, improved dwellings and various sanitary regulations. For the young thieves nothing can be done, now imprisoning them has been found to be expensive and useless, but to send them to a Reformatory, which possesses some nostrum for curing them of this very inconvenient moral disorder.

These remedies may or may not be good in themselves; but supposing them all to be excellent, they will not *alone* effect a cure of the evil, simply because they do not touch it, and are founded on a want of knowledge of the real nature of it.

It is perfectly true that gross ignorance and crime are usually found associated together. A striking illustration of this may be derived from a recent Liverpool police report, which contains educational statistics of 19,336 persons, who had been apprehended during the nine months ending Sept. 30, 1856.

Per-centage of those who can read and write well . .	3·00
Ditto ditto imperfectly	41·4
Ditto ditto read only	7·0
Ditto ditto neither read nor write .	48·6
	100·

This per-centage is appallingly low, but it must by no means be regarded as a true indication of the state of education in the country, for we learn from the same table that nearly one-half of these apprehended persons were Irish, 826, or $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{3}$th, were foreigners, not one-fourth natives of Liverpool, and the remainder from various parts of the British dominions. Yet with all deductions it is a fact which should awaken very serious reflection, that a large portion of the existing population of one of the most important towns in the empire is sunk in such deep ignorance, and is in a state of aggression on society, for in such a state, more or less, must we regard all those who require the intervention of the police to preserve good order. Nor is this an accidental or transient condition. 'With respect to the degree of instruction possessed by the persons taken into custody this year,' says Mr. Greig, the

head constable, in his official report, '*there does not appear to be any improvement:* thus confirming the opinions expressed in a former report, viz., the more one looks into these tables, the more evident it is *that the fruitful sources of crime are drunkenness and ignorance;* in fact, drunkenness gives to the police more than half their work.'

A corresponding statement respecting the connection of ignorance and crime was recently made by an American gentleman, who had means of forming a judgment from having occupied a high civil office in his own large and important town, as well as from having been led by circumstances to investigate the condition of other cities and states. In his town, he said, the Irish form about one-tenth of the population: they generally arrive in a state of extreme ignorance, and, though constituting so small a part of society, of the criminal population they form full *nine-tenths;* the educational status of that portion of the population being not more than from 3 to 5 per cent. who can read well. Now that this is by no means consequent on any especial national proclivity to crime is proved by the fact that, wherever the children of the Irish emigrants freely avail themselves of the benefits of the common schools, this tendency to crime disappears, and the Irish become undistinguishable from other Americans.

It is very probable that similar statistics might be obtained from other large towns besides Liverpool, proving that the class of persons, both young and old, who continually come under the notice of the police, and may, therefore, be considered to constitute the dangerous or criminal class of the community, are also profoundly ignorant. Such statements are familiar to us in the reports of gaol chaplains: the bulk of prisoners are unpossessed of any useful intellectual culture, unless they have acquired it in the gaol. Educational statistics from the various Reformatories out of London, up to April 1857, lead to a similar result (see Table, p. 83). Out of 1,174 children, of whom there were returns, 551, or about one-half, had no education at all; 369 had a little, but not sufficient to read the Bible or to write a letter; and 259 only had enough to read the Testament tolerably, and to write and cipher a little. An analysis of the returns leads to many points suggesting further consideration. About one-fourth of the boys could read the Testament, and were classed as 'good;' but only one-sixth of the girls. In some of the boys' reformatories the number is much higher; in the 'Akbar' frigate it is more than one-third of the whole number, and at Hardwicke more than one-half—the reason of this will be hereafter noticed; while at St. Bernard's Agricultural Colony it is not one-twelfth, at Brook Green one-fifteenth, and at the Arno's Court Girls' Reformatory one-tenth: without these the average would be higher. Now these facts prove that ignorance and crime are frequent

Educational Statistics of Reformatories out of London.

Reformatories.	Number.	Age.				Length of time at school.							Educated.		
		Under 10 years.	10—12 years.	12—14 years.	Above 14 years.	None.	Under 1 year.	Under 2 years.	Under 3 years.	Under 4 years.	Under 5 years.	Above 5 years.	None.	Little.	Good.
Boys.															
Akbar Frigate . . .	101	1	4	23	73	..	15	23	25	27	11	..	38	20	43
Exeter Reformatory .	33	1	4	16	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	21	3
Kingswood	97	16	36	29	20	14	33	16	17	10	2	5	54	25	18
Hardwicke	139	2	18	49	70	2	6	8	3	9	2	10	14	46	79
St. Bernard's Colony .	166	4	20	36	106	37	68	39	..	14	8	..	110	43	13
Brook Green Colony .	74	..	11	35	28	47	13	6	4	1	1	2	51	18	5
Buxton	32	1	2	8	21	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	9	5
Northampton . . .	19	2	4	6	7	..	7	7	1	3	1	..	4	9	6
Newcastle-on-Tyne .	80	8	20	42	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	68	12	5
Lattley	97	2	4	27	64	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	36	47	14
Stoke Farm . . .	33	..	6	19	8	..	4	9	6	3	..	..	3	20	10
Woodberry Hill . .	32	..	2	16	14	..	8	..	1	2	3	10	10	13	9
Calder Farm . . .	44	1	8	13	22	5	7	1	9	7	4	11	22	10	12
Castle Howard. . .	37	..	..	32	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	10	5
Total Boys .	984	38	139	351	460	105	161	109	66	76	32	38	459	303	227
Girls.															
Red Lodge	70	7	20	30	13	16	29	3	6	3	2	11	40	16	14
Birmingham . . .	35	1	9	15	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	18	5
Toxteth Park . . .	17	..	..	10	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	9	5
Allesley Farm . . .	8	1	..	2	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	5	2
Arno's Court . . .	60	1	12	18	29	..	24	18	7	5	..	5	36	18	6
Total Girls .	190	10	41	75	64	16	53	21	13	8	2	16	92	66	32
Grand Total . .	1,174	18	180	426	524	121	204	130	79	84	34	54	551	369	259

Educational Condition on Admission.

None.—Not able to read 2nd Irish books, or even easy words; most commonly barely able to tell letters.—*General ignorance.*
Little.—Able to read 2nd Irish books, and form letters in writing.
Good.—Able to read Testament and 3rd Irish books with *fluency* and *intelligence*, to write and cipher a little.

quent concomitants; but they do not prove that either is the cause of the other, still less that ignorance is the origin of crime. The reason that the statistics of Hardwicke Reformatory are so high is, that this school contains many of the cleverest scholars of the National Schools of Cheltenham, who, with their superior talents, have had peculiar power in luring over others to their own evil ways. It is the fact also that in many other Reformatories the very worst and most dangerous young persons, both boys and girls, are those who have had a superior education, and some of whom belong to a higher class of society. It is the experience of gaol chaplains that the worst and most hardened culprits are those who have had great advantages of education; of this the Rev. J. Clay, of Preston, gives a striking instance in his reports; and the criminal annals of the last few years give fearful warnings that no amount of intellectual or even religious training is a complete preservative against crime.

Nor is extreme poverty in itself the cause of crime. An intimate knowledge of two large Reformatories—one for boys, the other for girls, from their commencement—leads us to the certainty that the crime for which the child has been convicted has in no case been the result of actual want. Indeed, the wretched condition of the children who attend Ragged Schools is to be attributed, in most cases, not to the real unavoidable poverty of the parents, but to that miserable condition which springs from the gratification of the animal passions. It follows, then, that the removal of ignorance by any number of schools, or of poverty by any amount of pecuniary help, would in no way lessen the evil.

The great and real spring of the immense amount of evil with which we are striving to grapple, lies in the deep corruption which must be infused into the hearts of the young by the impure influences with which they have been surrounded from infancy, causing an ignorance of all that is right and good, and in comparison with which book knowledge and intellectual acquirements are of comparatively little consequence. The following Table is a specimen of the kind of homes from which young persons come forth criminals, as well as ignorant of everything good. It is the result of a house-to-house visit to the homes of 91 boys who were in the Liverpool Gaol at Walton, July 4th, 1856. The nine cases here given are a sample of the whole. (*Vide* Table, p. 85.)

Now, such moral and spiritual condition existing in the child, as is the inevitable consequence of the parental training he has received from infancy, can it be wondered at that he is early drawn aside by the innumerable temptations to evil which beset him in every direction? The Liverpool police report, to which allusion has already been made, states, that 'in this town there are 1,445 public-houses, and 896 beer-houses; 714 known houses of

REPORTS of a House-to-House Visit made to the Parents of the Boys named in this List who were in the Walton Gaol, 4th July, 1856.

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Number of Times in Custody.	INFORMATION RELATIVE TO PARENTS AND GUARDIANS.
1	J. L.	16	None	4	Parents residing at Bevington-hill; honest, industrious people. This boy incorrigible; his ruin traceable to the notorious Hannah Carr, of Ben Jonson-street, whose family and connections are all thieves.
2	T. J., *alias* J. W. .	16	,,	4	Father, Richard W., a drunken debauched man, lived with the mother of this boy; she had several children. She being a profligate, the children turned out thieves. He is now married to a decent woman, who will not allow the first children to remain in the house, lest they contaminate her own.
3	J. C., *alias* J. McG.	15	,,	2	The father, Patrick McG., a bricklayer, lives in Addison-street; married a second time; no care taken of children; allowed to go and mix with bad characters.
4	R. G.	16	,,	3	Mother, Mary G., Wright-street. A notoriously bad woman; encourages her son to steal. Harbours other lads, and receives whatever plunder they bring.
5	M. R.	15	,,	4	Father, Peter R., a bricklayer, 8 Court, Grenville-street; out of work; in distress. Large family. Mother seems anxious about her children. The boy's fall traceable to Mary Grant and Mary Fitzpatrick's houses in Wright-street.
6	W. R., or B. . .	14	,,	4	Cannot find this boy's parents at present; but no care has been taken. He was allowed to run wild, and at the house of the queen of demons, namely, old Granny Hunt, 55, Preston-street, was his home, where a number of other lads resort. This old woman's children and grandchildren are all bad.
7	H. K.	15	,,	2	Parents notoriously bad; they live at 9, Eldon-street. Their children all bad, and their house an iniquitous harbour for juveniles of both sexes; receive the proceeds of all plunder brought in.
8	H. B., *alias* T. E.	16	,,	3	Parents, Thomas E. and his wife, residing in a cellar, 78, Henderson-street, Park, are bad characters; children obliged to steal for their support; one son transported.
9	T. McJ. . . .	15	,,	4	Stepfather and own mother living, 6 Laurence-street. He bears a good name, but she is careless, and took no interest until it became too late. The boy frequented a notorious house in St. Martin-street. The woman in the cellar equally bad.

of ill-fame, ready to ensnare all young girls who have no proper guardianship; 431 'marine-stores' so called, which are in reality places where the products of all kinds of pilfering may be safely disposed of, without unpleasant questions being asked; and 271 old-clothes' shops, which are generally places of a similar description.' Besides these we have a MS. report of 46 houses known to the police, where young thieves may lodge and dispose of their plunder; where the children of the family are trained from generation to generation in dishonest practices; and where restless young persons, who have escaped from parental care, may be taught how to support themselves. The following is a fair sample of the whole: it may be observed, that in the case of only one-half have the heads of the family been imprisoned, though the number of young persons whom they have trained to a life of vice can hardly be computed. (*Vide* Table, p. 87.)

Now, we would solemnly ask, Does juvenile vagrancy, vagabondism, and crime of various kinds abound, *because* there are these various haunts of vice? or is not the real state of the case that these unhappy children, who are lured away by them, have never had implanted or cherished within them those virtuous principles, and that fear of the Lord, which would be the true safeguard against them? How is it that in that very town of Liverpool thousands of children are continually passing them with no desire to enter them, and grow up untouched, uninjured by the pollution around them, shielded, as was the lady in Milton's divine poem, by inward purity? And this is true, not only of children of the higher classes, who may be supposed unlikely to be tempted by vicious indulgences, but also those of the honest working classes. The writer of this has known young boys reared in the very midst of the worst parts of a large city, where sights and sounds of vice encompassed the home on every side, and yet passing through them to their daily duties entirely unscathed, and feeling nothing but disgust and detestation of what they saw around them. They were not tempted by penny theatres, dancing-rooms, resorts for gambling, or any other of the incitements to evil which have allured thousands to a life of infamy. It is evident, that in these cases the spirit within was fortified against the evil without, by the good implanted and fostered by home influences, and that where these are corrupt the young are ever prone to fall into those vices for which the disgraceful houses, already mentioned, afford such facility and stimulus.

The work of Reformatories and kindred institutions is, then, to supply to the young under their charge, by the individual influence of devoted Christian persons, what the home ought to have supplied to them, but has not. In thus taking the true place of a parent, every possible agency must be used which will not only supply

A List of Notorious Harbours for Juveniles of both Sexes, and Reports of themselves and their Children.

No.	Name, Married and Unmarried.	Number of Children.	Occupation.	Convicted.	Character and Remarks.
1	C. B.	4	Thieving	Mother	This woman and her children have all been committed for thieving; she receives their plunder, and harbours others.
2	Philip B. and his wife.	4	,,	..	This man and woman keep two houses, one for young thieves to sleep in, and the other for the receipt of their plunder. His children mix with the thieves.
3	Bridget S. . . .	2	,,	..	This woman's two daughters are bad. Harbours young thieves, and receives their plunder.
4	J. C. and wife .	4	,,	Parents	This man and woman both committed for receiving. Harbours young thieves; receives their plunder; their children mixing with them.
5	S. C. and wife .	4	,,	Mother	A notoriously bad place; both bad. Frequent robberies committed in the house. Juveniles induced to come and bring their plunder.
6	Mrs. C.	2	,,	Mother in gaol.	This woman excels in villany. Her house is a second hell; her own children are now going in her track.
7	S. J. and man .	3	,,	..	This woman has no children of her own, but keeps her sister's children. She induces all the lads and girls she can to bring plunder to her house, and harbours them therein.
8	M. C.	1	,,	..	A receptacle for young thieves; her own daughter and herself thieves too. Her house a harbour for young thieves and their plunder.
9	J. C.	1	,,	Mother	Mother and daughter thieves. Her daily work is trying to induce children to bring plunder to her house.
10	Mrs. L.	3	,,	..	Her three boys thieves; receives their plunder, and lives on it. Her house a harbour for young thieves, who take their plunder there.
11	J. A. and M. A. .	3	,,	Both	Father and mother in gaol for thieving; all their children thieves, and their house a harbour for young thieves and their plunder.
14	M. W.	1	,,	Mother	Mother and daughter thieves. Her house is a harbour for young thieves.

kiddns

[illegible] a sickness and any good [illegible] which will eradicate [illegible] Every effort that [illegible] put it force to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] moral power which [illegible] to subdue the will. [illegible] will [illegible] work-[illegible] for the welfare of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to do so [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] with their own powers and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] efforts be encouraged as well as [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

those two words! And yet sometimes nature gave our poor mother a twinge when she paid the wine-merchant's yearly bill. I have seen a glistening in her eyes like the haze of unshed tears; for the amount of that bill would have provided comforts that her children sorely needed; but then her parties would have suffered in comparison with her neighbours', her visiting-list have been curtailed, and our father's pride and position both have been touched. So, pinch the children, screw the servants, grind the humble tradespeople, but by all and every means 'keep up appearances!'

As you were the youngest, Mary, you may not have surmised what I, as the eldest, know now, and more than suspected then—that it was this curse of gentility that caused our eldest sister to marry that miserable old cripple Dejaum, with a soul as deformed as his body. Death was merciful to poor Alice, and opened a door of escape for her—the only safe one for a wife. And yet Alice was better off than Harriett: she went brokenhearted to an honourable grave, while who can tell the sufferings of Harriett? Dear, lovely, curly-headed Harry, the best representative of happy childhood our family ever had, adopted at twelve by our Uncle Trounce's widow, and after ten years' watching, waiting, worrying, humouring all her aunt's whims, and bearing all her insults, left penniless just after our last remaining parent died! No home to go to, unfitted for every useful pursuit in life. Ah, Mary! before we blame her, let us remember her ten years' trial of such cruelties as women—ay, honourable women—inflict on their sister woman. You do not know the sequel of Harriett's history: I do; and I solemnly say she was more 'sinned against than sinning.'

As I sit here, in this lonely room, sick and childless, attended only by hirelings, it seems sad to me that our parents, dying as they did within a few months of each other, should have been so little regretted by their children; but I believe if parents are to see kindly feelings and holy affections they must first manifest them. Everything in our family was sacrificed for show. How our mother bore the harass for years is the real marvel; not that she died suddenly of unsuspected yet long-seated heart-disease, and her husband, six months after, ostensibly of brain-fever, the dismal product of drink, debt, and duns. There's no denying it, Mary, we did not deeply mourn them. Tom got his Indian appointment; did credit to the gentility of his training by mixing in the best—*i.e.* most expensive—society; was considered a most gentlemanly fellow; and but for that unfortunate duel about a heartless coquette, who kept her footing on a precipice, as a dancer poises on a slack wire by a skill more painful than pleasant, caring not who turns giddy so she is safe—but for that fatal duel, I might yet have had my only brother and my early friend.

Your own happy marriage, Mary, could never have taken place in your parents' lifetime. A farmer's wife in Canada! I think I hear our poor mother say, 'Did I give you your genteel accomplishments and elegant training for such a lot?' Ah, my dear! I suppose you have done well in your prosperous home, in spite of your fashionable accomplishments, and not because of them. I am thankful that one of our house has escaped the doom of the family. Now for myself: after the long intervals in our correspondence, I take up my history where you ceased to know it—with my leaving my father's house, while Tom and you were yet children.

My being articled as pupil to Dr. Bibington, of London, was my own choice. The premium was paid out of the 500*l.* my grandmother left me; that is, it was in part paid—two, instead of three hundred. But I made myself useful to my master; and though often sorely mortified at the disadvantage I suffered by the residue of my premium not being forthcoming, I was suffered to remain with Dr. B., and pick up instruction in the profession for myself, and was treated rather with indifference than unkindness. Nothing of personal interest occurred while I was a pupil, except that just after I passed my examination, and obtained my certificate, Dr. Bibington, having made money, grew careless of his patients and attentive to his bottle, and at length relinquished practice in time to save his reputation. I was retained as an assistant to his successor—a general practitioner, named Brace, who having a larger family than the house would well accommodate, I was permitted to take lodgings in a house situated

situated in the street at the back of our premises, and to which it was arranged a bell from our surgery should communicate. I am particular in these details, for every incident at this period of my life is indelibly imprinted on my mind. In that humble but comfortable lodging I felt, for the first and last time, the meaning of the word 'home.' There I met poor Lilian—'little Lily,' as the old folks who kept the house called her. Truly the name suited her. She was a slender, fragile, fair-haired girl, with a remarkable purity, not only of complexion but expression. I have seen many more showy beauties than 'little Lily,' but I have never seen any that did not look somewhat coarse in comparison with her delicacy of shape, feature, colour. There was a harmony about her of voice, look, and manner that was most winning, and a diffidence, so appealing in its sweetness, that won Lily all the more notice that she seemed to shrink from any. But why need I dwell on the graces of this modest flower? I had not lived long in the house of old Hoskins and his wife, when I found myself thinking too often of their niece for my own peace or for hers. I amused and gratified myself by lending her books and drawing her out into conversation, for Lily was not without education, and I found her mind was not unworthy of the pure and delicate casket that enshrined it. While I was enjoying a fool's paradise—too selfishly happy in the present to think of consequences either to Lily or myself—considering all was safe and honourable as long as no word of love was spoken between us, as if words were needed when every look was eloquent, I was suddenly roused from my dream of bliss one evening by the appearance of my landlady, who bluntly gave me notice to leave. I asked an explanation, and with a torrent of angry words she let me know that Lily had that day refused an honourable offer of marriage from a young shopkeeper in the neighbourhood—an offer backed by the goodwill of both my stormy informant and her husband. 'She shall tramp—the ungrateful minx! I've plenty more nieces; I'll have no colleaging and shameless goings on in my house; a decent man that will make her his wife is not good enough for miss since you've filled her head with your flatteries; so the sooner you suit yourself the better.'

It was in vain I trie
If I protested I was in
intention—'Why had
girl's affections, then?'
Too gratified in my
reply, my silence wa
guilt. 'Your beggarly
you make her your
virago, as she bounced
and then it occurred to
whole scene had not
urge me to commit mys
by explanations or
instant this thought flas
steeled my heart. 'I
into a connexion belo
see, Mary, the world wa
and with all my love I
ventional idea that thi
girl, with her wealth o
gifts, was, by the accid
my inferior. I dare h
you, without an appeal t
ness, that when the wo
uttered in the coarse v
aunt, a shock ran throu
gentleman by birth, ed
fession, to make this girl
never! Then a moment
of agonised feelings sho
that I could—that I dare
up and down the room, a
feel that soft hand on m
meek, blue eyes raised to m
a moment the hard world
by that sweet vision. At
was restored to what I call
a very matter-of-fact interru
servant of the house br
letter with a mourning
the gloomy missive conve
of my mother's death.

In the revulsion of feeli
lowed, as, unable to sleep
paced my chamber, I
with self-reproach, that I
answered letter of hers
the last, it proved, that she
In it she had boasted of
Alice's wealthy marriage,
these words:—'I hope Al
marriage will not unsettle
my family. Hers was a mo
step—a good establishment, a
thing your father and I could
An early marriage for a daug
be wise, but for a son it is
ruin. A young man to marry
a fortune or an established
madness. Better any drag th
and children pulling a man
poverty.'

Their mother is a widow, and Milly has been distracted ever since it happened.'

I forced myself to say, 'How long is it since?'

'Oh, last Sunday she disappeared. It was the first Sunday for a month that Rachel had been out. She was a giddy country girl—very sleepy at nights—and did not settle down well here. She was restless, and made blunders in her work—and between ourselves, our forewoman nagged at her a good deal.'

'Was she the only'—I could not finish the sentence, my tongue seemed like a hot rasp; but my inquiry was anticipated.

'No, Miss Lee was with her—a little spiritless mope, that seemed to hear everything, and was so quiet, but "still water runs—"' a little dry nervous cough interrupted the quotation.

'Poor souls!' I involuntarily exclaimed, 'how is it possible for any of you to bear this life of evil—this murderous work?'

'Oh, I'm used to it—I grew up in it, and a bit of opium now and then keeps me up. And I make a bargain to have my Sundays, and I sleep right through them—a good eighteen or twenty hours—and, thank God, I'm no beauty!'

So saying, she left me, and I found myself in the streets—in the chilly dawn of a bleak morning. I looked up to the faint streak of light in the east—to the pale glimmer of the fading morning star, and the words, 'How long, O Lord, how long!' came, I know not how, into my mind, as I thought of the despairing victims of the Moloch of fashion pent up in that fatal workroom, stifled in that dormitory, and rushing, by inevitable yearning for change, to the wild [illegible] guilt, and the yawning jaws of [illegible] death.

But [illegible] while Lily!
Oh! [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
on earth [illegible]
Lily! [illegible]

'*My* Lily!' [illegible]
her *mine*, even [illegible]
trifled with her [illegible]
wounded her unto [illegible]
to bear the anguish of [illegible]
one word of explanation [illegible]
or sorrow for the wrong [illegible]
under the gathering light of [illegible]

for India, was such a complete break up of home ties, that I needed the salutary toils of my laborious profession to preserve me from despondency. One wild March night I was called up to a case of sudden illness. Mr. Brace was particularly asked for, but he was detained by another case; and I accompanied the messenger, a shabby-looking page, to the house of a French modiste, whose name I had seen in our book, and whose 'house of business' was in a fashionable street near Cavendish-square. Never shall I forget the scene I there witnessed. I had beheld many an abode of filth and crime, where pain and misery seemed suited to the environment: but in this large and showy house, the strong contrasts magnified the horror. I went up a handsome staircase richly carpeted, passed the open doors of a suite of elegant drawing-rooms used as show-rooms; then through an upper floor of bed or private rooms; and then up a bare and dirty staircase to an upper floor of two large but low work-rooms—one for milliners, the other for dress-makers. Both were blazing with gas-lights at three o'clock in the morning and stifling with hot exhausted air, that, to one coming in from the keenness of the night, was positively sickening. These rooms were filled with smartly-dressed, pallid, weary-looking girls, seated round large tables, that appeared like tulip beds, so brilliant were the gorgeous tints of silk, and satin, and velvet on which the slender nervous fingers of the workers were rapidly employed. As I passed along, and many heads were momentarily raised to give an anxious furtive glance at 'the doctor,' I noted the swollen eyelids, the dim or glassy eye, the stooping form, the livid or hectic complexion that the contrast of the bright colours around made actually ghastly. A wiry, middle-aged woman, when I appeared, rose from a table with a gesture of impatience, and in a rasping voice, that suited her features, curtly apologised for bringing me through the workroom, and preceded me up a short narrow staircase that led immediately to two bed-rooms above, saying, as she went, 'When any of our young people are ill, we put them in another part of the house; but this is a fit, or something of the sort, and we could not move her.' Some stifled moans and a sound of struggling indicated, as I reached the room, the corner where my patient lay. Never had I seen so crowded a bed-room. Bedsteads were put round the sides, the foot-board of one forming the head-board of another, like a single tier of berths on board a ship, with this difference, the beds were not so clean, and there was no open space in the centre of the apartment, for a row of four beds foot-to-head along the middle of the room intersected it, leaving two narrow avenues on either side, by which the beds along the walls were reached. This room was in the roof of the house, and the sloping ceiling hardly allowed me to stand upright as I crept along to my patient. A sky-light that would not open was the only window, and the hot air from the work-room below ascended in stifling vapours. Three or four frightened girls were holding the sufferer as she writhed in the throes of an epileptic fit. I tried, before I touched the patient, to open the sky-light, and, failing, I very unceremoniously broke a couple of panes of glass; and had soon the satisfaction of being able to breathe myself, and to afford relief to the sick girl. My conductress partly ordered the young people around her to go to their work, adding, by way of explanation to me,—

'The drawing-room is on Thursday, and that makes us so busy; we must work night and day till it comes; and there's always some troublesome young people who give way to fits or some nonsense or other.'

'This is no case of "giving way," in your sense,' I said.

'I have never anything of the kind myself,' she replied shortly, adding, 'Why did not Mr. Brace come himself? Mademoiselle Sacqui likes the young ladies of her establishment to be attended by your principal.'

I was busy with my patient, and made no other reply than to ask for vinegar and cold water, and to state that I should remain some time; on which she retired, and soon sent one of the household servants, who I could see was peevish with being called from her bed to assist me.

Consciousness slowly came to the sufferer. She uttered one name with a kind of plaintive call:—

'Rachel! dear Rachel! are you here, dear? Do come, O Rachel, do!'

'Who is it she asks for?' I inquired.

'Oh,

'Oh, it's her sister,' replied the servant.

'Well, then, fetch the sister; it will soothe her when she recovers perfect consciousness.'

'Please, sir, I can't fetch her sister. She's gone—a shameful creetur!' she added, bridling.

'Gone!'

'Yes, sir; gone upon the streets, she and one of the day-workers, as they calls Lee—Lily Lee—a pretty lily indeed!'

I was mute with the shock, and the woman continued spitefully—

'It's the way of these fine misses—they disgraces theirselves and the establishment, as missus says. Every season in the busy time some of 'em goes. For all they holds their heads above us servants, their pride comes down.'

Hardly knowing what I did, I commanded 'silence,' and dismissed this piece of granite in woman's form, and remained until my patient slept, though, at times, starting and murmuring the name of Rachel.

On the very next bed, undisturbed by all the noise of fits or voices, lay a young girl dressed, sleeping the deep, death-like slumber of exhaustion. Her feet, which hung over the side of the bed, were so swollen that the ankles puffed over the slight slippers she had seemingly been too tired to throw off. There was exhaustion in every limb, and the pallor of death on the worn face that seemed still as a stone.

Retracing my steps through the work-room so ghastly in its brightness, where cups of strong coffee were being served round, an odour of gin mingling with its aroma, I descended the stairs, and was leaving the house, when a diminutive, crooked woman stepped from a recess in the hall, and spoke to me. She had a basin of water and a sponge in her hand, and seemed to have been bathing her head and eyes.

'Is poor Milly Lockwood in any danger?' she said.

'A relapse would be most dangerous,' I answered; adding, 'her frame is not only exhausted with fatigue, but her mind has sustained a shock.'

'Oh, yes,' was the whispered reply; 'she and her only sister came here last autumn, as improvers from a country-house of business; and Rachel, the pretty one, has been decoyed away. Their mother is a widow, and Milly has been distracted ever since it happened.'

I forced myself to say, 'How long is it since?'

'Oh, last Sunday she disappeared. It was the first Sunday for a month that Rachel had been out. She was a giddy country girl—very sleepy at nights—and did not settle down well here. She was restless, and made blunders in her work—and between ourselves, our forewoman nagged at her a good deal.'

'Was she the only'—I could not finish the sentence, my tongue seemed like a hot rasp; but my inquiry was anticipated.

'No, Miss Lee was with her—a little spiritless mope, that seemed to hear everything, and was so quiet, but "still water runs—"' a little dry nervous cough interrupted the quotation.

'Poor souls!' I involuntarily exclaimed, 'how is it possible for any of you to bear this life of evil—this murderous work?'

'Oh, I'm used to it—I grew up in it, and a bit of opium now and then keeps me up. And I make a bargain to have my Sundays, and I sleep right through them—a good eighteen or twenty hours—and, thank God, I'm no beauty!'

So saying, she left me, and I found myself in the streets—in the chilly dawn of a bleak morning. I looked up to the faint streak of light in the east—to the pale glimmer of the fading morning star, and the words, 'How long, O Lord, how long!' came, I know not how, into my mind, as I thought of the despairing victims of the Moloch of fashion pent up in that fatal workroom, stifled in that dormitory, and rushing, by inevitable yearning for change, to the wild delirium of guilt, and the yawning jaws of a swifter death.

But Lily—pretty, timid, gentle Lily! Oh! it must be a hideous lie! That fawn-like grace to batten on the public streets, to feed the base appetite of brutes in human form, and kindle even on earth the fires of hell! No, no—my Lily! it is impossible.

'*My* Lily!'—what right had I to call her *mine*, even to myself? *I*, who had trifled with her feelings, won her love, wounded her maiden pride, and left her to bear the anguish of neglect, without one word of explanation of the slight, or sorrow for the wrong. How false, under the gathering light of the clear morning

morning sky, seemed the poor sophistry I had so often uttered to myself—'I never spoke of love—I never wronged her—the seducer's guilt is not mine.' Ah! I won her heart—selfishly won it—played with it, and threw it away at the world's anticipated rebuke. For Lily there remained no possibility of a marriage of affection — no home in prospect to cheer the toils of youth. Alienated from her friends—humbled in her womanly feelings by a sense of rejected love—despairing of future good—a choice of evil was all this world contained for her, as she read it with eyes turned earthward; and in a fatal hour, at the promptings of some fiend, she chose the worst evil and the bitterest doom that can await 'the suffering sex.' Yet from that hour Lily was avenged. Remorse gnawed at my heart, embittered my temper, and poisoned every healthy source of enjoyment.

I expressed to Mr. Brace my indignation and disgust at the scene I had witnessed. He gave a careless laugh, and replied,—

'Oh, my good fellow, a medical man's business is to cure his patient, and not to to puzzle himself about the recondite causes, and the moral aspects of cases. We must take the world as we find it. The rights of people the state must settle—their sins the clergy must attend to—their sickness is our affair—and we must make the best of it.'

And perhaps his creed of making the best of it—for himself—prompted his never again permitting me to go to that fashionable scene of slavery. But I heard that Milly Lockwood was removed to her widowed mother's home, and suffered a relapse of her disorder, that ended in making her a burden to herself and others for the rest of her days.

The summer after these events, London was visited by cholera, and I had scarcely recovered the fatigue of this, when our sister Harriett, by the death of her capricious aunt, was left destitute. At first, neither she nor I thought the loss of fortune an irreparable evil; for Harriett was engaged to be married to a man of property, and was, at the time of my aunt's unexpected death, visiting the family of her betrothed. As soon, however, as they learned that Harriett was portionless, the family interfered to prevent the long-sanctioned union. 'It would be the height of imprudence,' they said, 'to marry. How impossible to maintain a house in the style to which both had been accustomed! and, therefore'—Oh, I hate to write the paltry, heartless reasoning! suffice it, Harriett came to London, and I placed her as a boarder in a respectable house at Kensington, until some plan could be decided on; and then came the bitter consequences of the showy folly in which the poor girl had been reared. She had received 'a genteel education,' that is, she knew enough to make a display of a variety of graceful acquirements, and nothing thoroughly. It seems to me there's a class left completely out of the improved systems of education—the class above the small traders and decent operatives—whose children, if kept at school long enough, can have first-rate instruction; while those above them in the social scale keep to the tawdry superficialities of the third or fourth-rate boarding-school, and are turned out upon society very charming, it may be, but utterly helpless and useless in the battle of life. Harriett, who had been admired and followed when she was thought her aunt's heiress, was pronounced fit for nothing. Her dependent life had generated indolent habits, and her wrongs made her not only melancholy, but peevish. Used to admiration, she pined for it; unused to exertion, she loathed it. While at Kensington, she formed the acquaintance of a lady of fascinating manners, and apparently affluent position; after a few weeks she went to reside with her as companion. I had heard such favourable accounts from Harriett of this lady, that I was satisfied—nay, more—pleased. Mary! this woman was a decoy—a harpy who lived on the shame and ruin of her own sex. From the time Harriett entered into what I was led to believe was an honourable engagement, I saw no more of my sister!

Three years passed; I still retained my situation, and performed mechanically the routine of my duties, but hope and enterprise were gone. My health had been shaken by mental troubles; still I was a useful plodder to my employer. I had never, by night or day, seen poor Lily. Her aunt and uncle had gone soon after I ceased to be their lodger, and their house was occupied by Lily's rejected suitor, and the happy-looking wife whom he had found to console him for his first disappointment.

ment. Often and often did I ask myself, 'What can have become of her?' and the thought that she was dead, was the most satisfactory conclusion my mind presented.

One bitter night, during the winter of 1854–5, I was returning home late, when I came very suddenly on a muffled-up figure at the corner of our street, looking up to the light that burned over our surgery-door. I heard the laborious breathing of this poor creature before I reached her. She paused, as if about to speak to me, and then fled wildly down the street. I was startled at the time, but the incident soon passed out of my thoughts. My bed-room was over the surgery, and a few nights after I was awoke by hearing a violent cough under my window. I shivered in my bed as I thought of the bitter weather, and of sick and houseless wanderers. The following night, at nearly the same hour, I again heard the dismal sound. It was very light, for a fall of snow lay on the ground, and the moon was high in the heavens. I rose, and went down through the surgery into the street. My steps fell so silently on the snow, that I came to the recess at the side of the door without being heard, and putting my hand on the shoulder of a crouched-up form, raised the heap of misery to its feet. I slipped half-a-crown into the almost lifeless hand of what seemed a child in size and stature, and said, 'There, get a lodging—at the peril of your life stay here no longer; and if you'll come to the surgery before ten in the morning, I'll see what can be done for your cough.' There was a gasping, choking sound while I spoke—I removed my hand—a sharp cry—sudden, shrill—strong as death, rent its way from the hollow chest, and the form fell to the ground! As I stooped, I heard a bubbling groan, and by the light of the moon, I saw that a crimson stream dabbled the snow at my feet. The poor creature had broken a blood-vessel. I lifted her up, and carried her into the surgery, the blood still gushing from her mouth. To call for assistance, and to render every aid, was the work of the next few minutes; but judge my horror, when the masses of light hair fell back from her face, and her eyes kindled with an expiring gleam, in this emaciated dying creature I recognised all that was left of her I once called—Lily! She looked at me pleadingly, timidly, like a wounded fawn—tried to speak, which I forbade—caught my hand in a death-grip, and then, with a few convulsive gasps, expired. Poor, crushed victim! the ghastly history of her fallen experiences was untold by human lips, but it was written on her wasted frame in fearful characters. There was the record, not only of famine and disease, but blows. Yes, there were bruises on those wasted limbs that told of some hard task-master who had hounded her out to die.

Inquiries were instituted by the police; but all that was ever known was that she was in debt at her lodgings, a house near Long Acre, kept by a Belgian woman, and she was reputed stupid and idle, which meant, no doubt, heart-broken and weary.

The ladies of our household were scandalised that I should have brought, what they called 'a dying prostitute' into the surgery, and my sympathy was pronounced 'most indecorous.' To make victims was an error certainly, but yet pardonable in a young man—to pity, to protect, to rescue was depravity; such was the code social as they and multitudes expound it. In the code divine there stands this record for the Pharisee—'Publicans and harlots shall enter into heaven before ye!'

Heart-stricken and indignant, I at once gave up my engagement, buried poor Lily, and went to France, both for change of scene and to study some branches of my profession in the Paris hospitals. Six weeks after I had commenced my attendance at the Hôtel Dieu, a patient was brought in, in a state of asphyxia from the fumes of charcoal. She was said to be the mistress of a man who had been taken up for some political offence. She was in debt and poverty, and had attempted suicide. Attempted! nay, committed it, for she did not recover. The young French surgeons were loud in their praises of the beauty of this unknown Englishwoman. I had not seen the patient as she came in, in the night, but my rounds brought me to her bed. I looked at her—with what emotions! it was our sister Harriett!

So, it seemed, with all our parents' toil to 'flaunt it with the best,' their family had failed to make a hold on that world they had been taught to value so highly. 'Yea, they shall not be planted: yea, they shall not be sown,' seemed the denunciation on our house. If, in our childhood's home, honest

nest poverty had been bravely avowed; if we had all been reared in a spirit of industry and independence; and if I had strangled in my breast the coward fear that prevented my honourably marrying the girl I loved—Oh! with her at my side, I could have fought the world and conquered bravely, or yielded honourably! but 'conventionalisms,' 'gentility,' 'appearances' triumphed, and behold their work!

I fell ill, and came back here to die. I am tired, Mary, and will finish this record to-morrow.

(*Note by another hand.*)

The to-morrow never came. The owners of the house where the writer of the above died found these papers in a table-drawer some months after their lodger's death. There was no direction to the sister in Canada, and her married name is unknown, though every inquiry has been made. No claimant of the MS. appeared, so it was deemed right to publish it, altering merely the names of parties in London, referred to in the narrative.

ART. IX.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

THE importance of the inauguration of the 'NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE,' which took place at Birmingham in October of last year, can hardly be overrated. Nothing is more necessary than that philanthropists and social politicians should be educated to systematic thought. For want of system the labour of well-intentioned inquirers not unfrequently becomes inaccurate and deceptive; for want of careful and thoughtful deduction these facts, even when accurate, often lead to erroneous conclusions and hollow theories. Not seldom the philanthropist, standing alone, wants the courage to avow convictions which appear to the world extreme and impracticable; while the interchange of thought, and the lessons of various experience, will usually prevent the expenditure of effort, which, being merely impulsive, is too often abortive.

The 'National Association' appears not merely to have derived encouragement from, but to have been largely supported by, the members of the Law Amendment Society; the original idea of the scheme having been suggested by the mutual advantages that had followed a connexion of the latter body with the 'National Reformatory Union.' The 'National Association' appears likely to carry out the promise of its inauguration. The proceedings of the Birmingham meeting, and the addresses of the chairmen of the various sections, have been published by Messrs. Parker, and will form a most valuable addition to the library of every social reformer. In its permanent form of organisation it is presided over by the veteran Lord Brougham, and, divided into several sub-sections, or departments, it confides Jurisprudence and the Amendment of the Law to the care of Lord John Russell; while Education, Punishment, and Reformation, Public Health, and Social Economy, afford scope for the energies of Sir J. Pakington, the Bishop of London, Lord Stanley, and Sir Benjamin Brodie. It is probably easier to discover inconveniencies in this arrangement than to suggest a better. But it would be a very simple matter to name questions which range themselves under no one of these departments *specially*, and which may therefore be neglected. Thus, prostitution has relations undoubtedly to three divisions—intemperance certainly to all five. Both these questions found, it is true, incidental admission into the discussions at Birmingham; but it operates unjustly to the appreciation of the true magnitude of these great problems to rank them under one section only. It may, however, be supposed that the programme put forth to the public has not been adopted without thought; and it may, despite our little objection, be well received with general acceptance.

The attention which has been excited towards LAW AMENDMENT augurs some more satisfactory progress than has hitherto been made. Indeed, in some respects, this attention has expanded to a recognition, not only of a legal, but a commercial necessity. The BANKRUPTCY law in England has been condemned in energetic terms, not only by the legal profession, but by mercantile men.

men. The Chambers of Commerce in the great centres of industry have been roused to activity, and have given in their verdict of condemnation of the existing system. It is evident that an intimate association must always exist between the morality of commercial life and the laws which regulate the insolvency of the trader. That law which will enable the honest, but ruined man of business, to relieve himself from the unforeseen pressure of misfortune, should never extend its ægis over the fraudulent knave. Economy also, as well as efficiency, must be primarily regarded in a matter where, at the best, loss and irritation must certainly ensue.

In no respect does the present system appear fully satisfactory. The expense of winding-up an estate in bankruptcy is so appalling, that many creditors prefer to submit to known or suspected imposition, rather than place themselves in a possibly worse position.

On the average, it may be stated that from 45 to 51 per cent. of the assets will be swallowed up in the process of winding-up an estate in bankruptcy. Under the existing law the facilities for private arrangement between the debtor and his creditor are very inadequate; while, in cases where the creditors are forced to carry the estate into court, the administration of the assets is far from being sufficiently under their control. An opinion seems also to be entertained that the present districts are too extensive, and that the localisation of courts is much to be desired. Again, very great inconveniences arise from the distinctions made under bankruptcy and insolvency, between the person and estates of one class of debtors, unable to pay their debts, and those of another class, who are under the same disability.

Law reformers do not appear, however, to be as well agreed upon the remedy as they are upon the grievance.

At Birmingham a sub-committee was appointed, charged with the duty of preparing a bill, which should embody the views of the delegates assembled at that meeting. Those views appear to have been—consolidation as well as amendment; the abolition of the distinction between trader and non-trader, and the amalgamation of bankruptcy and insolvency jurisdiction under the same tribunal; the introduction of the 'dead men's clauses' of 1849; the promotion of private arrangements under the sanction and authority, with summary power, of the Court—an approximation to the Scottish system, which is founded on the natural principle, that proceedings in bankruptcy should resemble the course which, in the absence of law, the creditors themselves would take with an insolvent estate; the localisation of tribunals; the abolition of class certificates, and more stringent provision for the punishment of fraud.

The late Lord Chancellor, early in the present year, in answer to questions from Lord Brougham, stated, in his place in the House of Lords, that a Government measure of Bankruptcy reform had been prepared. Of this measure, which (having been considered by the Board of Trade) was to have been introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Lowe, high expectations were formed. It is, of course, impossible to predict what course the present Government may adopt with regard to it. It is said a very complete measure is to be introduced by Sir F. Kelly.

There is still an independent Bill, bearing the name of Brougham, before the House of Lords—viz., 'A Bill for the Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt"—which purports, not only to carry out its title, but also to supersede the London Insolvency Court, and to enable non-traders to apply to the Court of Bankruptcy.

Scarcely less important than Bankruptcy reform is the TRANSFER OF LAND. Although on this point, as might be expected, there is great diversity of opinion, little doubt can be entertained that the scheme of a simple registration of title, with power to the legal owner to transfer, is rapidly gaining ground in public opinion. On the best mode of dealing with this important subject the law-officers of the late Government were apparently at variance. In the House of Commons the Attorney-General (Sir R. Bethell) expressed his approval of the principle of registration of title, and had prepared a bill for the purpose of legalising that principle; but it was withdrawn, in deference to the opinion of a higher functionary. On the 8th of February, however, the late Lord Chancellor introduced a Bill into the House of Lords, stating that he could not wholly concur with the Report of the Commissioners, and that his Bill was, therefore, founded only on a part of that Report. This Bill does not appear

appear to have been received with very cordial approval. In legislating for the improvement of the system of transferring land, it is equally as important to regard the necessity of preventing the growth of future encumbrances, as to clear the title from such as already impede the transfer. The Lord Chancellor's Bill simply regarded the last of these objects. It sought to enable a seller to clear the title by application to the Court of Chancery, where the title would be investigated and proved, and a conveyance made under the sanction of the Court. But from the moment of the conveyance, nothing would prevent the working again of the old system, and charges and encumbrances gradually attaching afresh to the land; a short time would render the title as complicated as ever. Now, a system of registration would not only clear the title, but *keep it cleared.*

Among the social law reforms which must be noticed stands the ACT TO AMEND THE LAW RELATING TO DIVORCE AND MATRIMONIAL CAUSES IN ENGLAND, which, notwithstanding the vehement opposition of influential parties, passed into operation on the 1st of January in the present year.

Of the *general* popularity of the law itself there cannot be much doubt. One of its provisions has already been extensively acted upon. Scarcely a police magistrate in the kingdom but has been called upon to protect, by order given under this Act, the earnings and property of some poor industrious woman, against the rapacity of a vagabond husband, who has deserted her. This alone would indicate the terrible hardship which the state of our law in such matters must have formerly inflicted. It is too early yet to know much of the operation of the Act as to divorce; but it will at least be hailed by all lovers of public decency, as finally abolishing the most disgusting of the civil actions tolerated in our judicial proceedings.

The CODIFICATION, or CONSOLIDATION of our law, is a subject also of prime social importance.

A series of notices were placed on the Journals of the House of Commons by the late Solicitor-General, bearing on this; but these, as well as other matters, will, no doubt, stand over until the course of the present Government be ascertained.

The result of the TRIAL of the BRITISH BANK DIRECTORS has been the conviction of several of the most culpable, including, although on not very satisfactory grounds, Mr. ex-Sheriff Kennedy and Mr. Stapleton, M.P. for Berwick. It is probable some efforts may be made to alter this result, but of their success much doubt must be entertained.

A strange exemption from the penalty of dishonesty was illustrated at the autumn Liverpool assizes last year. A corn-merchant, indicted for having, by false pretences, obtained an acceptance from a third party to a large amount, which he had assigned for value to his banker, was acquitted, entirely in consequence of a decision by Lord Campbell, in a well-known case, 'the Queen *v.* Danger,' Coxe's Criminal Cases, vol. vii., part 6, p. 303. In this case it was decided that a bill of exchange in the hands of a drawer is not a 'chattel, money, or valuable security,' within the 7th and 8th Geo. IV., c. 29, s. 53, the obtaining of which, by a false pretence, can be made the subject of an indictment under that statute. A decision so disastrous to commercial morality cannot be suffered to rest without the application of a remedy.

In the ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL LAW, and especially as bearing on the relation of CRIMINAL SATISTICS to social conditions, the summary jurisdiction exercised by magistrates deserves attention. Under the present system many hundreds of offenders are annually imprisoned, not because imprisonment is the punishment primarily awarded by law to their offence, but because they have been unable to pay *the fine* imposed by the magistrate. This inability may evidently be occasioned by various circumstances—poverty, the suddenness of the demand, or the absence of friends. It is suggested by the Law Amendment Society that an adoption of the County Court instalment system would be advantageous, not only to the administration of justice, but as saving many casual offenders from the debasing and hardening influences of prison life. Such a project is well worthy of consideration. In one prison in London alone 40 to 50 per cent. of the inmates are undergoing sentences for non-payment of fines — sentences often arbitrary, and without any apparent fixed rule of decision. It is clear, also,

also, how important an element of error is here introduced into social inquiry.

The legislative difficulties which surround the question of EDUCATION appear to increase rather than diminish. Industrial schools, reformatories, and other appliances for the instruction of our *criminal* population seem destined to a rapid and successful development; but for our *non-criminal*, yet ignorant masses, the prospect of any systematic national education is, as yet, but a mirage in the sandy waste of their daily life. Sir John Pakington lately obtained, as some slight evidence of vitality in the legislature, a committee of the House of Commons to inquire and report upon this matter—with what result, save delay, has yet to be seen.

Even the administration of the law as regards industrial and reformatory schools is not without its difficulties. By recent enactments, not only is the magistrate empowered to send an unfortunate child, whom he may be called on to convict, to certain schools, but the parent of the child may be compelled to contribute to its support during education. This valuable provision is found practically inefficient. It is not unusual for respectable parents, hopeless of the reclamation of a son or daughter, to beg of the magistrate to send their child to a reformatory as its last chance. But it is still more frequent for worthless vagabonds to urge their children to crime, or even to prosecute them themselves, for the purpose of getting rid of the responsibility of their maintenance. Parents ought to be made aware that they cannot, by educating their offspring to crime, throw upon society the duty of keeping them; but the vagrant habits of such classes render the legal lesson provided by Act of Parliament very difficult of application. It is not easy to suggest a remedy for this state of things: we allude to it as worthy of public attention and discussion.

The GREAT SOCIAL EVIL, as it is called, has certainly within the last few months risen to occupy an unusual share of public attention. Prostitution flaunts in all the main thoroughfares of our metropolis and large cities; and it has become hardly possible for the decent female of the lower ranks of life to walk in the public thoroughfare, or to attend places of public assembly, without being jostled by her gorgeously-attired but frail sister. Statistics of the most appalling character have been made public, but, it must be hoped, not a little tinged with the exaggerated hue which is always thrown upon the object of excited popular interest. To those who are familiar with the nature of similar statistics, such doubts will not appear unreasonable. The natural tendency of the official and police mind is so universally unfavourable to the suspected—so completely prone to reverse the ancient maxim of English law, and to presume guilt until innocence be proved—that one cannot be surprised if error occasionally creep into its conceptions of social conditions, and suspicion gradually slide into positive conviction. But while—for the honour of our country, and in vindication of the chastity of English women—we must demur to some of the published statements, there can be no doubt that the evil is of so great magnitude as to call for the earnest investigation of every philanthropist. It is discussed at some length, and with a decision of sentiment, in another portion of the present Review, and there is, therefore, less need to enlarge upon it here. At all times it is a subject which can only be approached with reluctance, and considered with cautious and dispassionate judgment. Care must, however, be taken to avoid the mistake of heaping upon the fallen nothing but opprobrium and contempt. Disgusting enough, no doubt, is the brazen effrontery of the habitual and hardened prostitute; yet even, at the worst, one finds it difficult to repress a sentiment of pity for a nature so violated and a life so hopeless. To these poor pariahs, all that can make life happy to a woman is beyond reach. 'The free happy ignorance of maidenhood' is gone for ever; the 'sacred dignity and honour of matronhood' is not for them. Nor must all who have sunk into this degradation be indiscriminately condemned together. Some loathe their own trade with as deep a loathing as experience can produce; others are even happy in their career. The offspring of depraved and dissolute parents, a neglected infancy has developed into a youth—perhaps a childhood—of immorality; they have not *lost* a virtue which they *never possessed*. But whatever conclusion philanthropists may arrive at as to a remedy, one consideration cannot be overlooked.

Intemperance

Intemperance is the broad channel through which the cesspool of sensual vice is filled. The publican supplies to the 'unfortunate' at once impudence and oblivion. Close all the public temptations to drinking, shut the door of the public-house, and the exercise of public prostitution as a trade would, in the majority of cases, cease to be a possibility.

The practices of obscenity and temptation to vice have not been left, however, untouched by the arm of the law. Lord Campbell's Act for the PREVENTION OF THE SALE OF OBSCENE PUBLICATIONS has been vigorously and successfully enforced. Holywell-street has been cleansed, and the filth which filled the neighbourhood around with moral miasmata has been consumed as a public nuisance. Public decency has been vindicated in the punishment of the trader in immorality, and no violation of public order has resulted to justify hostile anticipation. This experience is not without its significance for the labourers in other fields of legislative improvement.

Not unconnected with such questions as the foregoing has been the discussion in the leading journal of the propriety of EARLY MARRIAGES, and especially of the possibility of a happy union on an income of less than 300*l.* per annum. Amusing enough it must be to young Jones, of the Circumlocution Office, to poise the happiness and the inconvenience which would arise if, with his salary and his habits, he were to end his dallying flirtation with Julia Smith; but in the mean time, without regard to his scruples, the population around him marry and are given in marriage, while the immense majority of happy families in the community regard half the sum under discussion as almost fabulous wealth.

The publicans of Scotland have been vigorous in their efforts to procure the repeal of the SCOTTISH PUBLIC-HOUSES ACT, which prohibits their traffic on the sabbath-day. In order to serve their ends, they induced Lord Melgund to move for certain Parliamentary returns. These are now before us. They must certainly have astonished the promoters of the inquiry; for though studiously excluding any reference to the influence of the law upon 'Sunday cases,' the only day on which the prohibition operates, abundant evidence is adduced to show its favourable effect on the drunkenness of the country *as a whole*. Thus, while under the old law the police statistics of Glasgow show an average number of drunken cases annually of 22,770, the new law represents 16,866. In Edinburgh, 9,434 stand against 7,915; in Dundee, 1,203 against 1,041; in Greenock, 2,904 against 1,839; and in Paisley, 782 against 496. These results would, of course, be more favourable still had they reference to the precise period of the operation of the Act; and it is worth while to notice that, notwithstanding the outcry which is always made against laws prohibiting the sale of drink on the ground of evasion and illicit selling, the publicans of Scotland, by their own returns, have been able to make out no case which need alarm the most sensitive Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Coincident with the meeting of the 'National Association' at Birmingham, the general council of the UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE held its annual sitting in Manchester. The object of that society, which has been in active operation since 1853, is to procure the legislative suppression of the traffic in intoxicating liquors; and as the result of their agitation, they have thrown before the country a number of 'suggestions for a Bill to prevent' this traffic. The scope of these suggestions is eminently popular. They proceed on the assumption that the public-house exists only in deference to a real or supposed public necessity, and that the public will is the best expression of that need. At present the power of decision as to the existence of a public-house resides in the magistracy—a body appointed by the Crown, and entirely irresponsible to the people; and the Alliance conceives it would arouse no serious objection to transfer the power of refusal from the magistrates to the inhabitants of the district to be affected by the licence. This, they suggest, should be accomplished by the adoption by Parliament of a PERMISSIVE PROHIBITORY LAW—that is, a law which (as in the cases of the Public Libraries Act, the Health of Towns Act, the Scottish Police Act, and many others) shall allow the voters of each district or division to adopt or reject its provisions as they may please.

The

The suggested Bill would empower the ratepayers of a borough, parish, or township to call upon their mayor, or chief officer, to take the votes of the district; and if a *majority of two-thirds* of those voting were favourable to the adoption of the Act it would be so adopted; but if this preponderating majority were not secured, and, of course, *à fortiori*, if the vote were hostile, the Act would not come into operation, nor could a further effort be made in its behalf for at least twelve months.

The Act, when so adopted, would amount to an entire prohibition of the common sale of alcoholic liquors, save by agents, to be appointed, within certain limits and under certain restrictions, by the justices, and who would be paid by salary, and not by profit, so as to be deprived of the inducement to 'push business.' These agents would be allowed to sell only for such purposes as might be declared legal by the Act. Into the machinery suggested we need not enter; it appears simple and likely to be effective; but we must allude to one of the suggestions as involving a very evident principle of social equity. Ordinary trades are held at law responsible for any damage they may cause: chemical works can be indicted and removed, or the party injured may appeal to his private remedy; but the publican's trade is protected by virtue of his licence from the operation of this general law. The gin-seller and beer-seller pocket all their profits and leave society to pay for all their damages. The suggested Act of the Alliance would remove this unfair distinction by making the seller (illegally under that Act) responsible for all the damages to person and property which might result from such sale. It cannot be denied that if ever there can be a case deserving, at the hands of a jury, substantial compensation, it is that of the poor wife, who, for the profit of the publican, is deprived of the home and happiness and comfort and protection and support that may be regarded as the consideration upon which she entered into the marriage contract.

A careful perusal of these 'suggestions' recommends them to our approval. It is certain that a law, and especially such a law, to be efficient must be popular—that is, must be the expression of public sentiment and desire. But public sentiment cannot enforce itself. It must assume the form of law in order to carry out its own dictates against the power of indifference, selfishness, avarice, or cruelty. Precisely such a law is this of the United Kingdom Alliance. It would simply be an imperial enactment enabling a preponderating public opinion to exercise executive power.

As an interesting circumstance, bearing on this subject, we may allude to the removal of the PITCAIRN ISLANDERS from their old home to Norfolk Island. Their new form of government—essentially democratic—has been established for them by Sir W. Denison, Governor of Tasmania. Among its provisions, based upon their old experience of its utility, is an entire prohibition of the sale of beer and spirits on the island, save only for purposes of medicine.

The existence of intemperance is, indeed, the great barrier to social progress. It feeds the reformatory with juvenile criminals, and the gaols with hardened offenders; it neutralizes and destroys the work of education, and undermines the physical power of the industrious people; it creates the necessity for taxation, and diminishes the resources of the people to sustain that taxation. It would ill become any social reformer to turn with indifference away, or to allow prejudice to prevent his acceptance of any reasonable measure for securing deliverance from this national curse, even though its acceptance might involve some little obloquy, and its accomplishment considerable labour.

Art. X.—Review of Current Literature.

1. Biographical.

Fifty Years' Recollections, Literary and Personal, with Observations on Men and Things. By Cyrus Redding. London: Skeet, 1858.

THE last half century has been memorable in this country, and more productive of changes than any preceding period of like duration. Progress in science and commerce, in social and national reform, has been extensive. Railways, steamships, telegraphs, penny posts, free trade, &c., have been originated and carried forward incredibly. He who has watched the rise and progress of these, and can give us the record of his recollections, must to some extent be our benefactor. Mr. Redding does not notice such events at any length, but clusters around his personal history, which was chiefly literary and connected with the press, notes of men and manners during his times. His two volumes are pleasant gossip. He was dandled on the knee of John Howard, saw John Wesley, heard Mrs. Siddons and Talma, and was associated with Thomas Campbell. He was editor of a provincial and of a metropolitan paper, of Galignani in Paris, and contributed to the 'New Monthly' and the 'Metropolitan.' There are some interesting stories of the men, now passed away, who figured during the last fifty years, and pictures of many social customs now obsolete. Mr. Redding, though a journalist, is a connoisseur of wine and the author of its history. We hope he has escaped the penalties of indulgence; for he must have been well initiated who could, as he boasts, vanquish Christopher North in a match at rum punch. Such matches will, we trust, soon be obsolete.

The Gloaming of Life, a Memoir of James Stirling. By the Rev. Alexander Wallace, author of the 'Bible and the Working Classes.' Glasgow: Scottish Temperance League.

AN exquisite biography of a man rescued from the depths of intemperance, continued through forty years. It is worthy of extensive circulation, and is a noble monument to the beneficent effects of temperance. The reverend author has executed the task, evidently a labour of love, in a manner that will secure the eager perusal of the little work by all into whose hands it may come. The pictures of Scottish village-life, the drunken habits of shoemakers, the touching incident of Stirling's conversion, and his many labours, are the touches of a master. We wish we had more of this literature for the million.

Béranger's Memoirs, written by Himself. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1857.

THE story of the poet's early life and struggles is told with great simplicity; and in the appendix the translator has added some information relative to Béranger, with a number of his letters. But this volume is not a sufficient life of the lyric poet of the French people. Like our own Burns, Béranger has indulged in many coarse expressions in his songs, which, as in the case of the former's in Scotland, do not tend to improve the social morality of the people in whose mouths they are familiar as 'household words.'

2. Philosophical.

The World of Mind. By Isaac Taylor. London: Jackson and Walford. 1857.

THE author of this work is too well known to need eulogium. Any production of his pen is entitled to respect, though it is generally open to criticism. We do not mean to enter into the merits of this valuable treatise, or discuss the themes which it suggests. There are a few remarks on social matters which we quote:—

'902. When the default of sympathy with genuine griefs, especially with those griefs that spring from the domestic instincts, arises, as we have said, from the brutalising effect of barbarous usages in which, from childhood, we have been accustomed to take part—then, and in every such case, the "Social Institution," by which such usages are sanctioned is itself A CRIME, and it will be germinative of crimes, until a community so deeply plague-smitten becomes the nuisance of the world.'

Thorndale; or, the Conflict of Opinions. By William Smith, author of 'Ethelwold,' &c. Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons.

THIS is a most fascinating work, and suggestive of many thoughts. The style in which it is written is beautiful and lively, though the subjects dealt with

with are occasionally of the most abstract kind. The volume is an autobiography, mingled with short essays and reports of conversations, and supplemented with a dissertation, entitled, 'The Confessions of Faith of an Eclectic and Utopian Philosopher, A.D. 1850.' Charles Thorndale is an interesting character, of fine cultivation and ardent sympathies, encompassed with doubts, yet inquiring. Himself the victim of consumption, he is keenly alive to the diseases in our social system which prey upon the community. The world is a counterpart of himself; but amidst the various Utopian theories propounded, he can find no practicable plan whereby the evils can be removed or remedied.

We desiderate something more *certain* than this book affords; but its spirit of inquiry must stimulate every reader to think for himself. We regret that we cannot enter more fully into the merits of this valuable production, and conclude by recommending the thoughtful and cultivated among our readers to peruse for themselves a book which, for its fine sentiment, manly thoughts, varied interest, and wholesome speculation has not many equals.

3. Voyages and Travels.

A Two Years' Cruise off Terra del Fuego, the Falkland Islands, Patagonia, and in the River Plate. A Narrative of Life in the Southern Seas. By W. Parker Snow, late Commander of the mission yacht, 'Allen Gardiner;' anthor of 'Voyage of the 'Prince Albert' in Search of Sir John Franklin.' 2 vols. London: Longman and Co.

AMIDST much that is very interesting, Captain Snow has mixed unnecessary controversy with the missionary society in whose service he was engaged. He might have left out that portion, especially as he threatens another publication on the subject. Captain Snow has given some lively details of nautical experience in the Southern Seas; but he presents no very pleasing picture of the colonial establishment at Stanley.

Letters from Cannes and Nice. By Margaret Maria Brewster. Edinburgh: Constable and Co.

WRITTEN in a vigorous, healthy style, containing considerable information, and fitted to be a handbook of English residents in these two towns, now so much a resort for invalids and others. This volume is elegantly got up by the publishers.

The Land of Promise. Notes of a Spring Journey from Beersheba to Jaffa. By Horatius Bonar, D.D. London: Nisbet and Co. 1858.

INTERESTING notes, with very full references to Scripture, which the author has taken much pains to elucidate.

4. Social Science.

Punishment and Prevention. By Alex. Thomson, Esq., of Banchory, author of 'Social Evils,' &c. London: James Nisbet and Co. 1857.

THIS is a most valuable work on social reform. The author is fully informed on the subjecst he discusses, and the counsels he urges on public attention are statesmanlike, philanthropic, and Christian. Prison discipline in all its phases, reformatory efforts—especially the history of the Aberdeen Industrial Feeding Schools—the financial and moral results of strong drink, &c., are treated in a way worthy of the careful consideration of all who are interested in the improvement of the people. It is gratifying to find a landed proprietor occupying his leisure with such philanthropic purposes and work as are embodied in this important volume. Mr. Thomson writes as a scholar, a political economist, a patriot, and a Christian.

The Band of Hope Review for 1851-57, and *British Workman for* 1855-57. London: Partridge and Co.

WE hail the growing circulation of these excellent and beautiful periodicals. Their moral tone, literary matter, and artistic illustration are all commendable, and cannot fail to do good service to practical and necessary reforms.

English Hearts and English Hands; or, the Railway and the Trenches. By the author of 'Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars.' London: Nisbet and Co. 1858.

WHEN earnest Christian sympathy is shown towards the sunken masses, good will result. The lady to whom we are indebted for this work, as well as its highly-popular predecessor, has tried practical philanthropy, and, in the happy transformation of the roughest navvies, realised her reward. Frequent testimonies to the deadly influence of public-houses are given in this work. The authoress sighs for some wise man who will devise and carry through a moral and legislative cure for the drunkenness of the land. The moral is in such la-

bours

bours as her own; and it is a pity that legalised temptations should exist to blight so salutary a work. We trust this volume may induce many to 'go and do likewise.'

Tom Brown's School Days. By an Old Boy. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. We are not surprised that this work has become popular. It is just the book for a schoolboy, and will scarcely fail to awaken in him good, noble, and manly purposes. Besides, there breathes throughout it that Christian tone of which the lamented Arnold was so illustrious an expression. The influence of that great and good man as an instructor of youth is by no means exaggerated in the story of Tom Brown. May there be many such masters in our public institutions, who shall send forth youths so well disciplined and imbued with such a spirit as Tom Brown!

5. Miscellaneous.

The Exiles of Italy. By C. G. H., author of 'The Curate of Linwood.' Edinburgh: Constable and Co. 1857.

Few will peruse this volume without deep feeling. 'Though in the form of a novel,' the author informs us that it 'is a strictly authentic history of the period embraced.' It is a record of the sufferings and oppression endured by Italians since the memorable year 1848, when the whole peninsula was in such commotion as led many to hope its national liberty was about to be secured.

It narrates, in a most interesting manner, and often with pathos, the events of that period, and traces the fortunes of some of the most celebrated men around whom the hopes of constitutional liberty for Italy were then entwined. The reader is taken to Naples, and made familiar with the scenes of which that capital was the theatre during May, 1848.

Rome next engages his attention during the period of Pio Nono's feigned constitution and cowardly flight, of the republic and its triumviri, and of the siege by the French. After the impossibility of continuing the unequal strife was too clearly demonstrated, Garibaldi and his brave troops passed out of the city to await on some hospitable shore the dawning of a brighter day. The faithful few had soon to separate for fear of discovery by the Austrians. Garibaldi and his beautiful wife were left alone.

'The gentle spirit was indeed strong, so strong that it sustained the fragile and sinking frame with the power of a quenchless life. Yet though her sweet smile ever answered the anxious gaze so often bent upon her, and her voice spoke only of hope, Garibaldi saw that her strength was failing from day to day, that her cheek became paler, and her form more attenuated.'

They found a resting-place in a wood-cutter's cottage, where Garibaldi watched the sleep of his exhausted wife. He learned from the trusty peasant the fate of some of his compatriots. Next morning—

'A murmur was heard in the outer room, and Goffredo's step hastily entering from the porch.

'"The Austrians are in the valley," he whispered. Anita caught the sound.

'"They are coming. We shall go together."

'Startled, he bent over her. Her eyes met his with a long gaze of love, then softly closed, and the gentle spirit of Anita Garibaldi was with her God.

'But a little time had passed, when Rosetta opened the door.

'"Generalissimo! you must fly; the Austrians are at hand."

'"I care not!" he exclaimed; "let them take me."

'Then, suddenly checking himself, he knelt beside the bed, and clasping Anita passionately in his arms, he kissed her.

'"No! my beloved; I will live for our suffering country till God calls me home to thee."

'Then turning to Rosetta and her mother, who stood weeping at the door—

'"Farewell, my friends! God will reward you:" and clasping to his bosom the cherished form of his wife, he passed from the cottage door.

'A little way down the valley the Austrian bayonets were gleaming in the sunset. He heeded them not, as he strode up the mountain with his burden: and when he had reached a green lonely spot, where the dark figtrees threw their shadows on the grass, and the gnoling rocks shut out all human eyes, he stopped. Digging a grave with his sword in the velvet turf, he laid her gently there; and covering her quiet resting-place with grass and flowers, went forth a lonely wanderer on the earth.'

Meliora.

ART. I.—*William Paterson the Merchant Statesman and Founder of the Bank of England: his Life and Trials.* By S. BANNISTER, M.A., formerly Attorney-General of New South Wales. Edinburgh: W. P. Nimmo. 1858.

OF all the great interests in which this country is engaged the department of commerce is that which has the smallest amount of literature devoted to its service. Commerce, in fact, is almost without a literature. Its gigantic influence on the world is unrepresented in the record which literature professes to preserve of the world's history. Nations have their archives, courts their annals, wars their historians—the sciences and the arts their academies and their learned societies, whose duty it is to perpetuate the history of their progress. We have lives of kings and queens; lives of chancellors and judges; lives of archbishops, bishops, presbyters, and pastors. The soldier and the seaman are immortalised by the hand of the ready writer; the traveller does the duty for himself, and leaves upon the shelves of the world of literature the memory of his wanderings and the story of the wonders he has seen. Yet commerce—which is, in one sense, the life of the world of civilisation—has no annals and no historians, no biographers and no autobiographers. In an age when all things visible, knowable, or imaginable, are scrutinised with an elaborate detail of research which has almost merged into unintelligent pedantry, a vast field of the most important portion of the life of man has been overlooked or neglected, and the library of civilisation has still the possibility of a new literature in the history of commerce and the biographies of the merchant adventurers who have founded the trade of the world.

There are exceptions, and it is our task, on this occasion, to signalise one in Mr. Bannister's able life of Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England. But not only are there exceptions—there are reasons for the absence of a permanent and book literature more immediately devoted to commerce. Commerce, which has so few books, has the largest amount of the current literature of the ever-teeming press. The newspaper, the 'Prices Current,' and the 'Gazette,' are the daily or weekly records of the world of commerce. No information that the press produces is so systematically, and with such unvarying regularity, booked up to the last point as the practical literature of commerce. Every

man in Britain may know every day the last authentic intelligence from every market in the world, and the current price of every article that is customarily offered for sale. Commerce, in its practical bearing, being very much the adjustment of prices, and prices being subject to perpetual variations, the necessities of the merchant compel him to procure the latest information; and it may be that the compulsory habit of devoting so large a portion of time to the current information furnished by the periodical press may have damped or exhausted the desire to pursue the history of his profession, and to form an intelligent acquaintance with the strange phases it has passed through, or the noble men who have been the pioneers of the practical arts of the realm of civilisation. The past deficiency is in some degree likely to be atoned for by present—we will not say superfluity—but by present abundance. Few men of great note are now likely to be passed over and forgotten. James Watt and George Stephenson are tolerably familiar to most readers of the English language, and the error of neglect is gradually being rectified. Commerce, in fact, or commerce under the form of its connection with science or invention, is enlisting the pen of the biographer; and commerce, in its purely mercantile aspect, will no doubt ultimately assert its claim to a place in the annals of mankind. But there may be another reason for the neglect of commercial literature;—no less than the comparative secrecy with which its operations are carried on; a secrecy which is altogether unintentional, and which arises from the very nature of its transactions. The king is on the throne—really or metaphorically—and is necessarily surrounded by spectators; the general is in the field, devising and carrying out measures of military tactics on which the eyes of nations are intent, and in which the interests or the very existence of empires are involved. His light is not hid under a bushel. His deeds and doings are necessarily trumpeted throughout the world. He receives dignities—the thanks of parliament—is made a lord or a duke—and all men know wherefore. He has even, in modern times, a special correspondent appointed by the press—that is, by the public—to watch and report his proceedings. He lives in the open air of publicity—not even in the glass house of the virtuous ancient—but in the open air. All men see and know him; all men wish to do him honour—to throw up the hat and hurrah for the hero who has fought our battles and beaten our enemies. His success is impersonal: it is not merely his success, but ours, and in that may be found some explanation of the fame of the soldier. Yet if we turn in the other direction altogether, and inquire—not into the fame of the hero who has been our safeguard or our champion, but into the fame of the criminal who has waged war upon society, we find that publicity

publicity will insure, in some form or other, the service of the pen and the perpetuation of the story. Great murderers—poisoners—assassins—highwaymen—pirates and rogues, will attain to some social celebrity; and the story of Jack Sheppard or Dick Turpin is better and more widely known than the story of the great Jewish family called Rothschild, which exercises so powerful an influence on the monetary transactions of the empire. The statesman in parliament, the soldier in the field, the preacher in the pulpit, or even the criminal at the bar of the crowded court, are at least visible, and the world looks at them. But the merchant is comparatively unknown and unknowable. We very much question whether any governor of the Bank of England ever attained sufficient notoriety to be personally known beyond the small orbit or circle within which it was his lot to circulate; and it is a well-known fact that the greatest names in the departments of money, manufacture, or trade, are names, and nothing more, so far as the great body of the nation is concerned. Even when made a lord, as in the case of Jones Loyd, the only reason for the elevation that ever presented itself to the mind of the public was, 'because he was rich,' which is perhaps as good a reason as any other; but of the personal or commercial history of the great money-dealer the public was totally in the dark. His deeds and doings were unknown and unrecorded, and the creation of a merchant lord was regarded by the country with absolute indifference.

Yet commerce, if its annals were known, might furnish materials to literature not less valuable than those furnished by war, statesmanship, or adventure. The comedy and the tragedy might be extracted wholesale out of the trading avocations of society. It is not that the elements are not there, but that they are difficult of collection, and, when collected, are so interwoven with personalities, that the whole truth could scarcely be narrated until the period of interest has to some extent passed away. In our own day we have not lacked for incidents, and assuredly the story of our time will live as long as the history of our nation. The Crimea will never die out of our memory so long as the English tongue is heard at all; and the Indian mutiny will be written down as the gigantic struggle of civilisation to conquer India to her modern uses. Their tale will be told in many a way, and after-generations will marvel at our trials and our successes. Yet we doubt whether even the perils of the Crimea, or the sadder story of the Indian massacres and the Indian triumphs, could furnish to literature more graphic materials than the events of the commercial crisis. The siege of Lucknow itself would scarcely surpass in interest the story of the Western Bank of Scotland, if we could trace from family to family the effects of the disaster, and

see widow and orphan steeped once more in sorrow, while unpunished crime could hold its head as high as ever, and rather boast of its well-doing. It is not that commerce has not its drama as deeply interesting as the drama of war, but that the incidents are covered by the conventionalities of society, and that the veil is not lifted by the hand of the artist.

We turn, then, to Mr. Bannister's Life of William Paterson, 'the merchant statesman and founder of the Bank of England,' with the belief that the author has supplied a national want, and that he has, as in duty bound, conscientiously assembled together all the available information that can now be reached by the scholar regarding one of the famous men that the commerce of these islands has produced. Paterson had sunk out of sight. He was little better than a myth, certainly not much more than a mere name—the name of the founder of the Bank of England. The Bank of England was founded by a Scotchman, and the name of that Scotchman was Paterson, who was also in some way or other connected with the Darien scheme. Such was the sum of the popular knowledge, and even the student of English history could not boast of knowing much more. It was no shame not to know the story of William Paterson. Mr. Bannister, however, has brought him to light, and with accurate care has gathered the fragments that have enabled him to reconstruct the bold innovator of whom the poet said:—

> 'I know this and see what has been done,
> Admire the steady soul of Paterson.
> It is no common genius can persuade
> A nation bred to war to think of trade.'

WILLIAM PATERSON was born, apparently, at the farm of Skipmyre, in Trailflat, Dumfriesshire, in March or April, 1655. He seems to have belonged to a tenant family in easy circumstances, and was destined for the 'kirk,' or Church of Scotland. How he changed his destination is a mere matter of conjecture; but he went to London in early life, was received into the counting-house of a relative, and devoted himself permanently to trade and to schemes of various kinds. The Darien colony appears to have been planned as early as 1685, when he was thirty years of age; and in a memorial addressed in 1715 to King George I., Paterson states that for twenty-nine years he had deeply studied our relations in trade with Germany. In 1687 a countryman, Mr. Robert Douglas, says that he had often met him in the coffee-houses of Amsterdam, promoting the design of a free commonwealth in Darien. In 1690 he was associated with Sir John Trenchard and Sir Dalby Thomas in the formation of the Hampstead Water Company, and in 1694 he was engaged in founding the Bank of England.

'The

'The want,' he says, 'of a bank, or public fund, for the convenience and security of quick payments, and the better to facilitate the circulating money in and around this great and opulent city, had in our time, among other inconveniences, occasioned much unnecessary credit to the loss of several millions, by which trade hath been exceedingly discouraged and obstructed. This is besides the height of interest, which for some time past hath borne no manner of proportion to that of our rival neighbours; and for it no tolerable reason could ever be given, either in notion or practice, considering the riches and trade of England, unless it were the want of public funds, by which the effects of the nation in some sort might be disposed of to answer the use and do the office of money, and become very useful to the trade and improvement thereof. These, and such as these, were the causes that the nature and use of banks and public funds have been the discourse and expectation of many years. *But all this while our refined politicians assure us that we must never think of settling banks in England without a commonwealth;* and this notion became so universal that it was matter of derision for any one to seem to be of a contrary opinion.'

This passage is given by Mr. Bannister from Paterson's 'Brief Account of the intended Bank of England: London, 1694;' and it finds a partial elucidation in some statements of the same tract which are sufficiently curious. We must quote another passage before endeavouring to show the influence that the political condition of the country had upon its monetary and commercial condition.

'One pretended patriot comes and tells us this design will make the king absolute, by becoming master thereof, nor is there any way to prevent it; for, says he, rich and monied men we find, by experience, are naturally timorous and fearful, and are easily brought to comply with the times to save what they have. And the keeping of this fund being of necessity committed to such, the prospect of their profit, in conjunction with their natural easiness, will, of course, induce them to join with the prince, who is always best able to encourage and support them. Another comes with a boast, and tells ye that he, or his grandsire, uncle, or some other of the race, have been abroad in some country or other, and in all their peregrinations they never met with *banks* nor stocks anywhere, but only in republics; and if we let them get footing in England we shall certainly be in danger of a commonwealth. Nay, he goes further, and tells you that the very establishing of a bank in England will, of course, alter the government; for that is to invest the funds of the nation in the hands of the subjects, who naturally are and will always be sure to be of the popular side, and will insensibly influence the Church and State.'

Let it, then, be observed that the date of the above is the year 1694; and although we may allow to Paterson a few years before that period for the preparation of his schemes, and for answering the objection that 'a bank would only succeed in a republic,' we shall yet endeavour to show that in both of these he had really been anticipated by a very useful man, who has been altogether forgotten, and of whom no mention appears to be made in the life of the founder of the Bank of England. Paterson states that in 1691 he proposed to the Government a specific plan for the restoration of the coin; so before the actual founding of the Bank of England in 1694-5, of which he claims the credit, he had, at a Committee of the House of Commons, connected the improvement of the currency of bills with the supply of money for the public service. Mr. Bannister, however, makes

makes the full admission that previous writers had advocated the introduction of the Dutch system of banking, which appears, even at that period, to have been so completely successful that the price of land had risen to a remarkably high point, and a high rate of land is usually the index of commercial prosperity. Mr. Bannister states, page 66—

'As to paper currency and banking, a better system than that which from of old prevailed legally in England had long been argued for by zealous and able writers. The work of 1677, already quoted,* was one of many in which it was contended that we ought to adopt the safe practice of the Continent, and make bills payable to the bearer transferable, without a slow and expensive assignment, or even any indorsement.'

Without, then, contesting that Paterson was the genuine founder of the Bank of England, or endeavouring to deprive him of the honours to which he is so justly entitled, we must distinctly understand that he was not the first propounder of the banking system; and it is precisely on this point that we should wish to see Mr. Bannister's work enlarged and amended when it comes to be reprinted. He has given us too meagre an account of the circumstances in the midst of which Paterson was carrying on his labours. He has given us a figure without a landscape or background, and we see no connection between the establishment of the national bank and the events and circumstances that preceded its foundation. His story wants elucidation. He has adhered too literally to the mere precise examination of Paterson himself, and has given us a monography rather than a biography. At the same time the deficiency is perhaps more than compensated by the strict adherence to original and authentic sources of information, and a few slight additions would complete Mr. Bannister's work. We therefore offer a contribution on a single point relating to a single individual.

In 1677 a small quarto volume was published with the following fanciful title:—'England's improvement by sea and land. To outdo the Dutch without fighting. To pay debts without moneys. To set at work all the poor of England with the growth of our own lands. To prevent unnecessary suits of law, with the benefit of a voluntary register, &c., &c. By Andrew Yarranton, Gent.' The book was licensed by Roger L'Estrange in 1676, and consequently must have been composed about twenty years before the founding of the Bank of England. Andrew, among other things, was the man who introduced the clover cultivation into England; and he appears to have published another work called 'Yarranton's Improvement by Clover.' He had visited the con-

* A tract entitled 'A Discourse of the use and power of Parliaments, of Laws, of Courts of Judicature, of Liberty, of Property and Religion, of the interest of England in reference to the designs of France; of Taxes and Trade,' 1677; no name of author or printer.

tinent

tinent for the purpose of studying the trades and manufactures that might be advantageously introduced into England; and in Holland he had made himself acquainted with the Dutch system of banking. His summary of what the Dutch had done is so concise that we are tempted to quote it:—

'First, they have fitted themselves with a public register of all their lands and houses, whereby it is made ready moneys all times, without the charge of law or the necessity of a lawyer. Secondly, by making cut rivers navigable in all places where art can possibly effect it, thereby making trade more communicable and easy than in other places. Thirdly, *by a public bank the great sinews of trade, the credit thereof making paper go in trade equal with ready money—yea, better, in many parts of the world, than money.* Fourthly, a court of merchants to end all differences betwixt merchant and merchant. Fifthly, a lumber-house.'*

And again he says: 'Observe, all you that read this, and tell to your children this strange thing—that paper in Holland is equal with moneys in England;' and he enters into an argument to prove that 'a bank may rise in London equal with that of Amsterdam':—

'And I would have the mistaken world know that a bank is as safe and practicable in a kingdom as in a commonwealth, and particularly in an island that is convenient for trade. And the reason why it is so is because it is a bank of credit, and not of cash, as is the Chamber of London and the East India Company, whose treasures are abroad in trade, and increasing, and only the books in the offices. I say it is impossible to keep a bank from rising in this kingdom, nay, many banks, if we were under a voluntary register (of lands).'

We have said enough, then, to show that while Paterson might be the actual founder of the Bank of England, there were other members of the commercial community fully alive to the paramount importance of such an institution; and although this circumstance need not derogate from the honours that are his due, it is quite necessary that the fact should be stated, otherwise a distorted view of history is impressed on the vision of the reader. Paterson was the man who executed the achievement, and who brought the system of banking to a practical bearing, but Yarranton had preceded him by twenty years in a clear statement of the requisites; and we have little hesitation in affirming that if a bank had been founded on the principles announced by Andrew, it would have been a better, more secure, and more useful bank than any single institution bearing the name that has ever existed in this country.

One peculiarity, however, must strike the reader—that both Paterson and Yarranton are compelled to argue that a bank could exist in a *kingdom* as well as in a *commonwealth*. Nor was this without reason. In 1676 banking was at its lowest point. The goldsmiths had formerly carried on a system of banking, and had

* The lumber-house is spoken of by Paterson as the *Lombard*, or Lombard house, 'whereby all poor people may have moneys lent upon goods at very easy interest.'

borrowed

borrowed money, say at 6 per cent., advancing it to the Government, say at 8 or 10. But when the Dutch sailed up the Medway, in 1667, there had been a panic and a run, and the goldsmiths' credit had been destroyed. Some time later, Charles II. had seized the money in the exchequer, and had ruined thousands of families. It was, therefore, not without reason that the practical men of the time connected the idea of safe banking with the notion of a republic; and it was only after the Revolution of 1688 that the Bank of England came to be possible. It seems, in fact, to have been known as the *Revolution Bank*, and was supported by the revolution party, including John Locke, who was one of the 1,300 original shareholders.

Into the later career of Paterson we need not enter, briefly stating that in 1695 he proposed to found an Orphan Bank Fund, and quitted the direction of the Bank of England. Soon after he was engaged in the Darien scheme. In 1701 he published his 'Proposals and Reasons for constituting a Council of Trade,' a work of great merit, long attributed to the paper-money adventurer, John Law, from the circumstance that it was republished in 1761 by Foulis, of Glasgow, with Law's name. In 1706 he took part in the preliminaries for the union with Scotland, and in the first united parliament was elected for the borough of Dumfries. The last ten years of his life he appears to have spent in Westminster, and he died on the 22nd January, 1719; but where he died appears to be still unknown.

Mr. Bannister has announced as in the press (2 vols., 8vo.), 'The Writings of William Paterson,' and the announcement affords us the opportunity of throwing out a suggestion connected with the literature of commerce. The suggestion is this:—There are at present in existence various societies for the republication of scarce and valuable works that are no longer accessible to the great mass of readers—Ray Societies, Sydenham Societies, Maitland Societies, &c. To these societies a certain number of members subscribe, either in the form of an annual subscription, or in the presentation of a work or part of a work. Many books of great historic and professional value are thus rescued from oblivion, and the available literature of the nation becomes at once more perfect and more complete—more perfect, inasmuch as a distinct department is cultivated by special men with special regard to thorough investigation; and more complete, inasmuch as every wanting link is hunted up in every imaginable direction: and the accumulated fragments become of incomparably more value when assembled together, than when, in their scattered isolation, they exist only as the curiosities of the richer or more fortunate libraries. Why not, then, have a special society devoted to the reproduction and republication of the commercial literature of

of the country? Britain, the most commercial country in the world, would surely be found to contain as many wealthy merchants—including, in the term merchant, all who are engaged in the active industry of the age, whether mining, manufacturing, trading, or money-dealing—as would be willing to subscribe their annual guinea, or two guineas, for the purpose of rescuing from oblivion the literature of their own profession. And to exhibit this necessity, we have brought together Andrew Yarranton and William Paterson. Almost all who have read anything at all have read of Adam Smith, the political economist, and of the doctrines by which he swept away the old system of restriction. Yet where is the scholar who could tell us how the system demolished by Adam Smith had its origin? who was its founder? under what circumstances it was developed? who was it that wrote the thesis of which Adam Smith wrote the anti-thesis? Smith was the literary founder of the modern system by which free trade is destined to extend over the world: who was the founder of the older system, by which restrictions were imposed on trade? Was it, or was it not, this same Andrew Yarranton who promulgated the policy of protection, while, at the same time, he was using his best endeavour to import the skill and machinery of the continent? Paterson's works, taken alone, would be of no great value, because, to most readers, they would be historically unintelligible; but taken in connection with those that preceded them, and with those that succeeded them, down to Adam Smith, they would probably attain to high historic rank, and elucidate the foundation of England's commercial greatness. Why, then, should there not be a 'Paterson Society' for the republication of a complete series of the commercial literature of Great Britain, chronologically arranged? Paterson's works, under the able and acute editorship of Mr. Bannister, might form the nucleus of a national enterprise of the very highest importance.

ART. II.—1. *Report of Statute Law Commission*, 1835.
2. *The Statute Law Commission*, 1854.
3. *Report of the Law Amendment Society*, 1856.
4. *Revision of Code of Laws of the State of New York*, 1830.

THE Law of England, which has been pronounced by its flatterers to be the perfection of reason, abounds with theories, which, however wise and beneficent they may have been in their origin, have now become most inconvenient, if not positively mischievous, in their operation. The revolutions in our social and economical relations during a long course of ages, and the changes which the ever-varying phases of society have necessitated,

sitated, have helped to produce so vast and so heterogeneous an accumulation of legal ordinances, that the law itself has become little better than 'a mockery and a snare.' That the law is, for the most part, founded upon principles of equity, and that it is administered with an earnest desire to mete out even-handed justice, few, perhaps, would care to deny; and yet the grievances which exist are so onerous to all classes, when, from necessity, they become involved in its meshes, that submission to wrong is often considered preferable to the vindication of clear, undoubted right, when that vindication can only be asserted by the employment of the complex machinery of the law. 'De minimis non curat lex,' is a maxim which is thoroughly appreciated by all who have had anything to do with its vexatious delays, its alluring uncertainties, and its costly processes. But the theory of our law is, that from the exquisite simplicity of its provisions no one ought to be ignorant of them; and that theory, with the somewhat grave consequences which it involves, we find expressed in the well-known .naxim, 'Ignorantia legis neminem excusat.' Under the most favourable combination of circumstances, and in a state of society at once natural and healthy, such a proposition could hardly be regarded as just and reasonable; but it would at least be expected that the laws which adopted such a legal principle would be conspicuous for their simplicity of arrangement, their perspicuity of thought, and their terseness of expression; it would be expected that, like the Laws of the Twelve Tables, they would be expounded in clear, unambiguous language, and made intelligible to the minds of the people, so that the commission of an offence might not be imputed to the ignorance of the law so much as to the positive disobedience of the offender.

The Law of England, however, contradicts, in this respect, every principle of justice and expediency. As a system—if such it can be called—it is without method, and its parts have neither coherence with, nor due relation to, each other. Dating from a remote antiquity, it has accumulated a mass of motley incongruities which have been elaborated by the subtlety of man's intellect until they have become well-nigh unintelligible, and what common sense they once contained has been almost smothered under the weight of the most artificial distinctions. It is, in short, a system built up of legal atoms, which, like the constitution of the world of the Atomic philosophers, have found their way into the places they hold by little less than blind chance.

The most accomplished lawyer who has sought to master it by the most diligent study, and by the 'viginti annorum lucubrationes,' pretends to no more than an acquaintance with its principles, as enunciated in the judicial decisions of the courts. The courts and their component members, judges of great erudition and

and large powers of mind, are not unfrequently opposed to each other, while in their judgments they anxiously endeavour, by reasoning and by thought, to trace out the foundations of the law when it has become loose and unsettled.

This system of law, the Municipal Law as it is termed 'quod quisque populus sibi constituit,' which has been established in this country for the governance of the people, and which consists of judicial decisions, and of legislative enactments whose origin is traceable to a very early period, is written or statute law, and unwritten or common law. The common law, which is declared by universal tradition and by long practice, is supposed to have had its source in the Laws of Alfred, or, as they were afterwards called, the Laws of Edward the Confessor. These laws, which were themselves a digest of the customs prevailing among the Saxons, were, no doubt, after the Norman Conquest perpetuated by tradition, and became, in combination with the enactments of early, but now extinct statutes, the foundation of what we call the Common Law of England. This law has been expounded by judges through successive ages, and their decisions, either explaining or amplifying its principles, have been recorded in Reports which are extant in a regular series from the reign of Henry III. to the present time. But besides the Common Law, there is, as it were, an off-shoot from it, which is hardly of inferior importance to, and, in its proportions, falls little short of the parent tree, which must also be ranked under the category of unwritten law. Equity, which has been defined to be το ἔλλειμα του νόμου, arose as a system in this country when the Common Law Courts became timorous of devising new remedies for new wrongs. Equally as afraid in the fourteenth century, as we are now, of exceeding the boundaries which have been prescribed by precedent, they permitted a new jurisdiction to be established, which left it to the conscience of the judge to decide all questions which were not strictly subjects of legal cognisance, or for which a writ 'in consimili casu' could not at once be framed, untrammelled by authority, and according to the very right and justice of the case. The decisions which have been pronounced by courts of equity are also extant in a series of Reports from the reign of Henry VIII., and consisting, as they do, of well-considered judgments, and of expositions of portions of the Statute Law, must be regarded as virtually a part of the unwritten law.

The Statute Law which has come down to us dates its existence from the reign of Henry III. The oldest statute extant is Magna Charta, as confirmed by the Parliament in the ninth year of the reign of Henry III. From that time to the present, the Statute Law has been continually increased in bulk at least, if not in wisdom, by the experimental legislation of six centuries,

turies, until it has attained the most monstrous dimensions. In a Report upon this important subject published by the Society for Promoting the Amendment of the Law, in 1856, it is stated that

'The Statute Book at present consists of 40 ponderous quarto volumes, each volume, on an average, containing about 1,000 closely printed pages. The public general acts, independent of some 10,000 local and personal acts, and about 14,000 private acts, are, in round numbers, 17,000, and of these about 10,500 are either obsolete or have expired, or are expressly or virtually repealed. At least 1,500 more relate exclusively either to Scotland or to Ireland, or to the Colonies, while of the remaining 5,000 many have been partially repealed, while others have been modified, in a greater or less degree, by successive legislative changes.'

In order that the gravity of the subject may be rightly appreciated, it should be explained that the Acts which are called 'Local and Personal,' and distinguished as such from the Public General Acts, though more limited in their operation, are themselves of a public character, and frequently comprise extensive districts and subjects of considerable importance. The classification and diversity of statutes are thus explained by Lord Chief Baron Pollock in delivering the judgment of the Court of Exchequer in *Richards* v. *Easto*, 15 *Meeson and Welsby*, 251. He says:—'On the 1st May, 1797, the House of Lords resolved that the king's printer should class the general statutes and special. the public, local, and private, in separate volumes; and on the 8th May, 1801, there was a resolution of the House of Commons agreed to by the House of Lords, that the "general statutes," and the "public, local, and personal" in each session should be "classed in separate volumes."' And he afterwards proceeds to say, that 'local and personal statutes' are explained to be 'such as are confined to local limits and affect particular descriptions of persons only, as distinguished from all the queen's subjects.' To indicate the extent of legislation under the denomination of 'Local and Personal Acts,' it may be observed that all road, railway, canal, parish, dock, gas, water, and market acts are included under this title; and that even such important legislative measures as 'The Mayor's Court of London Procedure Act, 1857,' 'The Mersey Docks and Harbour Act, 1857,' and it is even said 'The London Building Act,' 'The Central Criminal Court Act,' and 'The Metropolitan Police Act,' are not comprehended, or at least do not strictly fall within the classification of the General Statutes. The General Statutes therefore do, in reality, though not in words, comprehend a large proportion of those which have been above distinguished from them as 'Local and Personal,' inasmuch as many of the latter have an intimate connection with material interests, of not merely public, but of national importance, and, in a popular sense, might fairly claim to be denominated General Statutes. It is with this huge mass of statutes, piled like Ossa upon Pelion, one upon the other, and thrown

thrown into endless confusion by countless dislocations, during the last six centuries, that every Englishman is expected to be familiar, and if he is not, and he sins unhappily against the provisions of any of them, he is held to be fully responsible, and rightly punishable for his delinquency. But what a delusion is this! No one can venture to trust to his own unaided judgment upon any question involving a legal right; and even when deriving the advantage of professional learning he often finds himself tossed in such a sea of doubts as to render his position one of imminent peril. But what other result could have been expected from a piecemeal legislation such as our country has been blessed with,—a legislation which, often oblivious of the past, and hardly regardful of the future, has systematically contented itself with making provision for the exigencies of the hour? With one or two exceptions, no attempt has been made to reduce our written law to order, or to harmonise past legislation with modern demands and requirements. Statute has followed after statute, each modifying or perhaps indirectly negativing the provisions of its predecessor, and leaving the law more inexplicable than it was before. The maxim 'Leges posteriores priores contrarias abrogant' in the absence of express repealing words, is only applicable when the later statute is negative in its terms, or when a negative is necessarily implied; but where repealing words were used, the principle was, until the passing of the Act 13th & 14th Vic., c. 21, that if a statute that repealed another were itself repealed the first statute became thereby revived without any formal words for that purpose. It is evident that the utmost confusion must have been engendered by such a state of legislation, and though some efforts have been made to introduce the 'lucidus ordo' into this chaotic mass, little practical benefit has yet been obtained.

More than twenty years ago a commission was appointed for the purpose of abating and devising some remedy for this acknowledged evil, and in 1835 it made a Report in favour of the consolidation of the Statute Law. The recommendations contained in that Report seem not to have excited the attention which they deserved, and the further consideration of the subject remained practically in abeyance until the year 1853, when the present Statute Law Commission was appointed with the same object. The labours of this commission have up to the present time been unproductive, and from the mode of procedure which it is understood they have adopted, it is feared that no very early or beneficial results can be anticipated. It is obvious that the first thing to be undertaken in the prosecution of such a work should be the separation of the obsolete and dead matter from the living body of the Statute Law, or, as Lord Bacon, in his

'Proposal

'Proposal for Amending the Law of England,' has expressed it, that the first thing to be done is 'to discharge the books of those statutes where the case by alteration of time is vanished. The like of statutes long since expired and clearly repealed. The next is, to repeal all the statutes which are sleeping and not of use, but yet snaring and in force.' Even if the obsolete matter were confined to one part only of the Statute Book, so that its presence would not embarrass the other parts, it would yet be desirable to lop it off and disencumber the remainder of its weight; but when we know that it runs throughout the whole body of the statutes, and that it increases their bulk indefinitely, it would seem to be most essential, both for the sake of simplicity and for the economy of time and labour, that classification should be postponed to expurgation. Consider the labour which would be required and the energies which would be uselessly devoted to the accomplishment of the consolidation, if the statutes were to be maintained in their existing form until a classification or digest is completed! Every one of the statutes must be carefully explored, for it will not suffice to look to their titles merely, to enable a conscientious consolidation of the statutes upon any one subject to be prepared; and this process must be repeated over and over again, until, by the exhaustion of the various subjects, the entire work has been accomplished. And yet, such is the course which the Statute Law Commissioners are understood to be now pursuing, and such is the process, the painful and wearisome process, by which this important undertaking is to be consummated. No doubt the desired goal will be ultimately attained, whether the one course or the other be adopted; but it will be reached, if the course adopted by the Commissioners be persevered in, pretty much in the same way as if a traveller, desirous of getting to Dublin from Liverpool, were to start from the latter place and sail round the Orkneys instead of going, by the direct route, across the Irish Channel. In either case a much larger sacrifice of money, time, and labour would be demanded; but these are 'trifles light as air,' which, we may presume, excite no misgivings in the minds of the Statute Law Commissioners. Still, it might have been expected that even *they* would have evinced some hesitation as to the soundness of their judgment when they discovered that their opinions were at variance with those expressed by the Commissioners in their Report upon the subject in 1835, and with the views of the late Lord Chancellor Cranworth, as explained by himself in the House of Lords in March, 1853.

The Commissioners, in 1835, reporting upon the proposed consolidation of the Statute Law, recommended, as their first remedy, 'the rejection from the Statute Book of enactments which have been

been directly or indirectly repealed, or which are obsolete or otherwise superfluous.'

'We believe,' they said, 'that the reduction of the existing statutes by expurgation would not be attended with any inconvenience, and might be effected with perfect safety; and we think that if it were not deemed expedient at present to attempt a more complete consolidation of the Statute Law, a consolidation, to this extent at least, ought to be accomplished. It would diminish the bulk and costliness of the present Statute Law, would render it more accessible than it now is, would obviate the danger arising from repealed and obsolete matter (not easily discoverable to be such in the printed editions of the statutes), and would facilitate the execution of a more perfect consolidation should such be attempted at any future period.'

And Lord Cranworth, when explaining his views upon this subject in the House of Lords on the 14th March, 1853, stated 'that an attempt would be made, in the first place, to ascertain, precisely and exactly, of what the Statute Book consisted;' and again, on the 17th March, he repeated that the Board would 'first make such an expurgation of the statutes as would show what was and what was not in force.' But these views have not prevailed. Is it so easy a task to digest the Statute Law, that those who are entrusted with the performance of so onerous a duty can afford to disregard suggestions which may tend to facilitate the accomplishment of their task? or, if the process which they have adopted is preferable to that which has been advocated by the highest authorities, why has so large an expenditure of time and money been necessary to produce such barren results? It is not forgotten that the contents of two thousand volumes were digested by Trebonian and his assistants at the command of Justinian in the short space of three years; and it cannot be doubted that if earnestness of purpose had been combined with method of arrangement, and an ability capable of carrying a well-considered scheme into effect, the Statute Law of England might ere this have been digested and consolidated. Time may be frittered away, and the money of the country may be wasted in idle and profitless speculations; but seeing that consolidation under any circumstances, necessarily, in practice, implies expurgation, however in theory it may be repudiated by the existing commissioners, we believe that, before any real good can be effected, the recommendations contained in the Report of 1835 must be adopted. Let us endeavour to afford some illustration of our views by a cursory examination of the statutes now in force relating to 'Turnpikes,' and ascertain what would require to be done before their consolidation could be faithfully accomplished. On this subject some twenty statutes have been enacted since the 3rd G. IV., c. 126, which was passed 'to amend the General Laws then in being for regulating Turnpike Roads in that part of Great Britain called England,' and which statute repealed no less than sixteen statutes. In the following year, the

4th

4th G. IV., c. 95, was passed into a law, which absolutely repealed nineteen sections, and partially repealed three sections, of the 3rd G. IV., c. 126. Subsequently, the 7th and 8th G. IV., c. 24, repealed six sections of the 3rd G. IV., c. 126; and again, in the following year, the 9th G. IV., c. 77, repealed three sections of 3rd G. IV., c. 126, one section of 4th G. IV., c. 95, and one section of 7th & 8th G. IV., c. 24, and, later still, one section of 3rd G. IV., c. 126, was repealed by 3rd & 4th Vic., c. 39. We are now confining ourselves in this exposition to strictly repealing sections, and we forbear from wearying the reader with the various alterations and modifications effected by the above-mentioned and by other statutes, in the Law of Turnpikes; and, premising that no authoritative expurgation of the repealed matter has previously been made, that the materials of the Statute Book are kept together in their present form, and that a compiler were directed by the Board to consolidate the Statute Law which is now in force concerning turnpikes, in what other way could he safely proceed in the execution of his task than by commencing with a careful examination of the last statute to be found on the subject, then referring to the preceding statute whose provisions were affected by it, and duly expunging from it the sections or parts of sections which it repealed, and so proceeding onwards in his examination and work of separation and rejection, until he had reached the earliest unrepealed statute relating to that subject? Having arrived at this point, and rooted out all the dead and useless matter, he might then commence his work of collation and consolidation, conscious that the matter which remained would supply him with the existing Statute Law as applicable to 'Turnpikes.' Perplexities innumerable would arise if any other course than this were adopted; and we question whether, without its adoption, the work could be accomplished, even at the cost of a much larger expenditure of time, with anything like certainty or accuracy. But the difficulty would not stop here. We have above stated that the statute 3rd G. IV., c. 126, repealed no less than sixteen statutes relating to turnpikes, all of which, notwithstanding their repeal, exist in the Statute Book as though they were unrepealed. Now, inasmuch as there are few statutes which do not legislate, in some particulars, upon other matters than those strictly comprised under their several titles, being in some way incident to, and springing out of them; and as, therefore, to effect a true and perfect consolidation, the contents of each and every statute not known to be repealed would be required to be ascertained, it would be necessary that any one seeking to consolidate the law upon any other subject than that of turnpikes should examine the provisions of those very sixteen repealed statutes, unless, by a previous investigation, he had

had discovered that they had been repealed. To illustrate our meaning still further, let us look at the contents of the statute 17th & 18th Vic., c. 83, entitled, 'An Act to amend the Laws relating to the Stamp Duties.' That statute, which most persons would have regarded exclusively as a Stamp Act, contains a section (the eleventh,) which defines what shall be deemed bank notes within the meanings of 7th & 8th Vic., c. 32, and 8th & 9th Vic., c. 37 & 38. Now, how could a consolidation of the statutes relating to bankers be accurately made which did not incorporate that section relating to bank notes? and how could that be effected without a careful examination of all the statutes seriatim? and in the event of the repeal of the 17th & 18th Vic., c. 83, how could the necessity of its examination be dispensed with excepting an expurgation of that statute, as a repealed statute, had in some way or the other been previously made? If, then, it is sought to economise time and labour of research, and to get rid of needless repetitions, is it not clear that a critical examination of all the statutes is previously needed—first, to ascertain what have been repealed, and, of those repealed, what have been revived by the repealing of the repealing statutes themselves (for Lord Brougham's Act, 13th & 14th Vic., c. 21, before referred to, does not extend to statutes anterior to the year 1850), and then to search for and extract those casual pieces of legislation which are to be found promiscuously scattered up and down in statutes where they would be least expected to be met with, and which a mere classification of the statutes, ranged under their several titles, would fail to discover? Let this plan be put into operation, and the work of classification and consolidation may be satisfactorily entered upon, with a reasonable expectation that, when completed, an accurate and faithful digest of the Statute Law will have been secured.

We have no sinister views, or any unfriendly feeling towards the present Statute Law Commissioners; but, as law reformers, we are anxious that the deformities which now disfigure our legal system should be swept away without an instant's unnecessary delay, and that the injustice which, under the sanction of our laws, is hourly committed, should not be perpetuated through the apathy or lukewarmness of those to whom its reformation has been entrusted. We do not forget the vast chasm which time has interposed since the scheme which we have ventured to insist upon was first chalked out by the great Lord Bacon; nor can we fail to remember that one generation has already passed away since the reform of the Statute Law was first initiated, and that, since that epoch, our advance has been so tardy that the lapse of upwards of twenty years has hardly brought us nearer to the consummation of our wishes.

But much as we desire that the work of Statute Law Consolidation should be rapidly completed, we are not anxious that it should be presented to the world in an immature or unsettled condition. We think that the Statute Law should not only be compressed within the smallest limits, but that it should be fashioned with all the amendments which experience of its defectiveness has demonstrated to be necessary. Revision and amendment of the statutes we hold to be little less important than their consolidation; and the labour which would be required to accomplish the one, would serve most materially to effect the other. Indeed, so natural does it appear to be to correct inaccuracies, or supply omissions in portions of a work into which it is sought, by a large and wholesome reform, to introduce harmony and method, that an objector, we conceive, would be somewhat perplexed to discover any tangible reason why, for this purpose, unity of action should not be established. Who could enjoy more favourable opportunities of indicating the various verbal incongruities which would present themselves during the progress of the work, and which it would be desirable to remove, than those to whom the duty of consolidation had been entrusted? and if they were men of adequate capacity and ability, how desirable would it be that their experience should be profitably employed in suggesting such alterations and modifications in the statutes as they deemed necessary, where, from lapse of time or other causes, they had become incompatible and inconvenient in practice. Proposed alterations would, of course, be carefully weighed by the commissioners before they met with their approval; and when they had received their assent, they would necessarily undergo the further ordeal of discussion and deliberation in the Houses of Parliament; so that, whether they involved mere verbal inaccuracies or omissions, or a change in some important legislative provision, there would be little ground to apprehend either precipitate or ill-considered legislation. The statutes, as consolidated under their several titles, would, when presented to Parliament for confirmation or re-enactment, of course embody the then existing Statute Law; and we would venture to suggest, that wherever amendments were considered necessary, the words proposed to be inserted or omitted, or the clauses to be expunged or introduced, should be bracketed in the margin, and be specified to be amendments submitted to the legislature for its sanction. Thus the attention of the legislature would be directed to, and specially fixed upon the alterations proposed, and the means would be afforded of duly estimating their value, by their comparison with the law as it then stood. Nor, indeed, is this any novel proposition, for we find that the Laws of the State of New York, which have been reduced into a code, were subjected, at the same time,

time, to a most careful revision, and that the amendments proposed by the revisers were incorporated in the code, after having been submitted to the legislature for their sanction. In an introductory note to the code of the Law of Real Property of the State of New York, it is stated that

'The code of laws of the State of New York underwent a most entire revision in the year 1830, and in no branch of the law were more important alterations then effected than in the law of real estate. Those changes were made, with but few exceptions, in accordance with the suggestions of the revisers, John Duer, Benjamin F. Butler, and John C. Spencer, who, in their report to the legislature in 1827, stated fully and clearly, in the shape of a note to each section, which they proposed for enactment, the then existing defects of the law, and the manner in which, in their opinion, the proposed section would remedy such defects.'

The Statute Law Commissioners might most advantageously follow the precedent established by the law reformers of America; and, if they were bold enough to do so—resolved that the reform of the Statute Law should be a real work and not a sham—our statutes would be expurgated, consolidated, revised, and amended, and a code of Statute Law established which would no longer cause us to mourn over the apathy or the fruitless labours of our law reformers. This subject was pointedly adverted to in an address delivered by Lord John Russell on Jurisprudence and Amendment of the Law before the Association for the Promotion of Social Science at Birmingham in the last year. He said:—

'I now come to a question of the greatest importance. I maintain we must not be merely satisfied with transcribing ancient laws and calling them new—we must not put errors into new Acts of Parliament under the name of consolidation; when we attempt to consolidate we must also amend. I say this, because a bill was introduced into Parliament last session which proposed to inflict the punishment of death for offences which no judge would think of enforcing. When we make new laws, we must take care that they are such as can be executed and are in consonance with the spirit of the times. If we merely take a jumble of acts containing provisions condemned by the country, and whilst consolidating them only repeat their errors, we are like those persons described by Dryden who had their portraits taken—

"To stand recorded at their own request
To future times a libel and a jest."

The laws must be made consistent with the spirit of the times; and this opens for consideration a great question, to which many men of influence and talent have devoted themselves. For my own part, I have come to the conclusion that the consolidation of the laws must be preceded by their amendment.'

It has been suggested that his lordship, as the context seems to show, made use of the word 'consolidation' to express the final settlement of the law in a systematic form after the several processes of expurgating and grouping had been passed through, and that his lordship's observation was directed to an ultimate code such as has been framed for the state of New York out of the Statute Law of England by Mr. David Dudley Field and his colleagues. But whatever be the sense in which the expression was intended to be used, it is perfectly clear that his lordship was of opinion that consolidation should not be unaccompanied, if not

preceded by amendment, and that errors which were demonstrated to be such, and matter which had become obsolete, ought not to be continually reproduced and re-enacted, as though they were an essential and a vital part of the law of the land. In this opinion we think that most persons will concur who have analysed this question through the unobstructed medium of their common sense. No Government which is anxious to promote the welfare of the people can long remain indifferent to the importance of this subject; and no Government which desires to see the laws of the country respected should relax in its endeavours to make them just and equitable by the earnest prosecution of a work which will serve to render them at once more easy of access and more intelligible. To tell the people that they must obey the laws, and that their violation will subject them to punishment, and then further to tell them that they will find the articles of those laws dispersed through forty volumes of Statutes, and through a thousand volumes of Reports, is practically to violate the provisions of the Great Charter, and to repudiate the theory of our constitution, which proclaims that justice shall not be withheld from, or sold to any man. The establishment of rights and the redress of wrongs can only be effected through the recognised channels of legal action; and these are made available to none who cannot afford to purchase the requisite knowledge from those who, having devoted a life to its acquisition, are alone competent to afford it. Under the most auspicious circumstances, with laws condensed and codified, it will never be possible to place all men upon an equality in this respect; for the complicated wants of a civilised community forbid the indulgence of the hope that its laws can ever be made so simple as to become popularised in encyclopœdias and in handbooks. Still a great stride may be made in this direction; and there seems, at all events, no reason why we should stand still and refrain from making any effort to familiarise the people with our laws, simply because to do so must be a work of considerable time and labour, and be attended with more than ordinary difficulty. Difficulties would speedily vanish if the work of codification were resolutely undertaken; and though it might not be practicable to engage in the task of codifying the Statute and the Common Law contemporaneously, we have little doubt that the codification of the Statute would greatly facilitate the codification of the Common Law. The one would naturally follow upon the accomplishment of the other; and a lucid enunciation of their principles perspicuously arranged would prove so valuable an acquisition that all would be amazed that our law should have been so long maintained in its existing state of intricacy and confusion.

To make sure, however, of what has been gained, and to prevent the necessity of future commissions, it will be necessary to delegate

delegate to some responsible authority the superintendence of our future legislation. All the parts of our legal system must henceforth be made subordinate to the preservation of the harmony of the whole, and the enactment of legislative measures must be so controlled as to render the introduction of inconsistencies and positive errors into our Statute Law a matter of impossibility. Every proposed measure must be subjected to a careful examination and comparison with previous legislation upon the same subject, and then we may hope to arrest the future accumulation of statutes, excepting in those cases where new legislation is from time to time required to meet new wants and the altered circumstances of society. We forbear from inquiring by what machinery this important end may be best attained, but we commend it to the serious consideration of all who are studious of their country's good, as a fitting corollary to the Consolidation and Amendment of the Statute Law.

ART. III.—1. *Burning of the Dead, or Urn Sepulture.* By a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. 1857.

2. *Report on General Scheme for Extra-mural Sepulture presented to the two Houses of Parliament.* 1850.

'EAT, or be eaten,' is said to be the great law of nature. We swallow animalculæ while we live—when we die, they devour us in their turn. But a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons has come forward, who prefers that the maw-worms of the grave should not ultimately pasture themselves on his body. He has conceived the idea of reviving the ancient mode of urn sepulture, and the transmutation of our remains into the elements by means of fire. Moreover, he supports his theory by reasons which may not be without their weight with advocates of sanitary reform, and even with admirers of art generally. What is to be said on the subject we will presently lay before our readers, premising, however, that we do not commit ourselves to the advocacy either of the views or the theology set forth in this little *brochure*.

According to Kant, death is the only dreamless sleep. 'Perhaps without the wearying but salutary pain of dreams, sleep would be death.' It is variously regarded by mortals according to temperament, creed, disposition, and state of health. It may be what the sect of Moravians so beautifully term 'their sleep,' or it may be the life change of the Pantheist, where death itself is *not*: but what we call death is only the beginning of a new form of life.

> 'Nothing but doth suffer an earth change,
> Into something rich and strange.'

Chateaubriand

Chateaubriand has finely described the strict analogy between our gradual decay and that of all other forms of nature. 'The leaves falling like our years; the flowers fading like our hours; the clouds fleeting like our illusions; the light diminishing like our intelligence; the sun growing cold like our affections; the river becoming frozen like our lives—all bear secret relation to our destinies.' So is death the order of nature. Still death—always death—whatever idea we may choose to attach to it is known to ancient and modern, Pagan and Christian, savage or civilised, Mystic or Atheist, as the one thing inevitable, which may be scoffed at, but cannot be cheated—whom we may not desire to invite, but whose invitation may not be refused. Now, perhaps, in comparison with what awaits us after death, we ought to care little for that which may befal our untenanted bodies. Standing on the eve of departure from this earth—rinded, as it is, with the ashes of many thousand years—these considerations should appear infinitely contemptible, invisibly small; but in actual experience it is otherwise. That our bodies should be decently buried, and the expenses thereof discharged in preference to all other claims, forms, as we know, the foremost article in every respectable Englishman's last will and testament;—that a man should direct his body to be disposed of in any eccentric fashion, or uncared for in the ordinary mode, is almost considered evidence of mental derangement;—that his body should be given for dissection is the crowning disgrace to the malefactor;—that it should be interred without the usual rites is the thought that has been proposed to deter the suicide;—that a corpse should be left neglected and unburied has from all times been the most cruel insult which the living can offer to the dead. Wherefore all nations have had their funeral rites more or less mysterious, imposing, and costly, according to their degree of civilisation or their progress in religion and poetic feeling. Let the author speak:—

'As we cast aside a garment that is worn out, or is so torn and tattered that it will no longer cover us; as we leave a house that is falling into ruin and is no longer fit to shelter us, so do we depart from our mortal bodies, and we regard them with the same kind of interest and affection. A cloak or coat that we have worn during a long voyage or journey, although it may be but "a thing of shreds and patches," is seldom thrown away without a sigh, and the house in which we have dwelt for many years becomes strangely endeared to us. So, too, when those that are beloved have left us either for a distant part of this world or for another, do we not cherish and mourn over the inanimate things that were most intimately connected with their presence among us, as the room, the bed, the chair that is still called *his* or *hers*? And yet we never speak to *them* as if the missing one were in his once accustomed place.'

It must be admitted that, so soon as that mysterious principle which holds our dust together has fled, it is the signal for a putrefying decay and a rapid decomposition into other elements; and

and that, in the progress of that decomposition, certain gases are evolved, which, holding in their combination a large amount of putrescent animal matter, are not only of a disgusting effluvium, but also of a most poisonous and destructive nature. Grant that this is but a transmutation to new forms of life, it may well be a consideration to philanthropists how this necessary process may be begun and carried on so as least to imperil the health and happiness of humanity—in a word, how we may dispose of our dead with the smallest amount of injury to the living. Among some nations water is selected as the hiding-place of the dead. By our mariners it has been a matter of necessity; and the deep salt sea has received into its insatiable depths more brave men and fair women, more loving hearts and hoarded treasure, than can well be summed up in history or told of in poetry. Down the waters of the sacred Ganges or Hooghley float innumerable corpses, which may be seen continuing their dismal voyage covered by birds of prey already commencing their disgusting meal. There are lands where bodies are left to decompose in the air—where wild dogs, jackals, and vultures perform the last offices, leaving the well-picked skeleton to whiten in the sun. In one island in Polynesia the corpse of a man is suspended about two feet from the ground, until a watcher, appointed for the purpose, sees the skull drop off, which is then carried to the widow, who henceforth wears it hung about her person as a memento or charm. The custom of embalming, as performed by the Egyptians and other nations of antiquity, is at best an unnatural and imperfect effort to interfere with the laws of nature.

'In the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in London may be seen the first wife of one Martin Van Butchell, who, at her husband's request, was embalmed by Dr. William Hunter and Mr. Carpenter, in the year 1775. No doubt extraordinary pains were taken to preserve both form and feature, and yet what a wretched mockery of a once lovely woman now appears, with its shrunken and rotten-looking bust, its hideous mahogany-coloured face, and its *remarkably fine set of teeth*. Between the feet are the remains of a green parrot, whether immolated or not at the death of its mistress is uncertain, but, as it still retains its plumage, it is a far less repulsive-looking object than the larger biped. By the side of Mrs. Van Butchell is the body of another woman embalmed by a different process, about the same period. She is even more ugly than her neighbour. Then there are Egyptian mummies rolled and unrolled, and almost tumbling to pieces. Mummies from Peru and Teneriffe, and one poor fellow from our antipodes, who has been sun-baked by his friends, it being the custom of some Australian tribes to let their dead dry and wither in the open air. He is tied up in a bundle, and looks about the most horribly grotesque mummy of them all.'

It was once, indeed, a question in one of our English courts of law whether iron coffins were legally used, and Lord Stowell pronounced the following opinion:—'All contrivances that, whether intentionally or not, prolong the time of dissolution beyond the period at which the common local understanding and usage have fixed, are an act of injustice unless compensated in some way or other.'

other.' This would seem to point the finger of reprehension to that grievous corruption which exists in most of our older churches, the family vaults, which are at once the sepulchre of the dead and the pest-houses of the living. The sense of smell, like our other senses, was given us not only to guide us to pleasure but to warn us of danger. Every disagreeable smell is not, therefore, necessarily noxious; but few can have failed to experience a certain sensation of nausea, and difficulty of respiration, when they inhale for any length of time that faint earthy scent of death which lingers about some of our most beautiful and ancient churches and cathedrals. But of this more anon. There is another mode of disposing of dead bodies among certain nations which prevails among the loyal subjects of the kings of the cannibal islands—namely, to eat them. Whole crews of sailors have been transmuted in this inglorious manner. The following fact was communicated to Commodore Wilkes, of the exploring expedition, by a savage of the Feejee Islands. He stated that a vessel, the hull of which was still lying on the beach, had come ashore in a storm, and that all the crew had fallen into the hands of the savages. 'What did you do with them?' inquired Wilkes.—'Killed them,' answered the savage. 'What did you do with them after you had killed them?' demanded the commodore.—'Eat them—good,' returned the cannibal. 'Did you eat them all?' inquired the half-sick commodore.—'Yes; all but one.' 'And why did you spare that one?' asked Wilkes.—'Because he taste too much like tobacco—couldn't eat him nohow,' was the curious response.

Cremation, or the destruction of human remains through the action of fire, was the most extensively used, and was considered the most honourable mode by most of the nations of antiquity. And thence the idea of the funeral pyre and urn sepulture is as much associated with heathenism as burial in the earth is with Christianity, though there is, in truth, no necessary connection between the two. Though it is now well ascertained that the body of the poet Shelley was burnt, from reasons pertaining to the quarantine regulations, it was at the time considered an additional proof—had any been required—of his determined hostility to Christian observances; and it was with some little difficulty that a clergyman could be persuaded to read the burial-service over his remains. The Greeks commonly burned their dead on the sixth or seventh day after death; but up to that time myrrh, gum of cedar-tree, salt, wax, and many costly and sweet-scented drugs, honey, balm, and bitumen were used to prevent any disagreeable odour. The funeral pile itself was composed of fir or pine wood, generally in the form of an altar. Pitch, turpentine, and other inflammable substances were spread over the pile, and cypress trees were set round at a certain distance.

tance. Then the eyes of the corpse were generally opened, and if a wind arose it was considered a favourable omen. When all was consumed, the calcined bones and ashes, soaked in costly wines, were gathered together and placed in the funeral urn, which was consigned to the sepulchre. The Romans interred their dead, in the first instance, and adopted the custom of burning them from the Greeks; but not to a very great extent until towards the end of the Republic. It was most general under the emperors, and gradually fell into disuse about the end of the fourth century, when Christianity became the prevalent creed. But the Greek and Roman laws alike prohibited the burning or burying of the dead within any city, both from sanitary and civil considerations. The Greek *koimeterion*, or bed of slumber, was generally at a considerable distance outside of the towns. The Romans frequently made their tombs by the roadside; and when the bodies of the latter were not burnt they were enclosed in stone coffins. So sacred were the tombs, that they served often as a place of refuge in times of persecution. The resting-place of the Jews was called *Bethaim*. For the most part, they buried their dead, burning sweet spices on the couch where the corpse rested. Cremation was, however, not entirely unused among them, as reference to the books of the Old Testament will show. Of Asa, king of Judah, it is recorded: 'And they buried him in his own sepulchres, which he had made for himself in the city of David, and laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours and divers kinds of spices prepared by the apothecaries' art: and they made a very great burning for him.' (2 Chron. xvi. 14.) 'All the valiant men arose, and went all night, and took the body of Saul and the bodies of his sons from the wall of Beth-shan, and came to Jabesh, and burnt them there. And they took their bones, and buried them under a tree at Jabesh, and fasted seven days.' (1 Sam. xxxi. 12, 13.)

'A people called Balcarians used to place the dead man in a large earthen vessel, and, carefully excluding the flame, heap piles of burning wood upon it, until incineration was complete. Certain northern tribes burned the body in its grave, and marked the spot with white pebbles arranged on the ground in the form of a human figure. The Chinese were accustomed to place the deceased in the hollow of a living tree, and pile heaps of fuel round it. In the island of Japan, and in some parts of Asia, even at the present time, the dead are burned on piles of resinous wood and combustible matter.'

Now if it can be proved that transmutation by fire is indeed the most rapid, safe, and cleanly mode of disposing of mortal remains, that by its means matter may be at once resolved into that which is harmless and inodorous, it may be a question whether there are really any strong theological reasons against it which should outweigh its advantages, and whether, sooner or later, we shall not have to sacrifice a prejudice which, if it continues, bids fair to see our

our land one vast burial-ground—a mass of rottenness thick with human remains. 'The old fathers of the church say but little on the subject of burning or burying, although they generally enjoin the latter mode. . . . St. Jerome speaks of the remains of saints and holy men being wrapped up in precious linen enclosed in a small urn. . . . Theodosius, who was a Christian emperor, published an edict at Constantinople as late as the end of the fourth century, forbidding burials within cities or in churches, and this especially referred not only to bodies laid in coffins, but also to ashes or relics kept above ground in urns.' That the idea has lingered among us we must admit, since most of us will remember what a favourite form of ornament is the representation of an urn in our cemeteries or churchyards, hung with flowers, or half concealed by drapery.

Aristotle affirms that it is better to be just to the dead than the living; and Pliny counts concern for the dead body one of the inherent weaknesses of humanity. A sentence of Sir Thomas Brown's contains a deeper wisdom and a purer faith: ''Tis all one where we lye, or what becomes of our bodies after we are dead, ready to be anything in the extasie of being ever.' There is, however, to most of us, an inexpressible charm in the idea of our village churchyard, 'where the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.' A certain hallowed sentiment seems to linger round it, and custom, memory, and association unite to strengthen this feeling. It is a superstition in some places that when the grass springs green on the lately-tenanted grave, it is God's sign that we must cease to mourn, and that our sorrow should not be without hope. In all Tennyson's poems there is no more exquisite thought or passionate affection than that expressed in two lines, where, speaking of Maud, he says:—

> 'For my heart would beat to her tread
> Were it earth in its earthy bed.'

The moss-grown grave, the gray stone that records the names of those who sleep below, the ivy-covered church, all these are very dear, even to men born and bred in the hubbub and turmoil of great cities; and how much more to the villager who is, perhaps, inevitably more simple and reverent in his tastes! One of our most eloquent modern sophists has well described our village church: 'There still ring Sunday after Sunday its old revered bells, and there come still the simple peasants in their simple dresses; pastor and flock still with their old belief; there beneath its walls and ruins they still gather down into the dust, fathers and children sleeping there together, waiting for immortality, wives and husbands resting side by side, in fond hope that they shall wake and link again the love-chain which death has broken; so simple, so reverend, so beautiful!' After reading this we almost feel the old

old prejudice against joint-stock cemetery companies revive in its ancient vigour within us. It did unquestionably appear shocking to every refined mind that the last offices of the dead should be a source of pecuniary profit; that a money-making scheme should be advertised and puffed forth with that express object; that the rise and fall of the value of the portion of our mother earth which was to receive our mortal remains should be keenly watched and calculated on by the greedy eyes of speculators. And yet these things are of necessity, so long as things are done, as among the Saxon race they are ever best done, by private enterprise in lieu of the arbitrary surveillance of a too paternal government; and they ought not, in reality, to trouble or disgust us more than the extortionate charges and innumerable items of an undertaker's bill have done a hundred times before. Moreover, if we carefully analyse our prepossessions on the subject, we shall find that, in truth, they extend only to the simplicity and beauty of village or country processions, and to the stillness and peace that seem inherent to our rustic churchyards. There is rarely any sentiment connected with the gloomy and noisy burial-place of our crowded cities. When the author of 'Ten Thousand a-year' lays Mr. Gammon in his narrow resting-place in St. Andrew's churchyard, Holborn, no one mourns over the selection or envies the situation; we feel that it is dismal more than sad, and the wickedness of the dead man reconciles us to the choice of the spot for his grave; for no author buries his favourite hero or heroine otherwise than beneath the shadow of the old village church, or perhaps under a cypress or white cross in some foreign cemetery, or, as one of the Pilgrims of the Rhine was interred, on the banks of a river in the chosen haunt of the fairies.

Some seven years ago there was a commission appointed to inquire into the state of our churchyards. A report was presented to the Houses of Parliament which contained a recommendation to close at once most, if not all, of our metropolitan churchyards, and also those in large cities which were overcrowded. This was combined with a general scheme for the substitution of extramural sepulture in its place. The facts then disclosed were of such a revolting and alarming nature as to disturb the nation from its usual phlegmatic calmness. The truth is, that burying round the church was not the custom, as by many erroneously supposed, of the early Christians, but was an abuse first introduced into this country about A.D. 750, and was more for the glorification of the worshippers and parishioners than of the God whom they served. After that period, notwithstanding the existence of a canon which forbade the practice, clergymen began, for certain fees, to permit persons of position, or eminent sanctity or learning, to be interred within the sacred walls, especially in the side aisles, perhaps in the hope

hope that the living, by seeing the record of the good deeds of the dead, might be moved to emulation. It is to this day a rule that without the consent of the incumbent this cannot be done.

We do not propose to disgust or weary our readers by the details of certain horrors to be found in the blue books more than is needful to lay the gist of the question before them. Bodies may undergo decomposition in two ways—the flesh may be converted into adipocere, or may gradually putrify. It is not precisely determined how this is effected, but there are very curious details concerning the fact to be found in the journal of M. Thouret. When La Cimetière des Innocens at Paris underwent improvements, some of the pits there which were capable of holding 12,000 bodies were opened for the first time for fifteen years. Nothing appeared in the coffins but a mass of soft gray-white matter, so ductile that even the threads of the linen had left their impression on it. The bones had lost all solidity, the face was completely undistinguishable, all was converted into this peculiar substance which has received the name of *adipocere* (from *adeps* 'fat,' and *cera*, 'wax'). It would appear that this change only takes place where masses of bodies were accumulated together. The gases evolved during the ordinary process of decomposition are carbonic acid, nitrogen, ammonia, &c., in different proportions. Supposing a body is buried as much as nine feet below the surface, in sandy or gravelly soil, these gases are found to permeate laterally, as into sewers, drains, &c., to a distance of thirty feet. Of course they would be evolved upwards to a much greater amount. Dr. Playfair estimates that the gas arising annually from the decomposition of 1,117 bodies per acre is about 55,261 cubic feet. Thus for the 52,000 interments and upwards which annually take place in our metropolis, we receive in exchange 2,572,580 cubic feet of noxious gases, holding, in their composition, putrified animal matter. Matter may be transmuted or compressed, but it cannot be annihilated. Now we have under the present system annually $18{,}310{,}953\frac{808}{1117}$ cubic feet of poisonous gas to deal with. What are we to do with it? We may solder it up in leaden coffins, we may let it loose and discolour the earth, poison our neighbour, defile the air, and putrify the water as we choose.* Generally for

* We may, however, quote the following opinion of Dr. Angus Smith, who is looked upon as the highest authority on this subject:—'Although the full elucidation of the whole chemical process is still to be made, I am glad that we are able from sound data to assert that the ground may be made to cover up every taint of impurity, if we adhere strictly to reasonable conditions; and that we may not only go to our graves in peace without fear of poisoning those who visit them, but may also visit the graves of our friends without turning away with sanitary disgust.' Dr. Smith considers that a great chemical fact has been overlooked, viz., 'the power of absolute disinfection existing in the soil,' or, in other words, 'the entire wholesomeness of the atmosphere over a well-covered grave, in a well-drained soil through which water is flowing.'—Ed.

three

three or four feet above a grave the soil is stained and black, pitchy, and exceedingly offensive; the smell is emphatically that of death. Water flowing near churchyards or burial-grounds contains that which communicated putrefaction to the blood when it is used for drinking purposes, producing a disease similar to the rot in sheep. The accidental inundation of waters into burial-places, or the fresh opening of old graves, have been surely and invariably followed by illness in the surrounding districts. Typhus, dysentery, and the like diseases break out with terrible violence. Dr. Bennet, the house surgeon at St. Louis, found that the wounds and sores of the patients under his care in that hospital became foul and putrescent even with only the wind blowing from the Mountfaucon cemetery.

But now, notwithstanding parliamentary prohibitions, the result of these disclosures, and not losing sight of the increased provisions made by all large towns by the formation of cemeteries, have we not contented ourselves with ameliorating an evil, not curing it—postponing a danger, not preventing it? For it must be the conviction of all far-seeing people, that in our densely-populated country, with our towns and cities which spread and enlarge themselves in every direction, all the objections in evidence against churchyard burial will sooner or later be good with respect to cemeteries. We remove the miasma far from us, and if it would stay there, or the people would abstain from approaching it, all might be well. But gases, whether harmless or noxious, obey the laws of chemistry and not those of the House of Commons, and a free people will build out in any direction which they fancy. A cemetery is considered rather a pretty sight by many. In a few years our new burial-grounds will in all probability be surrounded by houses; and any one who will take the trouble of examining the map of London appended to the report, must observe that the five principal cemeteries are so placed as to belt our metropolis. Whichever quarter the wind is in it must of necessity blow over some vast burial-ground. There is at this instant an invisible but destructive circle of miasma surrounding London, each year increasing in amount and intensity. Situated frequently on an eminence, water naturally descends thence full of impurity and putrescent animal matter. The old abomination of pits, or accumulation of many bodies in the same vast grave, is practised, and all things promise that the day cannot be far off when a report upon the evils of cemeteries will contain the same description of evidence as that recorded in 1850 on the horrors of churchyards. There is one practice which might be used in burial-grounds, though it only mitigates the evil in a very moderate degree, namely, promoting vegetation. Roots actively absorb the gases generated by decomposition; trees thrive when planted over graves,

graves,* their roots penetrating the decayed wood of the coffins and drawing from the contents a concentrated form of nourishment. But it is obvious that this could only be practised to a very limited extent, and is only possible where there is ample space and where no necessity exists for placing more than one body in a grave, as, for instance, in country places; but these are, unfortunately, precisely the spots where the evil effects are almost inappreciable.

Before commenting on the particular scheme of cremation recently propounded, we must notice one suggestion thrown out by the commissioners, which is so free from all objection, and appears so obviously excellent, that we are surprised it has not been carried out; we refer to the recommendation that in our cities public buildings should be erected where people might be permitted to place the remains of their relatives or friends until the time for interment. Such building or hall should be, of course, well ventilated and watched. The use of it might at first be voluntary, and not enforced until the custom became common. It is too true that in many a crowded alley or swarming lodging-house a whole family has no choice but to eat and sleep in the same room as that in which a dead body lies, tainting, with its horrible faint scent of corruption, an atmosphere already vitiated.

The following case occurred to our knowledge:—A little child was burnt—indeed, literally roasted to death—by accident. Five days elapsed before it could be buried; and for that space of time the poor little blackened, charred corpse stiffened and grew cold on the very table which served daily for dinner, during which meal it was placed, in a temporary way, on the floor. Now this was not choice, but sad necessity, for the poor, in their humble fashion, pay much reverence to their dead. Undertakers state (*vide* Report) that they are often applied to by those in humble circumstances for the use of a shed or outhouse in which the body may lie; and many witnesses assert 'that poor people would avail themselves thankfully of a public dead-house, provided that they were convinced that the remains would be treated with respect and integrity.'

What has been already advanced goes far to prove that transmutation by fire is the most rapid, cleanly, and innoxious mode of resolving bodies into elementary matter. The scheme proposed by M. Bonneau, now under consideration of the French Government, is as follows:—All cemeteries to be replaced by a large sarcophagus, where the corpses of both rich and poor should be laid

* Southey takes notice of this when he says—

'Be not thou
As is the black and melancholy yeugh
That strikes into the graves its baleful roots
And prospers on the dead.'—*Madoc.*

out

out on a metallic tablet, which, sliding by a rapid movement into a concealed furnace, would cause the bodies to be consumed in a few minutes; and with that taste for the *bizarre*, which is so truly French, he thinks 'that funeral urns would soon replace the China vases and bronze clocks now found on our mantel-pieces.' In the event of this mode becoming general, great caution would necessarily have to be exercised where the cause of death appeared to be involved in any mystery, as the action of fire would, of course, prevent any tell-tale evidence of poison or violence. The plan proposed by the Member of the College of Surgeons is a little different.

'On a gentle eminence, surrounded by pleasant grounds, stands,' as he supposes, 'a convenient, well-ventilated chapel. . . . In the centre of the chapel, embellished with appropriate emblems and devices, is erected a shrine of marble. . . . Within this—a sufficient space intervening—is an inner shrine covered with bright, non-radiating metal, and within this, again, a covered sarcophagus of fire-tempered clay. . . . As soon as the body is deposited within, sheets of flame at an immensely high temperature rush through the long apertures from end to end, and acting as a combination of a modified oxy-hydrogen blowpipe with the reverberatory furnace, utterly consume and decompose the body in an incredibly short space of time. . . . The funeral service commences. At an appointed signal the end of the coffin, which is placed just within the opening in the shrine, is removed, and the body is drawn rapidly, but gently and without exposure into the sarcophagus. . . Meanwhile the body is committed to the flames to be consumed, and the words "ashes to ashes" may be appropriately used. The organ peals forth a solemn strain and a hymn or requiem for the dead is sung. In a few minutes, or even seconds, without any perceptible noise or commotion, all is over, and nothing but a few pounds or ounces of light ash remain. This is carefully collected by the attendants, a door communicating with the chapel is thrown open, and the relic, enclosed in a vase of glass or other material, is brought in to the mourners to be finally enshrined in the funeral urn of marble, alabaster, stone, or metal.'

Such is the *modus operandi* proposed. It is, of course, open to objections, for the process as described would be both costly and difficult; but if scientific men once turned their attention to the subject, no doubt very perfect and more simple apparatus may be introduced. Whether such a mode of interment would ever become popular, even if it could be enforced, is very dubious. In England we are not fond of being dictated to, of having 'these things better managed, as they do in France.' There, in Munich, Frankfort, &c., from the moment you close your eyes in death, to the time when your relatives deposit you beneath the sod, you are washed, anointed, dressed, measured, screwed down, and finally lifted up and carried out under the surveillance of a paternal Government. In these places, burning of the dead might be successfully enforced; and provided a little dramatic effect be skilfully introduced, and the mourners and spectators sufficiently put *en scène*, we do not despair of its achieving popularity. But in England, if it ever were to be carried out, the movement would have to come from the educated classes. If the gentry gave their bodies to be burned, perhaps the poor would in time follow their example; and, after all, the burning of the dead could not be

more

more odious than the compulsory Vaccination Act, which had terrors inexpressible for the uneducated; the Anatomy Bill, which lent an additional horror to the hospital and workhouse; and the regulation against further intramural interments, which last severed, in imagination, many a holy tie, and took not a little consolation from the bed of the poor dying one, who—superstitiously perhaps, and foolishly, as we may in our hard wisdom think it, but at any rate earnestly and tenderly—yearned for the assurance that after death his bones should rest in the grave of those dear ones whom he had best loved on earth.

The question, however, still remains for consideration—How shall we dispose of our dead? We cannot alter what has been done, and the vast mass of bodies beneath the sod must rot and decompose, as in the days gone by—*Le vin est tiré, il faut le boire.* Shall we continue the practice until our cemeteries rival our churchyards?*

ART. IV.—1. *Cowper's Homer* (*republished with his Works*).
2. *The Iliads of Homer.* By George Chapman. (Republished by Charles Knight. 1843.)
3. *The Iliad of Homer, faithfully translated into unrhymed metre.* By F. W. Newman. Walton and Maberly. 1857.
4. *Studies on Homer and on the Homeric Age.* By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. 3 vols. 8vo. At the University Press, Oxford. 1858.

WHAT is *Epic* Poetry? This is a question very obvious to ask, not so obvious to answer. The word was applied by the Greeks to certain poems ascribed principally to Homer, and has been extended by us to Virgil's Æneid, to Tasso's Jerusalem, and even to poems of a very different aspect, such as those of Dante and Milton. An ordinary Englishman is apt to say, that any *long narrative* poem is Epic; and if he does not admit the Lady of the Lake into this class, perhaps his chief reason is, that it is not long enough.

In discussing, what is the essential idea which lies at the bottom of the word Epic, we are not dealing with a mere verbal question. There are real qualities peculiar to Epic poetry, qualities

* At the convent of the Capuchins, in Rome, the monks as they die are interred about five feet deep, *without* any coffin, and a quantity of quick lime is thrown on the body. At the end of twelve months the flesh is totally destroyed, and in a year or two more the skeleton is taken up and placed in the vaults, where it stands exposed to view along with its ghastly companions, while the old grave is ready for the reception of the next brother who may be claimed by death. The use of quick lime is customary, also, in some of the largest cemeteries in the Roman district. Of course this, in effect, is burning of the dead, though by a slower and less direct process than the more elegant and classical operation of fire.

strongly

strongly felt, even when dimly discerned. The Epos therefore denotes a real, not an arbitrary, division. Without farther argument, we shall give our own reply, that it is a *narrative poem* founded *on great events and believed to be true.* While the events are believed, they are *real* to the hearer, but no longer. Hence the poems of Dante and of Milton become tedious or even offensive, to those whose religious belief has deviated widely from the notions of hell, paradise, and predestination therein inculcated; and those parts of Tasso's great poem, which involve a belief in enchantments, great as is their beauty, provoke our impatience. Many say concerning them with Horace, *Incredulus odi.*

It may seem impossible to doubt whether more interest accrues to a tale from its being believed true. Every day we see the disappointment and annoyance suffered by children, when they learn that a beautiful tale (as that of King Lear) is not true; we see also that grown persons are as unwilling to surrender a belief in the siege of Troy, as their belief in the early Roman history. Nor could it be otherwise. Indeed with mature and preoccupied minds nothing is harder than to spare sympathy on pure and notorious fictions: human life has so many real sorrows, that we may well decline to vex ourselves with unrealities. Moreover the coincidences and groupings which may be selected from real history, are apt to be resented as incredible if proposed to us by a mere inventor. In true story we find substance, copiousness and life, compared with which every invented tale seems to be meagre and flimsy, nor indeed can it ever have that infinite background of perspective, which gives us such a sense of solidity. A pure fiction constructed by 'the rules of art' and in subservience to 'the laws of unity,' bears about the same relation to a genuine epic, as a small Greek temple to a vast Gothic cathedral; or as an elegant flower-garden to some magnificent mountain valley where beauty, grandeur and infinitude combine; so that the more intently you gaze, the more you see. In the historical plays of Shakespeare (though they are dramatic, not narrative) it is this background which chiefly gives their powerful illusion, rivets the interest, and leads to their being accepted as authentic even in the details. The interest to the Romans of the great historical epic of Ennius, as to the Persians of the great epic of Firdoosee, was from their earnest belief in its truth: and no doubt the same cause must have been at work with the Nibelungen and the Edda and the poems of the true Ossian. So too, the old Greek tragedians found it necessary to select subjects which were believed as true, generally selected out of the Epic cycle.

The real reason against poems upon subjects of near history, lies in the extreme difficulty of satisfying criticism. Nearly all poets, when they adopt a historical subject, palpably distort *the*

known facts for what they account 'artistic necessity,' and hereby in a critical age cause indignation. If the historical sense is appealed to at all, it must not be outraged; or the very opposite of interest is induced. On the other hand, if the subject is of deep and thrilling interest, it easily becomes too painful, when it is real and near. The poet Phrynichus dramatized the capture of Miletus by the Persians; but the Athenian judges, though they awarded him the prize of poetry, fined him for harrowing the feelings of the audience. It therefore may appear that *excess* of interest is a chief danger to be feared from an otherwise well-chosen historical poem. Even in small pieces, we see how apt such poetry is to become too fierce. Walter Scott's lines on the Massacre of Glencoe might have been well called revolutionary, had they been written soon after the event. Hence the subject of an Epic must be sufficiently distant to give us that softened interest which distinguishes poetry and art from recent history and politics.

Homer, equally with Tasso, wilfully mixes that which is *historical* (to his own belief and that of his hearers) with that which is *conventional*. That they all believed in the dynasty of Agamemnon and in the general events of the Trojan war, Bishop Thirlwall and Mr. Grote avow as strongly as Mr. Gladstone or Colonel Mure. That neither Homer nor his hearers believed Achilles to be son of a sea-goddess, we are sure will not be contested by Mure nor yet by Gladstone. There is no real difference of *principle*, as it appears to us, on this point between any of these critics: but their difference arises, as soon as we call on them to draw the line sharply between that which the poet meant for history and that which he meant for fiction. Mr. Grote maintains, not only that this cannot be certainly done, but that we lose our time in attempting to get any historical events *at all* out of such sources. Perhaps few will follow Mr. Grote to the full extent of this. Sometimes the poet seems to have no interests *as* a poet that can lead him aside, and to be aiming at truth, as he conceived of it. His attempts at political geography and ethnography are so elaborate and coherent, and his knowledge of Greece so extensive, that in such matters we receive his statements almost as unhesitatingly as those of Herodotus. But if Mr. Gladstone wish us farther to believe that the rape of Helen was the real moving *cause* of the Trojan war, we ask leave to enter protest, that we do not yet know Homer to have believed this himself. Between Greeks and Asiatics any excuse may have sufficed for a war, when ambition and hope prompted; and the abduction of a princess may have supplied the *excuse* desired. But the real motives must have lain deeper; nor would the invaders ever have been satisfied to withdraw, upon the mere restoration of the princess

princess with all her shawls and brocade. What Homer says on such topics was specious enough to go down with the uncritical warriors to whom he sang; but, as it appears to us, Mr. Gladstone argues too earnestly and closely concerning it. Whether Helen ever existed, he does not positively assert. He finds no difficulties about her but chronological ones, and these he tries to explain away. We may add, that his refined skill becomes superfluous, if we believe the Odyssey not to be from the same poet as the Iliad; for the Iliad by itself has no chronological difficulties about Helen.

But Mr. Gladstone's chief desire is to vindicate *Homer's* moral delicacy. He complains, that we do injustice to the poet, by imputing to him the view of Helen given by later writers of much coarser mind. Homer does not represent Helen (says he) as a faithless wife, but as one who has suffered a cruel violence. She was carried off by Paris *against her will*, and her whole offence consisted in finally acquiescing in her hard case, when she was wholly defenceless and in a strange man's power. In consequence, she was respected and pitied by Priam and Hector, and never felt anything but aversion and contempt for the husband to whom she submitted. Her extravagant self-stabbing accusations (for her favourite title for herself seems to be *she-dog*), have in them something 'almost Christian;' and she is always introduced by Homer as an interesting object and clothed with respectful epithets.—This Gladstonian view is undoubtedly a great improvement; we shall be glad to find it meet acceptance, though we certainly have misgivings. If Homer had felt the vast difference which Mr. Gladstone does between a Helen who eloped voluntarily and a Helen who submitted when constrained, we have difficulty in thinking that he would have left the circumstances so obscure, that until now they have been uniformly misconceived. Of course all the Greeks in Homer lay the whole blame on Paris, and decorously represent Helen to have suffered his violence: but a lady who easily reconciles herself to her ravisher, is always suspected by human nature (and not only by the depraved Greeks of the historic age) to have previously encouraged him to believe that violence will not be wholly unacceptable. Nor is it possible to forget, that a poet who can attribute to his chief gods loose amours which he would condemn in mortals, and this, without ceasing to reverence the gods, may pardon in 'Helen born of Jupiter' offences very like to those of her father, without relaxing morality in his own conception. Homer goes too far in the direction of Isocrates, to allow of our interpreting the two views as in proper contrast. 'One may point out many of the immortal goddesses,' says Isocrates, in his Encomium on Helen, 'who have proved frail against a mortal's beauty; not one of whom ever concealed the fact as disgraceful, but wished rather to

be celebrated for it. And here is the proof; for more persons have been made immortal for their beauty, than for all other virtues together.'

We confess, we do not find, and we do not demand, prosaic self-consistency in Homer as to his representation of these circumstances, which are the mere fantastic machinery of his great epic, and (as we think) were not intended to be dwelt upon and sharply brought out in Mr. Gladstone's fashion. We cannot receive either as fact or as consistent fiction, that the Trojans 'detested Paris as black Fate,' that Helen despised him, Hector condemned him, Priam grieved over him,—and yet that the whole nation and all 'the far-called allies' allowed this effeminate young man to have his way and involve them all in a wholly needless and fatal war. Where there are so many illogical representations, we deprecate argument so subtle and close.

Be this as it may; no higher tribute to Homer's undying greatness is possible, than the learning and interest, which at this distant time, in this remote island, are spent upon his works. On the studies of the Germans we will not speak, though K. O. Müller's work on Greek literature was written for us, and in English. Thirlwall, Grote and Mure were all retired students; but these three very ample volumes from Gladstone, a practical statesman, are indeed a phenomenon, and may well make common Englishmen open their ears to learn *what* is that Homer, who is able to inspire such enthusiasm. 'To one only of the countless millions of human beings,' says Mr. Gladstone, 'has it been given to draw characters by the strength of his own individual hand in lines of such force and vigour, that they have become from his day to our own the common inheritance of civilized man. That one is HOMER.' Nor is it only in drawing character, that he so excels Virgil, Milton, and perhaps all poets known to us except Shakespeare; but in nearly every peculiarity which gives interest to a poem, a novel, a book of travels, a simple narrative, a debate,—he is supreme. The table of contents exhibited by Mr. Gladstone is a little book in itself. His first volume (576 pages) after six preliminary sections, chiefly on the composition and authority of the poems, is devoted to the early Greek Races, as discoverable in Homer and elucidated from other sources. The second volume (533 pages) is on the Religion and Morality of Homer. The third (616 pages) discusses the Homeric Polities, contrasts those of the Trojans and the Trojan character, besides dwelling on the Homeric Geography, and numerous peculiarities in the poem. It also contains an essay which had appeared in a separate form, contrasting Homer with other poets. This very ample work is addressed solely to Greek scholars, and is in fact hardly intelligible to others. Many of the pages bristle with Greek typography; and

and whether the writer do or do not convince such scholars as Grote, he at any rate must win respect for his vast erudition,* which appears to join an intimate knowledge of the greatest Italian and Latin poets with an exhaustive diligence and activity of thought concerning Homer himself. It is hard for us to conceive that any one capable of understanding Mr. Gladstone will read him without instruction, and we have no doubt that his great work will lead to a more eager study of Homer at both of the old Universities, where (we believe) the Iliad has been generally looked down on as a mere schoolbook, and the Odyssey has been almost ignored. For ourselves, we almost dread to make detailed remarks on Mr. Gladstone; because, while we feel his volumes to be quickening and suggestive, we find very much to differ from; and it is disrespectful to express dissent without giving reasons to the reader; in doing which it is hard to avoid being too scholastic or too ample.

Summarily we will say, the excellences of the book are, its earnest effort for truth, its hightoned morality, its contempt for everything mean and sensual, its spiritual breath, which every Christian will appreciate, its vehement desire to extend a love for that rectitude which it discerns in Homer, its sympathy with freedom and popular government, its delicate perceptions of meaning and of beauty, its thoroughgoing and laborious scholarship, and the example which it sets, how to win instruction from worthy study. On the other hand, in its mode of arguing we find certain pervading weaknesses. The Ethnology of the first volume is apt to refute itself by proving too much. According to Mr. Gladstone the Greeks or Hellenes are not much different from Helli, nor from Pelasgi; the Italians also are Pelasgi, and none of these differ gravely from the Persians. The Hellenes are akin to the royal Scythians of Herodotus, the Pelasgi to the common Scythians (ii. 403, &c.); and these common Scythians were of the same race as the Medes, and the royal Scythians came from *Herat*, or ancient Aria. Persia he calls the cradle of Achilles' family. In fact, we seem to be on the verge of justifying Herodotus's reasonings, who derives the hero Perseus from Persia, and Medea from the Medes. But as it is certain that in the time of Homer the Italians, the Greeks, the Scythians and the Persians

* Of Mr. Gladstone's *learning* and conscientious accuracy, we believe no competent judge will doubt. If now and then he falls into small error, we believe it generally arises from overdriving a theory, and adventuring unsound generalisations. He says (vol. iii. p. 536) that Homer never calls Achilles μίγας: but see Il. 18, 26.—He overstrains, when he says that Homer is unwilling to compare Greek beauties to Venus.—We think he wrongly (vol. iii. p. 128) interprets Il. 18, 508. The two gold talents are the *deposit* to be paid to the suitor who wins the cause. He strangely supposes that the *crowd* re-judge and reward the *judge* with two talents of gold.

were

were mutually quite unintelligible, he gains nothing to the purpose by these identifications. The 'Helli' and the Pelasgi are but brute words to us; no useful deductions nor applications of them can be made. When Mr. Gladstone further recognises in Minos *Phœnician* extraction, and adds that 'the extent of his sway is supported by the tradition of *Pelasgus*,' he involves us in hopeless confusion. That those words which the Greek and Latin languages have in common may be regarded as 'Pelasgian,' is an assumption which others have made before Mr. Gladstone, but is not the less arbitrary and unproveable. In the details of linguistic argument we find frequent error; such as, identifying Latin *bellum* with Greek πόλεμος, when it is notorious that *duellum* is the older form of *bellum*. But we must not venture on to such ground.

The second volume, full as it is of fertile and interesting combinations, has the defect not only of oversubtlety, but of seeming to be written for the sake of a theological hypothesis. Mr. Gladstone believes that the Greek religion from Homer downward got worse and worse, and that all its good points may justly be referred to a patriarchal tradition. He would use Homer and the Greek history to prove that in Religion man (unassisted by *miracle*) never learns truth, and does nothing but corrupt the truth: while simultaneously our author upholds with great energy that in Morals no miraculous revelation is needed to teach men the truth.—Vol. ii. p. 420:—

'Mr. Grote says, that the "primitive import" of the words ἀγαθός, ἐσθλός, and κακός, relates "to power and not to worth;" and that the ethical meaning of them is a later growth, which "hardly appears until the discussions raised by Socrates and prosecuted by his disciples." *I ask permission to protest against whatever savours of the idea that any Socrates whatever was the patentee of that sentiment of right and wrong, which is the most precious part of the patrimony of mankind.* The movement of Greek morality with the lapse of time was chiefly downward and not upward.'

There seems to be a confusion here, which deserves to be more closely analysed. There is often a vast gap between the morality of a nation and the morality of its religion, and also between its moral theory and its practice. So too, in the same nation during its more civilised times we find the extremes of virtue and of vice, of high knowledge and of brutal ignorance coexisting side by side. Barbarians have for the most part one prevailing type of morality and of religious ideas: but under civilisation individualism develops itself powerfully in the few, and (through disorganisations, pampered wealth or tyranny) whole classes are often sunk into far deeper vice than anything known to the same nation in its barbarism. Thus while in one sense the Greek religion and Greek practical morality was always on the decline, in another sense (that is, as to the *theory* in the *noblest* minds) both

both religion and morals were constantly on the rise, from Homer to the contemporaries of Cicero.

We entirely admit to Mr. Gladstone, that the Greeks of Plato or even of Æschylus had worse vices by far than those of Homer's day: but we do not hence infer, that there were not individuals of the later times (say, Aristides, Socrates, Aristotle,) more virtuous than any of the contemporaries of Homer. Much less can it be allowed that Moral duty was not far better *understood* in the latter period. Undoubtedly, as a general rule, crimes of violence are looked on too leniently during a barbarous age, and licentiousness in the more civilised. Mr. Gladstone admits the former of these statements, and presses hard on the latter, doing the Homeric Greeks, as it seems to us, *more* than justice in comparison with their posterity. The tone of Homer in all that concerns the sexes, he justly says, is far purer, not only than that of later Greece, but than that of the polished Latins, and of many modern Christian poets. He might have added, that where Homer is pure, Pope makes him voluptuous, sometimes absurdly as well as offensively. Many of the Homeric legends have been depraved by the afteradditions: nor can it be denied, that the peculiar course taken by every form of Greek art and accomplishment engendered licentiousness and impurities of the most detestable kind. Even Socrates's purity is not at all of a tone that can satisfy Christian feeling. If we could for a moment believe him capable of uttering such things as Plato calmly puts into his mouth, we must use far stronger language against him: still, even in Xenophon the discourses attributed to him on these subjects are utterly unworthy of such a mind and heart. But when Mr. Gladstone would persuade us that the Homeric Greeks practised strict monogamy, and that their ignorance of Divorce is a valid reason (if we understand him) why the English Parliament shall not allow the remarriage of persons who have been legally divorced, he lays himself open in many ways. Who would care for divorce, in such a state of public feeling as Homer describes? Achilles, while raging against Agamemnon for snatching from him the beautiful captive widow Briseis, comforts himself by taking Diomede to his bed. Agamemnon, in restoring the woman whom he has carried off, offers one of his own three daughters in marriage to Achilles. The latter refuses the offer, saying that he will go home, and his father Peleus will give him a wife. Yet in this very speech (to sting Agamemnon) he calls Briseis 'his beloved *wife*.' Mr. Gladstone takes on himself a needless and too difficult a task in vindicating the purity of Achilles. '*Wife*' in this bitter and impassioned speech is not interpreted by him literally, for that would be suicidal to his argument; nor will he admit that it is a decorous word for concubine; although he cannot deny that

at

at least Diomede is a concubine. But he says, Wife means Bride: Achilles *intended* to marry her. Intended! Truly in the lament over Patroclus Briseis avows that Patroclus had promised to use his influence to that effect. Well, Briseis is restored to Achilles, and succeeds to the honours of Diomede,—*without* any marriage. Is not this chivalrous defence of the hero much ado about nothing? In that rude and violent age there was as yet no pampered or effeminate vice. An effeminate prince could not have kept his throne for a single month. But the animal passions of the powerful were not to be restrained by the laws of Christian monogamy, any more in the tent of Achilles than in the court of Priam. Nor does Mr. Gladstone here seem to us to have applied his own excellent erudition. He says (ii. p. 493),—

'Among the Greek chieftains, cases of homicide are more frequent than those of bastardy. And when such instances [of bastardy] are mentioned, *it is not in the hardened manner of later times.* It is something at least, that in such matters a nation should be alive to shame, &c.'

Now surely it is not doubtful that the Homeric Greek has three words to express meaner births. The son of an avowed concubine is νόθος, as Teucer. Theano, wife of Antenor, brought up her husband's νόθον υἱόν. A child of unknown father is σκότιος (dark), a word of reproach, it seems, like *bastard;* but to avoid this reproach, they also use the more delicate term παρθένιος (maiden-born), like our phrase *natural son.* This ampler vocabulary implies that such births were much commoner than with us, though (as a set off) they had not that hideous trade in vice, the disgrace of old and of new civilization. Mr. Gladstone, who insists that the seven beautiful damsels offered to Achilles by Agamemnon, were *not* to gratify the hero's appetites, should not forget Agamemnon's express offer, about which there can be no mistake, to the hero Teucer. But enough of this.

The most curious part of Mr. Gladstone's third volume is its discussion concerning Homer's use of colour. Every schoolboy is aware both in Latin and in Greek how difficult it is to render the words of colour by fixed English equivalents. Mr. Gladstone, instead of relieving the difficulties, aggravates them, and seems to land us in the conclusion that Homer saw scarcely any colours in nature except those of a leadpencil sketch, which, beside black and white, shows something brown and something grey. What we were accustomed to accept as a purple cloak or rug, dark violet wool, a violet or purple sea, are all to be understood (it seems) as merely dark or brown: and so of many other things. Assuredly the phenomenon is curious, and the main point of it is the following. Homer never calls the sky *blue,* nor the earth *green;* and it is even uncertain whether he had any words at all to express the colours blue and green! We fully admit the strangeness of this,

this, but Mr. Gladstone is aware that it is not confined to Homer. The fact pervades the whole school of classical Greek poets, and very similar facts are found in the Latins. For dark blue or indigo Homer says κυάνεος, for rich violet blue ἰόεις, though Mr. Gladstone would pull both away from us. The varying tint of the Tyrian dye involves uncertainty; yet on the whole in Homer φοίνιξ seems to be crimson or strong red, and πορφύρεος purple, the ordinary colour of the Mediterranean waters. This same he varies by calling it οἴνοψ, winecoloured. But the question remains, What did he call, or what might he have called, the blue of the sky? With diffidence we reply,—χαροπὸς is the word. Aristotle, in discussing the colours of the human eye,* says that it is of four different colours; black, grey (γλαυκὸς), hazel (αἰγωπὸς) and χαροπὸς. That γλαυκὸς means *silvergrey* or *silvergreen*, may be inferred, inasmuch as it is the colour of the olive leaf, which is singularly like that of the willow. This is the colour of Minerva's eyes, and seems to be related to γλαῦξ (the owl) her bird. One can scarcely doubt that αἰγωπὸς (goateyed) means *hazel:* what else then can χαροπὸς mean but *blue?* To omit blue in recounting the colours of the human eye, seems impossible. That blue and grey are apt to shade into one another, may account for the strange line of Theocritus (a Sicilian) who speaks of eyes far more χαροπὰ than those of γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,—*far bluer* than those of *grey*eyed † Minerva. We admit that the dictionaries hesitate on the meaning of χαροπὸς, a striking proof of its rarity. But here again we meet in Latin similar phenomena.‡ Cæruleus and Venetus are each blue, yet Cæruleus is apt to be rendered green; and that it was *liable* to be applied to a colour even more green than blue, appears by Propertius making it an epithet of a cucumber. Yet Cæruleus is certainly sky-blue. So again Veneta which expresses the faction of the Blues as opposed to the Greens, is actually rendered Green in Facciolati's celebrated dictionary. Such phenomena are curious; but they ought rather to lead us to greater care in studying the rightful meaning of the words, than to the inference that *no* colour was intended, but only certain effects of changing light. Mr. Gladstone increases confusion, by choosing to identify ἰόεις (violet) with ἰοδνεφὴς (violet black), φοίνιξ (crimson) with ξανθὸς (auburn), and μίλτος (vermilion) with κυάνεος

* On the Generation of Animals, Book 5, chap. 1, § 17.

† Possibly Theocritus understood the epithet of the goddess to mean *owl-eyed*, as some still interpret it. This would have some analogy to βοῶπις Ἥρη, ox-eyed Juno, and αἰγωπὸς, goat-eyed for hazel-eyed. Those who suppose *glaring* to be the radical idea in γλαῦξ (an owl), and γλαυκῶπις primitively to have meant *owl-eyed*, are driven to hold γλαυκὸς a derivative from γλαυκῶπις, by a retrograde process.

‡ As another illustration how unstable are the convictions of scholars concerning the meaning of colours, we observe that in Riddle's Latin Dictionary (5th edition, 1845), *Luridus* is translated 'yellow or yellowish.'

(indigo);

(indigo); also with φοίνιξ. Because certain ships are called vermilion-prowed, therefore those called indigo-prowed and crimson-prowed must be all of the same colour! This is indeed Mr. Gladstone's argument, vol. iii. pp. 465 and 466. The word *purpureus* in Latin is notoriously applicable to every tint of the Tyrian dye, and it is probable that the Greek πορφύρεος had the same vagueness. Its relation to πορφύρα, the oyster which supplied the dye, almost necessitated this, and makes it equivalent to the Latin *ostrum*. Its higher derivation seems to be from the verb πορφύρω, which (strikingly as it looks like a *Phœnician* reduplicate) is probably a pure Greek development from φύρω, I mix; whence πορφύρω (euphonic for φυρφύρω), 'I stir up to mix,' or rather in a neuter sense, 'commisceor, confundor.' This is clearly the sense in many passages; and thus, apparently, ought Iliad 14, 16 to be interpreted.

In applying colours to horses, most languages seem to take liberties with words, unless they invent new names. A bay horse is called by the Greeks sometimes *red* (πυῤῥὸς), sometimes φοίνιξ (crimson?). Our colour *crimson* is so sharply defined, that this sounds to us absurd. By the *auburn* horse (ξανθὸς) we understand a chestnut colour. Mr. Gladstone interprets βάλιος spotted or dappled in Euripides, but arbitrarily refuses this meaning to Homer.

No one can reasonably imagine any defect in the eyes of Greeks or Italians, that should have made them confuse different colours. Mr. Gladstone observes that in their works of art the pure colours appear in great sharpness and perfection; and as the Homeric phenomena are fully shared by the after-poets, we cannot think him in the right course in theorising about 'Homer's' perceptions. We have no proper *theory* ourselves, yet we will make a *conjecture*. Everybody must have observed with how much greater precision our women and girls name colours than boys. What a boy calls *blue*, his sister calls *purple* or *violet* or *puce*-colour or *lilac* or *ultramarine:* what he calls *red*, she names *scarlet*, *crimson*, *vermilion*, &c. Some of these exact, specific, milliners' terms are wholly inadmissible in poetry; as *puce* and *ultramarine*. Now it appears to us probable, that some of the words by which Greek artizans denoted the exact colours were essentially unpoetical, and inadmissible even with Homer. The genuine prose word for *green* was πρασινὸς, from which (as Mr. Gladstone observes) *all* the classical poets seem to have abstained; not Homer only. It properly means *leeky* or made of leeks: and what more probable, than that the associations of the word demanded its exclusion? When a boy calls a pattern blue, which his sister names lilac or purple, he does not confound the colour in his mind with sky-blue: his vocabulary is defective, not his

his perceptions. Similarly, we conceive that Homer's ξανθὸς covered everything from light chestnut, to auburn, flaxen or even yellow (hair); his φοίνιξ ranged from crimson to red mahogany and reddish bay, his κυάνεος * from any dark blue or indigo to a purple black, his μίλτος from red-ochre to vermilion and scarlet. But the enigma remains why he never calls the sky blue; for he had certainly no objection to the word χαροπὸς. Here again, *all* the Greek poets are in like case; nor is it at all common in *Latin* poetry to refer to the colour of the sky. It is found in the old style, in Ennius and in Lucretius: Ovid follows Ennius: but we believe it is found neither in Virgil nor in Horace. May it not be, that to say *blue sky* was to them as otiose as *white milk*? Even so, it is exactly the Homeric style to use such epithets,—white milk, wet waves, &c.; nor would metrical considerations be hostile to αἰθὴρ χαροπὸς in the nominative, if he had wished to say it.

This whole question of colours is to us very critical. A translator who allows himself to wander widely from the specific words seems to us to damage Homer. Let us illustrate this point first, by examples. Achilles, in the first book of the Iliad, after Briseis has been torn away from him, sits moodily on the seashore. Different translators shall tell his posture.

'But sad, retiring to the sounding shore,
O'er the wild margin of the deep he hung:'—*Pope.*

'Alone, from all apart,
On the drear margin of the sea-beat shore
Achilles sat, and gaz'd the ocean o'er.'—*Sotheby.*

'To the shore of the old sea he betook
Himself alone, and casting forth upon the *purple* sea
His wet eyes, and his hands to heaven, &c.'—*Chapman.*

Here we have at last got some *purple:* but next listen to Cowper:

'Then wept Achilles, and apart from all,
With eyes directed to the *gloomy* deep—'

Gloomy! not purple: this seems to follow Mr. Gladstone's doctrine.—The latest translator is Mr. Newman, who gives:

'But Achilles
Afar from his companions sat, in loneliness and weeping,
On shingles of the *hoary* brine, at depths of *purple* gazing.'

If *hoary* and *purple* are (as we have been accustomed to believe) rightful English representatives of the Greek, the last is as literal as a prose version needs to be. But what we wish now to enforce, is, that the question is no light one. A painter would

* There is no difficulty in κυανοχαίτης (indigo-haired) as an epithet of Neptune. The marine deities were painted with hair of the colour of seaweed, sometimes dark blue, sometimes yellowish frog-green. Hence Horace's phrase, 'virides Nereidum comas.'—As applied by Homer to a horse, the same epithet denotes a *mane* of *purple black.*

be

be ill-pleased to have the hoary foam of his waves obliterated, and their purple tint turned into dusky brown; and we suspect that Homer would not thank any one for putting his poetry under the same process.

Again, when Ulysses returns by ship from Chryses, and Apollo sends a fair wind:

'The parted ocean foams and roars below:'—*Pope.*

'Around the cleaving keel the billow rung.'—*Sotheby.*

'The mizens strooted with the gale, the ship her course did cut
So swiftly, that the parted waves against her ribs did roar:'—*Chapman.*

In these, we have as yet no colour in the waves. Cowper makes them black!

'Roar'd the *sable* flood
Around the bark, that ever as she went, &c.'

Newman takes πορφύρεον for purple;

'Right square upon the sail the wind blar'd, and the *purple* billow
Shriek'd mightily around the bows, as rushed the galley onward.'

The sea is not always purple even in the Mediterranean. Homer calls it ἰοειδής in book xi. Chapman has:

'He brake into the heat of fight, as when a tempest raves,
Stoops from the clouds, and all on heaps doth cuff the *purple* waves.'

Cowper a third time conforms to Mr. Gladstone:

'With success elate
He strode, and flung himself into the fight
Black as a storm, which, sudden from on high
Descending, furrows deep the gloomy flood.'

Newman, as before, adheres to the popular sense of words:

'Himself, with thoughts of arrogance, stept on among the foremost,
And into thickest struggle dash'd, like to a high tornado,
Which on a sea of *violet* with stormy scuffle plungeth.'

Both in description and in simile Homer is unrivalled. That is, his similes (whether or not strikingly to the point) are themselves descriptions of nature, and as a true Greek, he is peculiarly fond of drawing them from the sea. We shall give examples from more than one translator, observing, once for all, that as none of them has laid down for himself so severe a law of conformity with the original as Mr. Newman, his version best suits our purpose of illustration.

Iliad 2, 144.

'All the crowd was shov'd about the shore;
In sway like rude and raging waves rous'd with the fervent blore
Of the East and South winds, when they break from Jove's clouds and are borne
On rough backs of the Icarian seas; or like a field of corn
High grown, that Zephyr's vehement gusts bring easily underneath,
And make the stiff upbristled ears do homage to his breath.'—*Chapman.*

'Commotion shook
The whole assembly, such as heaves the flood
Of the Icarian deep, when South and East
Burst forth together from the clouds of Jove.

And

And as, when vehement the West wind falls
On standing corn mature, the loaded ears
Innumerable bow before the gale,
So was the Council shaken.'—*Cowper.*

He should not have called it the Council; a word which properly denotes the secret meeting of the chiefs, as Cowper has already applied it. The Assembly is the public meeting of the whole army. Newman renders it:

'Thus speaking agitated he the soul within their bosom
To all among the multitude, who had not heard the Council.
Upon the assembly movements vast fell, as on long sea-billows
Amid the depths of Icarus; which East and South together
Tumultuate, from out the clouds of Jove the Father darting.
And as, when on a corn-field deep the West wind rushing sudden
Bestirreth it with squally plunge, and every ear depresseth,
So agitated was the mote entire;—'

Now for the Grecian army moving to war, like successive rows of waves: Iliad 4, 422.

'And as when with the west wind flaws the sea thrusts up her waves,
One after other, thick and high, upon the groaning shores;
First in herself loud, but oppos'd with banks and rocks, she roars,
And, all her back in bristles set, spits every way her foam;
So after Diomed instantly the field was overcome
With thick impressions of the Greeks; . . . . .'—*Chapman.*

'As when the surges of the sea, beneath a west wind's pressure,
Upon the muchresounding beach, line after line, come rolling;
First in the deep it heaveth high; then, by the strand retarded,
With screech and roar it steepeneth, till, hollow at the summit,
Sputtering the briny spray abroad, the huge crest tumbles over:
So then the bands of Danaï, closewedg'd, to war were moving,
Line after line, incessantly;— . . .'—*Newman.*

The two hosts meet;

'As when two winter torrents, rolling down
The mountains, shoot their floods thro' gulleys huge
Into one gulf below; station'd remote
The shepherd in the uplands hears the roar:
Such was the thunder of the mingling hosts.'—*Cowper.*

'As when the stormbegotten brooks, down from the mountains streaming,
Mix in the bottom of a dell the riot of their water,
Spouted from mighty fountainheads, deep in a dingle's hollow,
And far along the cliffs their brawl unto the goatherd soundeth:
So, when in conflict these were mix'd, did scream arise and turmoil.'—*Newman.*

When the embassy to Achilles failed, Agamemnon's distress and anxiety are thus described:

'The other princes, at their ships, softfinger'd Sleep did bind,
But not the general: Somnus' silks bound not his labouring mind,
That turn'd and return'd many thoughts. And as quick lightnings fly
From welldeck'd Juno's sovereign, out of the thicken'd sky,
Preparing some exceeding rain, or hail, the fruit of cold,
Or downlike snow, that suddenly makes all the fields look old,
Or opes the gulfy mouth of war with his ensulphur'd hand,
In dazzling flashes pour'd from clouds on any punish'd land;
So from Atrides' troubled heart, through his dark sorrows, flew
Redoubled sighs: his entrails shook, as often as his view
Admir'd the multitude of fires, that gilt the *Phrygian* shade.

And

And heard the sounds of fifes and shawms, and tumults soldiers made.
But when he saw his fleet and host kneel to his care and love,
He rent his hair up by the roots, as sacrifice to Jove,
Burnt in his fiery sighs, still breath'd out of his royal heart.'—*Chapman.*

This translation obtrudes on Homer several improprieties, among which the word *Phrygian* will meet with Mr. Gladstone's just and indignant reproof. The passage stands thus in Mr. Newman:

'Now all the rest by galley-side, chieftains of Panachaia,
Kept thro' the livelong night repose, by gentle sleep o'ermaster'd.
But not Atrídes Agamemnon, shepherd of the people,
Might be in slumber sweet detain'd; but tides of thought did toss him.
And as, when brighthair'd Juno's lord thro' heaven lightning sendeth,
Devising hail or piercing sleet, (when snow the clouds hath powder'd,)
Or rainy flood ineffable, or bitter-yawning battle:
So thickly from his bosom sobb'd the royal Agamemnon,
Deep drawing from his heart the moan; and all his vitals trembled.
When o'er the Troian plain he gaz'd, the many flames admir'd he,
Which burnt in front of Ilium,—the sound of flutes and whistles,
And hum of men; but when he saw the Achaian folk and galleys,
Then many a hair with lowest roots from out his head uptare he
To Jupiter aloft: and deep his noble heart was shaken.'

The reader from these extracts may form some idea of the comparative merits of the translators, but to give specimens of Homer is like showing bricks as an illustration of a house. His versatility and his inexhaustible variety in treating subjects that differ slightly, can only be appreciated by a close study of the whole,—in the original, if possible; but if not, in a *faithful* translation, which does not intrude upon him the fancies of some conceited modern, nor omit anything characteristic. The oratorical powers of Homer, so proclaimed by Quinctilian and highly panegyrized by Mr. Gladstone, cannot be exhibited even in specimen: a whole book at least must be read. His vividness of conception and infinite pictorial power might perhaps be further exhibited by a few examples, if our space permitted. His moral and religious tone is a study in itself, as well as his extraordinary simplicity of mythical conception, in which tradition, philosophy, poetry and morals are strangely fused into a sort of arbitrary homogeneity. As a striking specimen of his moral tone, we select from the address of Phœnix to Achilles, Il. 9, 496.

'Oh Achileus! thy mighty soul subdue! nor is it rightful
For *thee* a ruthless heart to hold: the very gods are yielding,
The gods, who are pre-eminent in virtue, force and honour.
E'en they by penitence of men are from their purpose turned
With sacrifice and pleasing vow and incense and libation,
When mortal man hath trespassed, and made himself a sinner.
For, Penitences damsels are, by mighty Jove begotten,
Knee-stumbling, haggard in the cheek, with eyes askance and downcast,
Who in the track of Frenesy with sad remorse do follow.
But Frenesy is vigorous and sound of limb; for alway
She plungeth far ahead of them, and earlier for mischief
Man's heart doth occupy; and they but heal the wounds behind her.

Now

> Now whoso kindly pitieth Jove's daughters near approaching,
> Him greatly do they benefit, and to his prayèr hearken:
> But whoso to their word is deaf, and e'en refuseth harshly,
> They unto Jove Saturnius go and implore in guerdon,
> That Frenesy on *him* may come and craze him for disaster.
> But Achileus! do also thou unto the heavenly damsels
> Pay deference, and bend thy soul . . . . . &c. . . . . .'—*Newman.*

The word here translated Penitence, ordinarily means Supplication; but one of the old scholiasts discerned the true spirit of the passage, which speaks only of a *penitent offender's* supplication. Frenzy goes first, and sins; Penitence follows suppliant. The penitent offender ought to be forgiven. If any one refuses forgiveness to the penitent, the unforgiving man is liable to judicial infatuation,—becomes frenzied himself, and falls into disaster.

Many have expressed surprise and pleasure at Dr. Livingstone's testimony concerning the moral knowledge of the pagans of Africa; but the phenomena are on the surface of Greek and Roman literature. It would be no honour to Christianity to have invented a system of morals to which the human conscience bears no testimony. But the novelty which has seemed to belong to Dr. Livingstone's statement strikingly proves how ignorant of antiquity is the English public. A proper reading of Homer even in a translation (if a faithful one) would furnish matter for reflection such as twenty intelligent travellers among pagan tribes will scarcely give.

When we pass from morals into religion, the mixture of sound feeling with puerility and monstrous error in Homer is often highly interesting, as displaying the tracks of human thought and feeling. His religion is a fruit partly of conscience, but far more largely of fantastic and superficial observation; and many of the mythical tales are evidently little else than a development out of metaphor. When the eminently handsome heroes Achilles and Æneas are called *sons of goddesses*, nothing is more obvious than that this was in its origin a mere phrase of compliment to their beauty. Mr. Gladstone treats it too seriously. Equally gratuitous is his grave statement (as if of historical fact), that 'Polydore, sister of Achilles, had a spurious son.' This rests on nothing but a poetical compliment* to Menesthius, Achilles's nephew and the first of his five captains. 'Borus,' (says Homer,) 'who led his mother into bridal, was esteemed his father; but his real origin was from the never-resting river Spercheius, who streams down from Jupiter.' To mistake such a statement for a dishonour, is like accounting Alexander the Great a bastard,

* The case of Eudorus (next mentioned), Iliad 16, 179, is different. He is plainly said to be maidenborn (*i. e.* born *before* his mother's marriage), and not reared by the husband to whom his mother was afterwards married, but by his mother's father. In this case, the putative father, the god Hermeias (Mercury), is only a decorous cover to his mother's shame.

because

because his flatterers said he was the son of Jupiter, not of Philip. These are small matters; but they make us keenly feel, that Mr. Gladstone, with all his vast erudition, is led astray from the true and obvious meaning, where inferior men would probably go right.

The severity of his moral judgment against Venus, Paris, Agamemnon, is as earnest as if he were dealing with living characters; and in fact, his treatment of the great king Agamemnon is (if we may be allowed the phrase) quite edifying. Heartily do we wish that Christian rulers had the humility which he claims of Agamemnon; and glad shall we be to know, that whenever Mr. Gladstone is in the queen's councils, he urges his colleagues to humble themselves in the public eye (when they happen to have misconducted themselves,) as he insists Agamemnon should have done. This great king, after suffering vexatious defeat, in consequence of the absence of Achilles and the Myrmidons, sends a humble supplication to Achilles, proposing to restore Briseis, with seven ingenuous and accomplished damsels of picked beauty, and numerous other presents of great value, and offers in marriage either of his three daughters with seven valuable fortress-towns as dowry. We had always supposed Achilles to be clearly and vehemently wrong in harshly refusing to accept the offered reconciliation; nor do we read in his sarcastic and proud speech that specific ground of refusal by which Mr. Gladstone now justifies him; viz. that Agamemnon did not plainly and publicly confess that he had done wrong, but *only* proposed to send the woman back with splendid presents and with an oath that she had remained pure from his approaches. This is as much humiliation as we are accustomed to expect from monarchs, and is certainly far more than we ever get from ministers of state, when they have authorized iniquities and violences on a scale ten thousand times as great as Agamemnon's offence.

We have not touched in the above on the great controversy concerning the unity of Homer. Considering the vast length at which Mr. Grote and Colonel Mure have discussed the unity of *the Iliad*, no one could have wished much about this from Mr. Gladstone. But admitting the substantial unity of the Iliad equally as of the Odyssey, the assumption that the same poet wrote *both* seems to be far too easily made. The fact is, that we have *absolutely no historical testimony whatsoever* concerning the authorship, any more than if all the 'Homeric' poems were now for the first time disinterred in Pompeii. The ancients say 'Homer,' indifferently for the author of any one of these very numerous poems. Herodotus refers to the Cyprian Epic as Homer's, Thucydides to the Delian Hymn, Aristotle to the Margites; while it is universally agreed among the moderns that these

these are not and cannot have been composed by the author of the Iliad. When we thus unceremoniously discard the authority of the ancient writers in regard to all the poems *except* the Odyssey, it is absurd to pretend their opinion concerning the authorship of the Odyssey has any other weight than their recorded arguments may give it. The difference of the Iliad and Odyssey is not merely in definite representations, but in their entire genius. We do not undertake to prove that one man *cannot* have produced both. To prove such negatives is impossible. If Southey's Kehama and Shelley's Prometheus were both anonymous, we could not venture to say: 'It is *impossible* for one man at different times of his life to have written both.' But, as there is a decided difference of genius in the two works, we take for granted that they come from different authors, *until* external testimony shall establish that they are from one. Exactly the same is the case with the two great epics of the Greeks: and since no external testimony exists, or will exist, on which any one can reasonably rest, we think they should be always treated as of separate authorship.

We have not been able to touch on Mr. Gladstone's copious and curious analysis of the Homeric deities, nor on his learned and careful attempts to fix to the imagination Homer's notions of the Earth. He here blends the Odyssey with the Iliad. His belief that by the *Hellespont* Homer meant the open sea of Troas is, we believe, new, and deserves careful consideration. But we have, we fear, already overrun our limits.

ART. V.—1. *The Modern Pulpit viewed in its relation to the State of Society.* By Robert Vaughan, D.D. London: Jackson and Walford. 1842.

2. *An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times.* By John Angell James. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1847.

3. *The Preaching for the Age.* Reprinted from the *New Englander* in British and Foreign Evangelical Review. 1854.

4. *Preachers and Preaching.* By the Rev. H. Christmas, M.A., F.R.S., &c. London: Lay. 1858.

MANKIND have hitherto been more dependent for their instruction upon the living teacher than upon written or printed books. Until a very recent period in the history of Europe, and even to the present day in other continents, the few only can be reached by the art of printing; the many receive all their knowledge from the oral instructor. Pagan religions courted mystery rather than disclosure, and kept the veil of Isis before the eyes of the commonalty. Their exoteric

doctrines were few compared with their esoteric; and ceremony rather than knowledge was the spiritual pabulum they offered to the people. Hence mythology took the place of truth, and superstition that of faith. The Hebrews had less of this than any other nation. Their sacred books contained no secrets to be concealed from the vulgar. The teacher was commanded to instruct the people, and the father his child in all the words of the law, and to explain the meaning of their most mysterious rites. There was only one place covered from public gaze, and where the services were confined to a consecrated priesthood. Christianity rent this veil asunder, and opened the holiest of all to the view of the world. It consummated Jewish types, and made the gospel catholic. It courted circulation for its sacred documents, and sent its missionaries everywhere to diffuse the truth. Preaching may be said to have been begun with Christianity. The herald of the Saviour was a preacher. The great Teacher wrote no books, but preached to the common people. Apart from holy places, He taught in fields, on the mountain-side, by the sea-shore, and in the private dwelling. And thus acted His apostles. Their literary works were few; but these remarkable men, who have left their impression on all succeeding time, exercised their mightiest influence by the preaching of the word. Christianity owes its greatest social power to the pulpit.

It was a new thing in the world for the chief officers of a religion to instruct the common people, but this was the glory of the early evangelists. It was also a means of their wondrous success. Notwithstanding their exclusive claim for one God and one Mediator between God and men, and the strict morality they enjoined, multitudes were induced to cast off paganism and join the church. The hoar antiquity and traditional awe of their ancestral worship lost their effect before the life and immortality brought to light by the gospel of the preacher. The pure Theism and moral rectitude of the True supplanted the gross polytheism and shameless immorality of the False. Christianity overthrew the religions of the empire, and in less than three hundred years from its promulgation in Judea became the faith of the Roman world. The preacher was henceforth the teacher of the people, and the pulpit the lever of social amelioration. By means of the righteousness and truth, the mercy and love which characterised the instruction imparted from the pulpit to the people, great changes were wrought on the morals of men, and on the aspect of society. Slavery, that had prevailed to such extent as to embrace the largest proportion of the population of Greece and Rome, fell before the truth that made the spirit free, and all disciples brethren. Polygamy, that enervated the race and destroyed the purity of home,—once so high an honour and so beneficent a safeguard to Roman virtue,

virtue, was abolished by the genial influence of a faith that made the family relation the preservative of religion and morals. Woman, so long degraded from her position of equality, regained her place. Common life in all its interwoven relationships received an elevation and a purification that the high culture of humanity, for which Greece was so renowned, could never bestow. Duties were then taught, for the first time in the Gentile world, that the poor, the aged, the widow, and the orphan should be supported by the charity of the professing church. Intelligence, which had been confined to the noble and the learned, became the inheritance of the many. The same instruction was the privilege of all. The schools might be for the select, and the manuscript rolls of wisdom for the wealthy or the leisurely, but the pulpit was the birthright of the people. The highest knowledge was made accessible to the most illiterate, whom the aristocratic Platonist had deemed incapable of the higher life. The pulpit then became one of the greatest social powers in the state. If not so commanding and so materially effective, it reached deeper than the throne and the army. It governed the conscience, and influenced the mind and heart and life. The golden-mouthed Chrysostom was more influential at Constantinople than the Empress Eudoxia, and the voice of Ambrose was more potent at Milan than the sword of Theodosius. The preacher became the object of courtly favour or of dread. To support or silence the pulpit was often a surer way to win a cause than to appeal to arms.

During the mediæval period, religious ceremonies increased, and the pulpit was denuded of its glory. During Lent—the only season when the people were addressed—religious plays were substituted for sermons. Preachers ceased to instruct. But when men were to be again aroused, and called forth to action; when society was about to undergo a change, the pulpit regained its seat, and contributed chiefly to the progress of civilisation. The first crusade was preached by Peter the Hermit. The Monk broke the silence of centuries, and made the pulpit popular. He kindled the zeal of pope, emperors, and kings, bishops and priests, knights and people; so that when Urban II., at the Council at Clermont, addressed the immense crowd assembled there, they arose in one mass, and answered his appeals by saying, 'It is the will of God! it is the will of God!'*

The second crusade was preached by the celebrated St. Bernard, the last of the fathers. His discourses are characterised by Sixtus of Sienna as 'at once so sweet and so ardent, that it is as though his mouth were a fountain of honey, and his heart a whole furnace of love.' His manner had a fiery energy, and his voice a melting

* *Michaud's* 'History of the Crusades.'

pathos,

pathos, so that when he preached to the Germans, who understood not his language, they were moved to tears.*

The sixteenth century witnessed the true revival of preaching, and the pulpit became again the educator of the people. Legendary tales, dramatic representations, superstitious customs ceased to be used in public oral instruction. Luther and Zuingle, Farel and Calvin, Latimer and Knox among the Reformers, and the new orders of Barnabites and Jesuits in the Church of Rome, applied the pulpit to its legitimate purposes, and made its influence tell upon the masses of the people, who crowded to hear their eloquent and practical discourses. Luther had amazing power as a preacher. One of his opponents has thus characterised him:—

'Endowed with a keen and acute intellect, and a retentive memory, and having an admirable facility in the use of his mother tongue, Luther, in point of eloquence, yielded to none of his age. Discoursing from the pulpit as if he had been agitated by some strong passion, and suiting his action to his words, he produced a wonderful impression on the minds of his hearers, and like a tornado carried them along whithersoever he wished. So much force, gracefulness, and eloquence are seldom seen among the people of the north.'†

By means of the genius and eloquence, the good address and manly sympathy of Zuingle's preaching at Zurich, the Swiss were awakened to light and liberty. The pulpit became the greatest social power in the confederation, and more than all other influences contributed to reform. In England, Latimer was the preacher of his age. 'No man,' says Dr. Vaughan, 'ever applied himself to the office of preaching with a more simple or considerate aim to communicate instruction and to make the right impressions than did honest Hugh Latimer.' He had been brought up in the school of dramatic preaching, which prevailed in England as much as on the continent at that period; and when he addressed the people, his discourses had all the force and vivid representation which the actor throws into his speech. To kings, courtiers, and people, Latimer addressed his blunt home-thrusts with such energy and pathos as to become 'the father of pulpit eloquence in England.'

While thus noticing the social power of the pulpit in that memorable period, we may not omit the preaching of Loyola and others in the Church of Rome, and which gave new life and energy to many in that communion. Though trained in a military school, and devoted to chivalry, Loyola, when he became religious, was inflamed with an ardent and unconquerable enthusiasm, and, leaving his former pursuits, devoted himself to preaching, in which art he became most effective. All classes flocked to listen to him. Sobs and groans succeeded the breathless silence which marked the commencement of his discourse, and numbers everywhere became the conquests of his earnest oratory. Fra Girolamo Narni, who first suggested that great institution, the Propaganda—known

* *Neander's* 'Life of St. Bernard.' † Florimond Raymond.

all

all over the world—was a Capuchin friar, and obtained the reputation of a saint by the devotedness of his life. His preaching had a fulness of thought, a majesty of eloquence, a beauty of language, and a burning earnestness which made a deep impression on his auditors. After listening to one of his sermons, the celebrated Cardinal Bellarmine remarked, that he thought one of the three wishes of St. Augustine had been vouchsafed to himself, that was—to hear the preaching of St. Paul.* 'When Narni taught the populace, in Lent, from the pulpits of Rome, half the city went from his sermon, crying along the streets, "*Lord have mercy on us! Christ have mercy on us!*" so that in only one passion week, two thousand crowns' worth of ropes were sold to make scourges with; and when he preached before the Pope, to cardinals and bishops, and painted the crime of non-residence in its own colours, he frightened thirty or forty bishops who heard him instantly to their own dioceses. In the pulpit, at Salamanca, he induced eight hundred students to quit all worldly prospects of honour, riches, and pleasure, and to become penitents in divers monasteries.'

The influence of the pulpit in the sixteenth century was great and extensive. It awakened, instructed, and developed thought. It subdued and purified the people. It awed the might of the despot and promoted the liberty of the subject. It extended religion and improved morals, and took a permanent place among the beneficent institutions of Christendom.

How much England owes to the power of the pulpit may be learned from the fact, that all the monarchs, from Henry VIII. to Charles II., were exceedingly jealous of the influence of popular preachers, and did much to restrain their public instruction and to deprive them of their livings. The Puritan divines of the seventeenth century were masters in theology, then being fully systematised; and though their tendency to doctrinal disquisitions and controversial discussions led them away from the ethical preaching of divine truth, yet they never lost sight of the great mission with which they were charged, and exercised a most healthy influence on social enlightenment and morality, and on the contest between absolute power and constitutional liberty which then prevailed. To the frequent, lengthened, and earnest preaching of such men as Baxter and Owen, Howe and Bunyan, in connection with the truths which they taught, we may trace the sobriety, order, and piety which characterised that ever memorable era of English history—the Commonwealth.

The eighteenth century commenced in England with a frigid theology and a powerless pulpit—the bequest of the Restoration. It was winter in the Church when all signs of life seemed to

* *Ranke's* 'Lives of the Popes,' B. vii. c. 2, § 2.

have

have died away. Faith had become a form, and secularity had displaced religion. Preachers gloried in addressing their discourses to the educated, and the pulpit consequently lost its hold upon the masses of the people whom it was instituted to instruct. But when Wesley and Whitfield arose, and, as men in earnest, addressed their fellow-men, the pulpit reached the people and regained its healthful influence. The greatest social fact in the eighteenth century was Methodism, and that was a result of popular preaching. It revived religion, purified morals, diffused intelligence among the common people, suggested philanthropy, and aided to call forth those noble characters who have been identified with the great schemes of benevolence at home and abroad, which have engaged the practical energy of British Christians for the last hundred years. It provided pulpits with better, if not with more learned preachers, extended the influence of the Christian ministry, and advanced the welfare of the people.

The pulpit in our time is in different circumstances from those it has ever before experienced. The printing press has taken up much of its ground, and made society less dependent upon its teaching. Popular literature is attractive, and in many respects elevating, and aids self-education to a considerable extent. 'We are not now in danger of being *priest-ridden*, but of being *press-ridden*,' says an American writer,* and, though in so far as the newspaper is concerned, the remark applies even more to our transatlantic cousins than to ourselves, yet it has its application even here. The press has been gaining while the pulpit has been losing in popular power. This is not because the press has usurped the place of the pulpit, but because it has sustained its work with more ability, and is suited more to the worldly pursuits and desires of men than the pulpit. Accustomed to read well-written, intellectual, and instructive periodicals and books, whose style captivates, whose themes interest, and whose thought elevates, people cease to admire and to listen to preachers of feeble mind and listless manner. Those, again, who peruse the trash of Holywell Street—and they are legion—have no relish for the unexciting discourses of the pulpit. It is also not to be denied that much of preaching is too academic and dry, or too weak in intellect and coarse. Clerical education has lacked an element which brings the religious teacher into sympathy with the common people, and it has ignored the *art* of speaking, which is ever an effective aid of popular instruction. The want of education has also injured many who occupy pulpits in this land, and has made the intelligent desert them. People complain that most of the preachers whom they hear are simply *good* men, who do not com-

* Longfellow, in 'Kavanagh.'

mand

mand the attention of the thoughtful, and do not excite thoughtfulness. From these and other causes, our churches and chapels in large towns have been deserted by the half of the people.

The pulpit needs higher intellect. The theme with which it is occupied is worthy of the noblest thought—has the loftiest elevation and the most extensive range, and grasps the two eternities of the past and the future. It has the most varied topics of creation, providence, and redemption in all their relations to the welfare and conduct of man, and to man as related to God and his brother. It has a text-book made to hand within whose ample revelation there is a store for suggesting, illustrating, and applying instructive thought. It has abundant scope for argument, invention, persuasion, and appeal in discoursing upon the doctrines and duties revealed in the Scripture. It has the purest motives and the most sacred interests to urge to the faithful discharge of its office. It has radiant promises to encourage the greatest success. But it must possess a stronger intelligence and a warmer sympathy to make it effective. This is an age of active thought. Its intelligence sees clearly and is capable of apprehending close and pointed argument; but it cannot wait for prolixity and circumlocution. It has cultivation to appreciate the beauties of style and the graces of eloquence; but its every-day experience is against the affected, the histrionic—'the start and stare theatric.' Its earnestness in 'worldliness' can understand the burning zeal of the preacher on 'other-worldliness;' but a boisterous oratory, or even a graceful utterance will not atone for a want of intellect. Light and love—those attributes so eminently characteristic of the scriptural delineation of God—must together adorn, in a higher degree than is commonly found, those who, in the name of the Highest, address their fellow-men. Greater light must come from the study of the oracles of God in their relation to the present condition of society, and greater love from the baptism of fire—ever capable of meeting the earnestness of any age.

It is folly to suppose that by the exclusive study of the theology of other days—either of the Ante-Nicene or the Puritan age—preachers can with the greatest advantages expound and apply the Scriptures to the people of the present time. The lights of other days are not to be despised. 'He that will be so original as to scorn to borrow from others, may, indeed, acquire the wisdom of age, but he throws away the wisdom of ages.' Respectable acquaintance with the theological literature of the past is of the greatest value in forming a correct judgment and in furnishing the mind, and all preachers ought to possess it. But every age has its peculiar necessities, and the Bible is a book for all time and all people. Great subjects have occupied the pulpit during the last eighteen and a-half centuries. Among the subtle and dr[redacted]

Orientals the speculative points of theology were earnestly discussed, and preaching was greatly concerned with exposition of the Nature of God, the Unity and the Trinity, the Person of Christ, and the Personality of the Holy Spirit. But though at times these controversies have arisen, and will again arise, yet the creed of Christendom fixed the *Theology*, the *Christology*, and the *Pneumatology* in the early ages. In the more practical West, those points of faith that concerned the nature, character, and spiritual ability of man were eagerly and exhaustively discussed; but the *Anthropology* was settled in the days of Pelagius and Augustine. Passing over the *Hagiology* of the Middle Ages—which, by the admission both of Protestant and Romanist, was perverted to much superstition and was apart from the necessities of a creed—we come to the Reformation, when the way of salvation became the great controverted theme, and then the *Soteriology* was added to the faith. During the seventeenth century, the Puritans endeavoured to systematise theology, and assign the place of the 'five points' and their correlative truths, and *Methodology* was then completed. Creeds and catechisms got their permanent form. Since that period, neither Romanist nor Protestant has added any new articles of faith, with the exception of the dogma—then a sentiment—of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, and the doctrine of toleration, then very imperfectly understood. An age of speculation and remorseless criticism succeeded, from whose blight, with but few lessons, we are not wholly recovered. Its influence for good extends more to the study than to the pulpit, and qualifies the teacher rather than instructs the people.

Since the missionary era dawned upon the modern church, new topics have occupied the pulpit. The practical doctrines of Holy Scripture have been more fully taught, and the necessity of employing Christian graces in useful action has been more insisted upon. *Christian ethics form the doctrine for this age.** Of course our readers will not suppose that we imply the omission of the great central truth of the gospel. That was not held in abeyance when the articles of faith above referred to were the subjects of polemical discourse. The Cross must still be the sun of the pulpit, which thence derives all its light, and love, and practical power. Preaching loses its essential feature if that is obscured.

* The *Eschatology*, or doctrine of the last things, though often debated, without attracting general attention, yet remains for future theologians to add to the teaching of the pulpit. Other divisions, more exhaustive of the subjects discussed during the Christian era, have been proposed. *Hagenbach*, in his 'History of Doctrines,' has five periods, embracing *Apologetics* (from 80—254); *Polemics* (240—730); *Systems* (730—1517); *Symbolism* (1517—1720); and *Criticism*, (1720 to the present day). That proposed above agrees substantially with one suggested by Kliefoth. See *Hare's* 'Mission of the Comforter,' Note G., for some valuable remarks on the progressive development of doctrine.

Christian

Christian ethics are not meant to supplant the Cross, when we point to them as the great themes on which the pulpit must now issue its clear and certain sound. The great topic must ever be foremost, and may be illustrated from art, science, fancy, and fact, argued with a resistless logic, and applied by an earnest and pathetic eloquence. The other points must still be taught, and in their relation to faith and practice. Little, however, can be added to these, either in original treatment or fuller discussion. The massive folios of preceding centuries have exhausted their argument. But Christian *Sociology* is only now being discussed, and made an important part of pulpit instruction. It has been only of late years that the humanity of the Saviour has received that attention which its importance demands. Edward Irving, ere yet he diverged from his ancestral faith, did much to bring forward the personal Christ in all the sympathies of his human brotherhood and as the pattern Man. Archdeacon Hare and others have followed, and now many pulpits present the Man Christ Jesus before the people. This was needed; for the discussions about atonement, and the exact terms in which the creed respecting it was to be expressed, though of essential importance, had diverted Christian thought from the great personal Head of humanity—the fountain and the model of all spiritual life. No truth can be of greater service to popular theology than this which reveals the Saviour in human form, enduring a life of toil and conflict, and a death and burial akin to our own, along with that devotion to God and rare benevolence towards men, which made up the experience of Him who was ever doing the will of his Father, and going about continually doing good.

Consequent upon this great truth come the ethics of Christianity, and the application of its holy doctrines to common life. The pulpit was in danger of being separated from the daily experience of men, and religion of being considered only as belonging to consecrated places and to holy days. But this must not be. There is no divorce, but a close relation between heavenly doctrines and earthly business. They must be brought together, and it is the mission of the modern pulpit to exhibit this union and apply its lessons to the lives of men. The late Dr. Chalmers—a man in advance of his age—perceived the importance of this very soon after his removal from a rural parish to the commercial capital of his country, and he addressed to the multitudes that crowded to his ministry his noble and eloquent discourses 'On the Application of Christianity to the Commercial and Ordinary Affairs of Life.' The morals of money, of trade, and of labour must have a place in the pulpit as they have in the Bible. Society sadly needs instruction on these points of every-day life, and preachers must not shrink from the onerous task.

It

It is gratifying to observe that there are divines arising who are fully awake to their responsibility in this matter, and who are earnestly endeavouring to discharge it, as is evident from the volumes that are occasionally appearing from the press. The interest taken in Mr. Caird's plain, practical, and earnest sermon on 'Religion in Common Life,' by the queen and the people, indicates a consciousness of the need of such pulpit instruction.

In an age like the present, when business, politics, and refinement are so earnestly cultivated, and when there are so many temptations arising from these pursuits to disturb the equilibrium of a good conscience, it is of the greatest consequence that those who occupy the pulpit should endeavour with solid thought, fresh and striking illustration, gracefulness, and, above all, earnestness of address, to arrest and interest their congregations, to give a right direction to their pursuits and tastes, and to exhort them 'to adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour in all things.' We believe religion to be the wholesome leaven of life, liberty, and business, and the want of it to be the worst preparation for the excitements of politics and of trade, and for all social duties. The influence of the pulpit cannot fail to be great when the doctrines of the gospel are practically and earnestly enforced; but in order that the present age may be rightly and profitably taught, there must be in the preacher thought as solid and suggestive, eloquence as burning and attractive, as are found among politicians; point as precise, sagacity as keen, labour as untiring, as are evinced by men in business; along with a solemnity and an earnestness which will awaken to thoughtfulness and bring under the power of religious decision the busy men who throng our exchanges and our shops, our factories and our fields.

The great social evils that abound among us are fitting themes for occasional disquisitions from the pulpit. The preacher can influence public sentiment on these subjects. He has peculiar vantage ground for doing this with effect. He is not the paid agent of any particular benevolent society, nor under any special obligation (beyond the motive which his philanthropy may give him) to consider and discourse upon its aims. He can choose his own texts, and has a great license of all topics that may be directly or inferentially deduced from the sacred writings. And when, from strong personal conviction and ardent zeal for the public welfare, he uses his high prerogative to refer to prevailing sins, his words and efforts are justly entitled to great weight and attention. Thus, sermons on the war, on the peace, and on India have been recently delivered. Thus, at the request of the Bishop of London, discourses were preached simultaneously throughout the metropolis on Sunday trading. It is good that occasionally one subject of social interest should be thus pressed upon

upon Christian congregations throughout the land; but we attach a greater value to the spontaneous discussion of public evils by the occupants of the pulpit. Apart from pressure from without, they can thus give their calm thought to the subject, and their auditors can more calmly consider what they ought to do to ameliorate existing evils. Thus, when that most eloquent and effective of modern preachers, Dr. Guthrie of Edinburgh, makes his sermon the vehicle for his ardent philanthropy, and preaches on 'The City: its Sins and Sorrows,'—depicting the ignorance, impurity, intemperance, and ungodliness that prevail in our large cities, his auditors are likely to give serious and dispassionate consideration to the important themes to which they have listened. The fame of the preacher has secured for these valuable and thrilling specimens of pulpit eloquence an extensive circulation, and the press has been made the handmaid of the pulpit in social amelioration. The public has had thus brought under its calm and serious thought some of the most momentous difficulties of the present day, along with intelligible and practical suggestions for their solution. The pulpit has much in its power, and it must not shrink from the use of its opportunity to address the people on the most flagrant vices that sap the morals of society and neutralise so much of all zealous efforts for good. The pulpit has the strongest lever for benevolent action. When the heart has been warmed by the earnest application of truth, it is prepared to listen to the practical duties—social as well as personal—which the Christian faith imposes on its disciples. The 'great social evil,' as it is called, is too seldom referred to in the pulpit. Drunkenness, and the temptations to it, authorised by the State, and embraced by the people, are not denounced as they ought to be. The immoralities of trade, and the dangers of over-speculation, though they deserve the earnest attention of the pulpit, are not often described. The relations of employer and employed—of the deepest interest to a very large portion of the community—are not viewed in the light of Scripture with sufficient care, nor made so frequent a subject of public instruction as the necessities of the case demands. These questions must be considered and reasoned out in the pulpit before the people. There is an improvement in these particulars, and social ethics are being more frequently taught by the lips of the preacher. The pulpit is claiming the right 'to apply the standard of the gospel to the habits, the duties, the mercies, and the charities of daily life.' This must be done seriously. The pulpit is not to be prostrated to unworthy objects, nor to good objects in an unbecoming levity. A German writer mentions some sermons in his country that were occupied with the discussion of 'rural economy,' and 'the duties of Christians on the approach of a contagious disease among cattle.'

cattle;' and he adds, 'Did not Luther announce that it would not be long before they preached upon blue ducks?'* If he had lived to the present day, he would have heard of pious discourses on 'red, white, and blue,' preached in Christian England.

Perhaps we ought to take notice of those lectures which have been lately delivered in public halls by popular divines to large audiences, composed chiefly of the working-classes, on Christian ethics more or less practically applied to every-day life. That such efforts have been productive of good it would be ungenerous to deny; but we confess to a feeling that serious subjects should not be treated in the humorous style unhappily too characteristic of most of such efforts, and that ministers of religion had better leave the serio-comic to other actors on other days. What we desiderate is not a condescension to the vulgar language of the shop and the tavern, nor a divorce of devotional exercises from professed religious discourse, but the clear exposition of divine truth in untechnical, manly, and correct English, and the earnest application of it to daily life by means of the ordinary services of the pulpit; a closer sympathy between preacher and people by pastoral visitation; an adaptation to the present necessities of society; and a burning earnestness that seeks to make every hearer a consistent Christian and an useful citizen.

The special religious services for the working-classes recently instituted in many of our large towns have been a step in the right direction. They have brought preachers and people together in places where they had been alienated from each other. Mr. Spurgeon certainly deserves the credit of having inaugurated this scheme of our day. He made preaching to the million popular, and drew forth by his example many eloquent ministers, who have everywhere been welcomed by eager audiences. If this effort be faithfully carried out, and followed up by pastoral visitation to the homes of working men, we do not despair of seeing the churches and chapels of all earnest ministers crowded by interested congregations, and the pulpit made anew an educator of the people.

Wherever there is an intelligent, earnest preacher, society cannot fail to reap advantage. He may be the country parson or the metropolitan divine, the ill-paid curate or the wealthy dignitary; but when to a clear and fervent instruction on the Sunday he adds 'the rhetoric of his life' in philanthropic works and consistent conduct during the week, he becomes a father to his people and a benefactor to his country. The presence of such a man is a reproof to sin; his counsels settle difficulties; his labours elevate and reform the neighbourhood. He is always the preacher

* *Ammond's* 'Anleitung zur Kanzelberedsamkeit,' p. 70.

—an

—an illuminated gospel—and his flock are his living epistle known and read of all men. He secures the respect of good men during his life; amidst their tears he is borne at death to an honourable burial; he leaves a memory fragrant with the good works and almsdeeds which he did; and takes his place in the immortal sphere where they who turn many to righteousness shine as the stars for ever and ever.

ART. VI.—1. *The Political Economy of Art, being the substance (with additions) of Two Lectures delivered at the Manchester Athenæum, July* 10 and 13, 1857. By John Ruskin, M.A. Smith, Elder, and Co. 1857.

2. *The Functions of Science and Art Department. A Lecture delivered at the South Kensington Museum.* By Henry Cole, C.B., Secretary and General Superintendent. Chapman and Hall. 1857.

3. *The Gift of the Sheepshanks Collection with a view to the formation of a National Gallery of British Art. A Lecture delivered at the South Kensington Museum.* By Richard Redgrave, R.A., Inspector-General for Art. Chapman and Hall. 1857.

THERE are few things in this work-day world of ours more pleasant to the earnest lover of art than the change which has gradually taken place during the last twenty years in the popular sentiment in relation to the graphic arts in their intellectual, industrial, and national aspects. During that period this sentiment has advanced from the *vis inertiæ* of profound apathy and debasing ignorance towards a degree of interest and intelligence at least most hopeful for the future. Those only who have watched the progress, noted the changes, and been in a position to record from time to time the nature of the advance, can, however, truly appreciate how much has been achieved, or calculate as to the results in the future.

The literature of Fine Art alone is sufficient to show how great a change has come over us; since in this we have progressed from the dull namby-pambyism of lectures by Royal Academicians—whose efforts to explain the inexplicable ended in rendering the authors ridiculous—to essays by such writers as Pugin and Ruskin, in which the vital force and innate truth of art are held up with a scholar-like power and earnest enthusiasm equal to the theme. When, however, we turn to ornamental art in its application to industry, we find even a still more decided change, since, in the place of the blatant platitudes of poor Haydon, urging the public to the establishment of schools for the education of orna-

ment-

mentists through a course of study pre-eminently calculated to prevent the really able student ever becoming what he aimed at, we have the well-defined and thoroughly practical works of Owen Jones, Digby Wyatt, and others.

In the action of the new Government Department of Science and Art there is still further evidence of progress, as the manifestation of the growth of popular feeling for art in its various forms; since, by the aid of schools, museums, libraries, and picture-galleries, the facts necessary to true art-knowledge are laid open, and made available to all. The year 1836 witnessed the first great and permanently effective movement in the direction of popular art-education, and the last seven years have bloomed so unmistakably that an abundant fruitage cannot fail to result, if, with the advantages gained, we take '*Meliora*' for our motto, steadily and hopefully availing ourselves of the position to which past progress has brought us.

The Great Exhibition of 1851, the establishment of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, the British contributions, especially in painting and sculpture, to the Universal Exposition at Paris 1855, the Art-Treasures Exhibition at Manchester, and more recently the opening of the South Kensington Museum, with the Sheepshanks collection in its centre, are all so many steps forward in popular appreciation of art, and, as such, are to be regarded as evidence of a growing and intelligent interest in those arts which no nation can neglect with impunity, and which all nations aiming at an enduring historical position must regard as necessary alike to the present as to the future: to the present as a refining influence on the people at large, to the future as a record of national aims and achievements.

The Great Exhibition of 1851 showed us at once our strength and our weakness in relation to industrial art. With technical and mechanical skill, certainly equal, in many respects superior, to most of our rivals, the British productions displayed such a lack of true æsthetic design, such profound ignorance of most of the very commonest principles of ornamental art, and such an utter neglect of everything like fitness either to use, material, or mode of manufacture, that, in the presence of works exhibited by peoples whom we chose to consider semi-barbarous, our art-manufacture appeared to consist of mere conceits on the one hand, or senseless abominations alike in form and colour on the other. The honourable exceptions to this rule served, as usual, rather to prove it, than to afford any palliation.

The Sydenham Crystal Palace has afforded an example of how much may be achieved in the way of actual illustration of the past art in a pleasing and consecutive form. The hand-books alone might mark an era in the art-literature of a country like England, in

in which the 'why and wherefore' of architecture and its decorative adjuncts were either forgotten or carelessly neglected. It is to be regretted, however, that an undertaking fraught with so much promise to the future of true art should have been so thoroughly 'jobbed,' and eventually embarrassed in action. The 1851 prototype of this work had rendered popular art-education fashionable for the nonce; and had, *mirabile dictu!* proved, that, under certain conditions, it would pay. Thereupon, people innocent of all knowledge and love of art, except that of stock-jobbing, rushed into the market frantic with the newly-discovered importance of a progressive development of the taste of the people. Shares bought at par were sold in a 'rigged' market at a premium; three times the original capital was sunk in an undertaking which required as many years as its projectors took months to grow it: consequently that growth was fungoidal rather than tree-like—a costly and marvellous mushroom rather than a beautiful and enduring oak.

The *Salon des Beaux Arts*, at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1855, did that for British Fine Art which it might have taken years to have induced any one to have attempted in England; and our living painters and sculptors were not only brought side by side with, and face to face to each other, but with all continental Europe, and that, too, in such a form as to astonish the critics, who, as usual, had settled our position in art without seeing what we could do, upon the assumption that England could not grow artists, because Englishmen generally had no knowledge of art. This *sequitur*, so satisfactory to the *amour propre* of Frenchmen at least, was made the most of even with the works before their eyes; and it is doubtful if, even to this day, many of those critics who favoured British art with a passing notice in some third-rate Parisian newspaper, really believe that the works were executed by Englishmen in England. The responsibility, however, of showing who did execute them was coolly shirked, and the popular intelligence on both sides of the channel left in utter darkness as to whether British art is really British or a concoction by unfortunate continental artists whose notions of form, colour, and expression had become 'obfusticated' in the fogs and under the melancholy skies of '*perfide Albion.*'

The Manchester Art-Treasures Exhibition—an offshoot and intended amendment upon the Dublin failure of 1853—was a decided mistake both in time and place. In *time*, because it came so quickly upon the heels of an analogous exhibition; in *place*, because the popular taste of the *people* of the locality was of too low a standard to enable the masses to understand what the object of the Exhibition really was: and it certainly took nearly the whole period of the exhibition to inform even a fair percentage of the

the people, who ought to have been the first to take advantage of its teachings, as to its true purpose.

That the Manchester Art-Treasures movement had its uses, and will ultimately prove of value, especially as showing what a noble school of water-colour art has arisen in this benighted island, is quite certain; and for this alone honour is due to its promoters, although its projectors are not entitled to the credit of having foreseen such a result.

There is, however, another point which it is no reflection upon their judgment to say that they did not foresee, and that is, the fact that the accomplished author of 'Modern Painters'—*the* 'Oxford Graduate,' *par excellence*—would go down in the midst of the gathering, and quietly administer a rebuke, in two discourses on the Political Economy of Art. Taking up the whole question of a love of art as the prime mover to a study of, and an indulgence, when it can be afforded, in its beauties, Mr. Ruskin broadly hints a fear that an ostentatious love of display has had largely to do with the Art-Treasures gathering rather than that abiding love of the beautiful. Without believing all that the author tells us, and being very far from sympathising in his far-fetched notion that it is the business of the people of an English city to become the conservators of the architecture of an Italian city, even though the one be a Manchester and the other a Verona—the one a living, breathing, fighting, fuming, utilitarian aggregation of humanity and ugly architecture, and the other a dead city of the past, appealing to us, like a beautiful corpse, for protection from that further decay which is as inevitable in cities as in human bodies—we feel that his protest against incessant changes was something worth going to Manchester to say, and certainly worth going to Manchester to listen to, and as being said in the face of people who tell you—though if put in that form they won't own it—that all the art they care about is based on incessant change, on fashions, on whims, and caprices.

In building up the art of a nation, Mr. Ruskin well says:—

'We, as we live and work, are to be always thinking of those who come after us; that what we do may be serviceable, as far as we can make it so, to them as well as to us. Then when we die, it is the duty of those who come after us to accept this work of ours with thanks and remembrance, not thrusting it aside, or tearing it down the moment they think they have no use for it.'

Again, he says:—

'Its own work will never be rightly done, even for itself—more good, or noble, or pleasurable to its own eyes—if it does not prepare it also for the eyes of generations yet to come. And its own possessions will never be enough for it, and its own wisdom never enough for it—(only think of that at Manchester!)—unless it avails itself gratefully and tenderly of the treasures of wisdom bequeathed by its ancestors.'

In this consideration of the past in the present, as well as of the future in the present, lies the true germ of all solid art-progress. So

So much is not said precisely in these lectures, but all experience shows that this is the lesson we, as a nation, have to learn. First, we have to accumulate our art-facts, and every species of knowledge bearing upon them; to carefully preserve them, and so dispose them that they may be used to the best advantage. The 'fragments' are to be 'gathered up,' in a genuine spirit of pupilage, and we are to take care, as far as in us lies, that 'nothing be lost.' Having done this, and provided, too, for the continuation of such doing, the facts, the knowledge, the deductions therefrom, and the practical application thereof, are to be made not merely in a spirit of exclusiveness or commercial huckstering, but in a large and sympathetic desire for the promotion of a still greater development of art-life in the future, as arising out of the genuine vital force engendered in that of our own time.

If the trite old Latin expression 'Ars longa, vita brevis' was oftener thought of, and better understood, when money, and time, and painstaking effort, and thought, and sleepless anxiety, were all being bestowed upon some building, or picture-collection, or museum, the results, even to popular art, would be more satisfactory, because it would lead to popular art becoming more solid and enduring. As it is, the love of mere novelty, of change, of display without meaning, of mere expenditure of time and money without any true fixity of purpose, over-rides the more serious part of the question—the record by our own art, in our own time, of the position in which we stand. Happily, in some respects the so-called art of the day is not intended to endure; so that at least we may hope that, when the time comes for us to see, understand, and appreciate that which truly belongs to us as a people—that is, such art manifestations as really belong to the idiosyncracy of the age in which we live—the so-called architecture of this day, at least, will have fallen low in its native dust, no longer encumbering earth with its presence; a warning to 'gods and men' that to do a thing ill is to have to do it twice.

Thus much for our Art as displayed in our architecture. As regards Sculpture and Painting, there are other aspects in which to view the question.

Of Sculpture, little need be said. Divorced from Architecture, it scarcely exists, except on mere sufferance. Here a statue, there a statue—usually stuck exactly where they should not be. Dripping with rain-streaks and soot, melancholy proofs of how little we really know of the true purposes of the sculptor's art, these effigies of the great stand before us only as monuments of our own littleness;—self-evident proofs of how a true and good thing can be made to look false, aye! and be false too, by being separated from its primary use.

Of Painting a great deal may be said. Standing, at present,

on the debateable ground which lies between a conventional adoration of the old masters, or of works profanely so called, and the opening patronage of the modern school which has of late years developed itself—still amenable to the cant of the connoisseur by prescriptive right and the trickery of the vested interests of the dealer, professional and non-professional—the position of painting as an art is not satisfactory. It is too much of the shop, shoppy. The market makes the picture, not the picture the market. The cry is, as in calicoes, silk fabrics, ornamental brass-work, and the merest knick-knackeries, 'Will it sell?'—not, 'Is it true? Is it good for teaching? Will it make us better or wiser? Can we see nature all the more clearly for having looked at it? Does it lead us from town to country? Will it lift us, even for a moment only, from earth to heaven?'

This mere high-pricedness in modern pictures is no proof of a true love of them, and may be regarded rather as an unhealthy than a healthy symptom. Mr. Ruskin takes up this question in his 'Political Economy of Art,' and what he says about it must commend itself to every person interested in this question: but he does not say all that can be said, and ought to be said, upon the subject; since, apart from the evil influence which the question of price has upon the mind of the artist while at work, and the fact that, whilst some few are overpaid, many, as worthy perhaps, are underpaid, this tendency to high prices encourages a species of gambling in pictures, perpetuates the existence of a class of persons who grew up amidst the old-master mania, and who, standing between the deceased artist and the art-patron, presume still to thrust themselves between the living artist and his patron, and usurp the position of the true purchaser as the encourager of talent. Now, so long as picture collectors allow agents to stand between them and the artist, so long will they be subject to trickery, absurd prices, and all the uncertainties of mere trade in works of art. The temptation to duplication—even multiplication—is increased. The dealer is tempted by the price, and seeks to keep the artist and the patron as separate as possible, since he can the easier take advantage of the liberality of the one and the necessities of the other. Of course there are many honourable exceptions to the rule that the picture-dealer is simply an interloper—an useless and costly agent between the artist and his patron; since it often happens that both artist and patron are alike benefited by the introduction of a third person whose knowledge and experience are valuable to both: but this is only when the agent dares to think for himself, has knowledge enough to appreciate, and candour enough to acknowledge, unknown ability, with liberality and spirit enough to bring it forward, even though the artist's views of what a picture ought to be are not quite orthodox,

orthodox, and he may obstinately maintain his right to see with his own eyes instead of through the conventional spectacles of the so-called connoisseurship of the day.

Compare the usual mode of forming a collection of pictures with that pursued by the two greatest benefactors of British art, Mr. Vernon and Mr. Sheepshanks. About the object in view when collecting nothing need be said. It is granted that each person has a right to invest his money for his own ulterior views, which may be either money profit to himself or his representatives, or the more noble one of being useful to his less wealthy fellow-men, and the perpetuation of his memory among them as one who loved art so well that he wished all men to love it as much as himself and enjoy it. The Vernon and Sheepshanks Collections were both got together through years of patient and earnest attention to the arts, and of pleasant and profitable intercourse with artists. The fruit of this intercourse was an enlightened appreciation of the beautiful and true in nature and in those arts which aspired to perpetuate its ever-changing aspects. Any one who ever had the privilege of a visit to Mr. Vernon's mansion in Pall-Mall, or to Mr. Sheepshanks' quiet house at Kensington, must have been impressed with the earnestness of the spirit which brought together so much that was admirable into such a space. Located as they now are, these collections appear to lose by the want of personal association. This, however, was inevitable, and to the mass is no loss at all. Warned by the fate which had overtaken the Vernon collection, Mr. Sheepshanks wisely determined that he would himself see his pictures safely and separately housed. Not that he stipulates for any continuation of this separation; on the contrary, he wishes his pictures to be considered simply as the beginning of a national gallery of British art, sinking his own name and personality in the general title. Thus the intelligence and liberality which disposed and enabled him to collect, has equally served him in settling the final destination of his pictures. Contrast the galleries in which the Sheepshanks collection is arranged at the South Kensington Museum with the dungeon-like rooms in which the Vernon pictures first saw the light, such as it was, so far as the public were concerned. In the latter case, a noble gift was scurvily treated, and is still so, because its donor innocently believed that the executive of the people would care for such a donation to the people. Mr. Sheepshanks was thus well warned, took the warning, and acted upon it. He said, 'There are my *jewels*. You acknowledge that they are of inestimable value—some of them, the Mulreadys and the Leslies, almost beyond price. They are yours freely, provided you undertake to *set* them properly. If that is not done, you shall not have them to thrust where your penuriousness or lack of

appreciation may think good enough for them.' And Mr. Sheepshanks had his own way, in spite of sundry grumblings and growlings, more loud, however, from certain partisan lovers of art than from the consistent opponents of all expenditure of public money upon national elegancies.

In Mr. Redgrave's admirable lecture on the gift of Mr. Sheepshanks nearly all is said that well can be said of the use of this choice and varied collection of works of the painters of our own time and country. The explanations given of the construction of the galleries are of great interest and value to all who desire to see our future galleries of art properly constructed, and, above all, properly lighted; and it is not too much to say that the Sheepshanks pictures are better housed and better seen than any other public collection in Europe.

There is one provision, however, in the terms of this gift to the nation which may ultimately prove of great value to the future of the arts in this country, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Redgrave did not even touch upon it in his lecture. In the sixth clause of the deed of gift, Mr. Sheepshanks provides for 'the temporary loan of any of the pictures, upon terms sanctioned by the ex-officio trustee, to any place in the United Kingdom where any school of art exists in connection with the Department of Science and Art, or generally where there is any safe and proper place for their reception and public exhibition.' This liberal provision for giving to such of our large provincial towns as may have provided suitable accommodation for works of art, the opportunity, even temporarily, of sharing in the art-privileges of the metropolis, is worthy of the donor of such a collection of pictures; and it is to be hoped the day is not far distant when the Science and Art Department will promote a loan of some portion of the works to such places as Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield. Mr. Cole alludes, in his lecture delivered prior to Mr. Redgrave's, to the fact of a provision being made for loans of the pictures to local schools of art; but it is strange that neither of these gentlemen should have endeavoured to render the fact useful by dwelling at some length upon it, and suggesting how so useful a rule might be carried out. No one can suppose that this arises from any disregard of Mr. Sheepshanks' views, nor from any absurd exclusiveness in possession; on the contrary, Mr. Redgrave says, that while—

'There is every reason why there should be one centre of action—one great store, as it were, of the nation's wealth—this must be in London, and may well be at Kensington, where ample space, the one thing needful, is at the command of Government; but there is no reason why we should have only one gallery of art in London, any more than that we should have one gallery of art for London.'

He then suggests that a number of local galleries of art might be founded within a circle around St. Paul's, taking the distance from St. Paul's

St. Paul's to Kensington as a radius, and shows in what localities they would fall. Now this admirable idea—the only fault of which is that it is solely metropolitan—should be extended to the provinces, and the provision of Mr. Sheepshanks acted upon, by sending, from time to time, a reasonable proportion of his collection on its travels to the local sub-centres, whether metropolitan or provincial.

The great fault of all our government art-movements has been that they have been too exclusively confined, in their direct action, to London. The action of the Science and Art Department has certainly been less so than any other. In fact, provision is made for beating down this extreme centralisation by circulating a collection of examples, selected from the Ornamental Museum, but very much more has to be done in this direction. Mr. Cole's lecture on 'The Functions of the Science and Art Department' is usefully suggestive on this point, bringing out, as it does very clearly, its present action in relation to the important question of secondary education as applied to art as well as science. About the latter nothing need be said here, except to allude to one important fact, that science-schools appear to be of very slow growth, quite *as slow* and far from being *as sure* as the earlier schools of design, as they were called. This, however, in passing. The schools of art are no doubt laying the foundation for a future wide-spread usefulness. Nobody believes fully in the present system, either educational or administrative; and certainly no one could go over the works rewarded by medals during the last year's examinations, exhibited at South Kensington, without pitying the poor students who have received such blighting lessons in vanity at the hands of their teachers, aided by the department inspectors. The comparison between the character of their works and those executed under the former system, except in the cases of the older schools, such as Sheffield, Stoke-upon-Trent, Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow, and one or two others, is painful to reflect upon. Not that much positive improvement each year is at all practicable in the greater number of the stages, since the students of fifteen or sixteen in one year and in one stage will be succeeded, in the following year, by those of fourteen or fifteen, coming up from a lower stage; and therefore greater excellence in another individual is not probable, except in a few cases. The excellence may be progressive as regards the individual, but not as regards the school. When, however, the standard of executive skill is lowered in the aggregate, it shows either that the standard of judgment is lowered altogether to meet the necessities of less successful teaching, or that the standard by which the works of a youth of sixteen is judged at Sheffield or Birmingham is much higher than that by which the drawing of a youth of the same age

and

and standing at Coventry or Bath is tested and rewarded. The *broad-cast* system of prize-giving is of very doubtful utility, except so far as it goes towards levelling all distinction, or as an excuse for the employment of those who award the prizes, since present inspection simply means examination and adjudication. The result, however, of so much prize-distribution is already seen in the large crop of personal vanity grown in the recipients; for it has been remarked by persons employing these prize-students that the conceit which some of them manifest, after a course of prizes has been taken and had time to operate, is something laughable, if it were not likely to become of serious importance to the future relation of employer and employed. It is, therefore, to be feared that persons employing youths in ornamental manufactures will rather seek to prevent than promote their attendance in schools of art, if the working of the system of instruction tends to engender personal vanity in the students. Honours are sore temptations to grown men, and frequently lead to forgetfulness of duties and responsibilities; no one can wonder that youths forget themselves and mistake the beginning for the end.

Now this is not a national good, does not point to any really serviceable result, is not calculated to benefit popular education in the arts; but, on the other hand, is rather calculated to retard true progress. Nor is it likely that the temptation to so many young men, who might become good decorators or designers, wood-carvers and marble-cutters, to attempt to qualify themselves for teachers of art, will ultimately lead to satisfactory results. The true qualification of a good teacher is never obtained by going into training for it. The student carries it with him. If he loves to impart his knowledge to others, has aptitude of illustration, and zeal in his work, he will make himself a better teacher than any mere grinding through courses can possibly do. Without these, he will lack that force of character which enables a man to conduct a system of class instruction with success; and while no one can undervalue a proper course of systematic training for the work of education, and a fair test of the powers of the student after he has passed through such training, few will believe that either the training or the examination makes or qualifies the man, without there is also within him that which no system can give, and no mere routine of training develop. The practical result will be, as it is pretty well known it has been, that men incapable of leading public opinion in relation to matters of art will undertake the work for a stipend so beggarly that, had they persevered in some mechanical employment, to which their genius really fitted them, they would have done better for themselves, and certainly been more useful to society; whilst men capable of doing the work of arousing and directing an apathetic and—it is not too much to say

say, since it is not intended offensively—an ignorant public, retire from a work in which they have to descend to the level and compete with the merest country drawing-master, submit to tests of an inspection so elastic as to bring prizes within the reach of the 'meanest capacity,' and a position so indefinite that they are only recognised in a public capacity when something is wanted from them. In short, our art-teachers are now, so far as official position goes, neither 'flesh, fish, nor fowl;' and with every disposition to think highly of and appreciate the action of the Science and Art Department of Education, it is clear that, so far as regards the elevation of popular feeling in regard to art-instruction, its operations have not only been a failure, but have positively undone very much of what was already done for lifting up art and artists in public estimation. In saying this, however, it is only right to give its leading officers full credit for earnestness, zeal, and sincerity of purpose. Mr. Cole's lecture, followed as it was by that of Mr. Redgrave and others, proves this. The real cause of non-success, where success was desirable and might have been easily achieved, was the attempt to cover too much ground at once; an impatience of results without providing adequate means; a choice of cheap, rather than effective instruments; and a forgetfulness of the fact that anything approaching to a true appreciation of the value of art in this country, either in its moral, social, industrial, or educational aspect, had to be cultivated. On the contrary, it was assumed that all that was necessary was to provide the school-rooms, the examples, and the teacher, and each class of society would rush to learn art upon terms adapted to their means. This happened in a few respectable cities—such as Cheltenham, Hereford, Bath, and Bristol—where, ten years ago, no one would have thought of interfering with the conventional drawing-master, and where the novelty of the thing 'took' with a certain class. It would now be curious to investigate the *practical* results of these schools. What have they taught? Whom have they taught? What has been the object of their teaching? These would be fair questions. Who will answer them? In the mean time the question of popular art-instruction has been embarrassed in our large manufacturing towns; drawing *a la mode* encouraged, because it *paid* best; and the Government—following the example of the manufacturer, whose wares it set out with a desire and an avowed intention to improve, and whose argument that if an article '*sells*' it is the best and only proof that it is the right thing is repudiated by the official art-mind—actually does the very same thing, and undertakes to provide that sort of instruction which the public will 'buy,' without caring if it is truly that kind of instruction which the Government alone ought to '*sell*,' or allow itself to be mixed up with.

It

It is with a feeling of more than ordinary regret that every one must see a great work, in which so much has been and is doing in the right direction by this very Department, so compromised in its first and most important element, that of *direct* instruction to the rising generation. In the matter of museums and libraries, and the modes of access thereto, the administration at South Kensington is to be highly commended; and no one can possibly calculate what will be the result of the facilities thus afforded to the public for examining and comparing so much that is good and useful. If the *direct* educational management had but a tythe of the power shown in the *indirect* instruction, a few years would place us at the head of every European nation in the matter of popular education in the arts of painting, sculpture, and decoration. As it is, we are doing and undoing; building up and pulling down; one day rushing along with a speed that takes away the breath, and the next dawdling in listless apathy, wondering what it will be desirable to do next.

ART. VII.—1. *Pictorial History of England. Part VI. Manners and Customs.* London: Charles Knight.

2. *Antiquarian Library.* H. G. Bohn. London.

3. *Essays Historical and Critical on the Temperance Question. No. I. Ancient Teetotalism.* By F. R. Lees, Ph.D. London. 1853.

4. *An Argument Legal and Historical for the Legislative Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic.* By F. R. Lees, Ph.D. Third Edition. (United Kingdom Alliance, Manchester.) London: W. Tweedie. 1857.

5. *Statutes at Large.* Ruffhead and others.

6. *Reports of Parliamentary Committees.*

7. *Suggestions for a Bill to Prevent the Traffic in Intoxicating Drinks.* United Kingdom Alliance, Manchester.

IF there be any virtue in antiquity it may certainly be claimed by the Temperance movement. The opponents of Total Abstinence Societies admit that they may 'boast as ancient and honourable an ancestry as any in the world,' that 'in some of their features they are as old as history, in others, as modern as yesterday, and in all, not inexpressive of certain of the wants and aspirations of society.'* 'Without contradiction, in every age of the world there has been a total abstinence movement.'† To assign, therefore, to temperance its place in general history would occupy more space than can be devoted to our present article. On every page of the great volume of the past the student may find

* 'Westminster Review.' † 'Medico-Chirurgical Review,' January, 1851.

traces

traces of its influence. He may decipher on the walls of the stupendous Egyptian temple the hieroglyphic history of twenty-five dynasties of kings, all of whom, from Menes to Psametichus, drank of the juice of the grape, pressed, as by Pharaoh's butler, into the cup before the king.* Or he may read in the legendary poetry of the old minstrel of Greece, the sentiment familiar to him as again uttered by the divinely accredited wisdom of Solomon.† Or, turning to the precepts of ancient theology, he may ponder the significance of that wondrous temperance revival among the nations, when, almost contemporaneously, Zoroaster was endeavouring to purify the religion of Persia; Heraclitus was weeping over the debauchery of his native Ephesus; Buddha was promulgating to the vast multitudes of Hindostan his special law, 'Obey the truth and walk steadily in the path of purity, and drink not liquors that disturb the reason;'‡ and Isaiah, the inspired prophet of the Hebrews, in tones, the thunder of which, reverberating through the ages of the past, still roll awfully upon the ear, was proclaiming, 'Woe to them that rise early in the morning to follow strong drink, who tarry all night, till wine inflame them! Woe to them that are valiant to drink wine, and men of might to mix strong drink, for they have cast away the law of Jehovah of hosts, and despised the word of the Holy One of Israel.'§ Or, throwing himself, in imagination, into the midst of Athenian society, with its love of pleasure and its high intellectual development, he may mingle with the throng which listens to Socrates teaching 'abstinence from such articles as stimulate to eat when not hungry and to drink when not thirsty.'‖ Or, without more violence to chronology than imagination often commits, he may pass on to hear Plato discourse approvingly of the Carthaginian law, 'that no sort of wine be drunk in the camp, nor anything but water; and that every judge and magistrate abstain during the year of his office.'¶ Or, he may linger before the door of Epicurus himself, and there read the inscription, 'Passenger! here thou wilt find good entertainment; it is here that pleasure is esteemed the sovereign good. The master will receive thee courteously, but take note! thou must expect only a piece of cake and thy fill of water. Here hunger is not provoked, but satisfied; thirst is not excited, but quenched.'**

---

* *Plutarch*, 'De Iside et Oseride.'

† 'Far hence be Bacchus' gifts, the chief rejoined,
Inflaming wine, pernicious to mankind,
Unnerves the limbs and dulls the noble mind.
Let chiefs abstain.'—*Iliad*, Book 6, line 322.

It is not for kings, O Lemuel, it is not for kings to drink wine; nor for princes strong drink: lest they drink, and forget the law, and pervert the judgment of any of the afflicted.'—*Prov.* xxxi. 4, 5.

‡ 'Precepts of Buddha.' § *Isa.* v. 11, 24. ‖ '*Prof. Tyler*, 'Socrates.'

¶ *Plato*, 'De Legibus.' ** *Seneca*, 'Epistolæ ad Lucilium,' Ep. 31.

In

In the present article, our object is more practical, and, therefore, more limited. We propose briefly to sketch the history of our own social condition, and of our laws in relation to intemperance, with the view of ascertaining whether there may be discovered any sound principle, both of individual practice and national importance, by which we may be confirmed in our present course or learn to amend our future.

According to Macpherson, when the Romans invaded Britain intemperance was already ranked among the national vices. To whatever extent this may be true, the introduction of the luxury accompanying the Roman power certainly tended to increase the evil. When, however, the centre of the empire being threatened, the conquerors withdrew from the extremities to defend the seat of government, they left behind them comparatively few traces of an influence on the habits and manners of the people they had subdued. Their dominion having partaken more of the nature of military occupation than of colonisation, its magnitude rather asserted itself in vast military works, and in some important political institutions, than in domestic or social relations. The Saxon power, under which Britain then came, gradually strengthening itself, until its consolidation under Egbert, was of a widely-different character. To it we are rightly accustomed to look as to the fountain whence have flowed to us most of the refreshing streams of domestic and political freedom which have gladdened our country. Modern England does not belie its lineage; with all their free institutions, the Saxons were proverbially drunken. Their common drink was ale or mead. By 694, so important a luxury was this beverage considered, that Iné, king of the West Saxons, directed that every possessor of ten hides of land should pay him an annual tax of twelve ambers * of Welsh ale. Pledges, as indications of courtesy, or incitements to excess, though possibly due to the refinement of classic civilisation, were universally adopted, and the word, 'waes hail,' indicates the readiness with which the custom became incorporated not only into the habits, but even into the language of the people. 'It be an innate quality of this people,' says William of Malmesbury,† 'to be more inclined to revelling than to the accumulation of wealth. . . . Drinking in parties is an universal practice, in which occupation they pass entire nights as well as days.'

The vices attendant on drunkenness of course followed, and it was to their enervating and degrading effects upon the national mind and energies that the old chronicler attributed the result of the battle of Hastings. Nor were these habits confined to any class. The poem of 'Beowulph' introduces us to the banquets of

* An amber—seven gallons.

† 'Chronicle,' B. 3.

kings

kings and nobles, and we look on at scenes of dangerous debauchery. Strutt explains the custom of the pledge at table, as an engagement, on the part of the guest, to defend his neighbour against violence while in the act of drinking—the arm being raised, the face covered, and the body, therefore, unprotected. Our readers will remember the murder of the first Edmund, on the festival of St. Augustin (946), a catastrophe which might have been prevented had not the king and his entire court and guards been so drunk as to be helpless. Even the clergy were not exempt from the popular frailty. With pardonable care, they secured for themselves the best produce of the field and the vintage. The people soon came to call the choicest and strongest wine 'theologicum.' Of course the authority of the church sought to restrain such excesses, but without much result. Then, as now, it was felt to be difficult to define drunkenness. Where was the line to be drawn, which, in social enjoyment, should rigidly separate 'the talky, the argumentative, the disputatious, the altogethery, the unintelligible, and the drunk?' Let modern legislators read and learn—'This is drunkenness,' says a canon of the Saxon church, 'when the state of the mind is changed, the tongue stammers, the eyes are disturbed, the head is giddy, the belly is swelled, and pain follows.'

By the reign of Edgar (958), intemperance had become so terrible as to induce repeated efforts on the part of that king to check it. In Dorsetshire may yet be seen Saxon vessels divided or marked with pegs at regular intervals. Beyond the next peg no guest could be allowed to drink, under legal penalty, as the cup was circulated round the table. The legislation advised by Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, was more sensible. Acting on his suggestion, Edgar forcibly suppressed all ale-houses, excepting one in every village or small town; thus affording an early authority for legal interference with the trade in strong drink. It would be unjust, however, to our Saxon forefathers were we to omit the testimony of the chronicler we have already quoted to the fact, that in the midst of all this vicious and sensual indulgence 'many of the clergy, at that day, trod the path of sanctity, and that many of the laity, of all ranks and conditions in this nation, were well pleasing to God.'

With the Normans were introduced habits of greater refinement. The 'science of cookery,' which they brought with them, indicates a delicacy and luxury to which the rough Saxons were strangers. Their manners were proud and selfish, but they were not excessive in the indulgence of their appetites—

> 'To rise at five, to dine at nine,
> To sup at five, to bed at nine,
> Makes a man live to ninety-nine,'

is a translation of an old Norman proverb.

But

But by the time of Henry II., according to Peter of Blois, evil communications had corrupted good manners. The revival of laws against drinking beyond the pegs, especially directed against the rural clergy, again points to the prevailing vice of the people. It was so far a public danger as to attract the attention and excite the alarm of strangers. 'The two only inconveniences of London,' says Fitzstephen, 'are the excessive drinking of some foolish people, and the frequent fires.'

From the period of Magna Charta, we have no longer to pick our way by the dim light of obscure chronicles, but may walk freely along the broad path of the statute book. Whatever may be the objections entertained against legislative interference with the traffic in strong drink, no charge of innovation or of novelty can be brought against it. Intemperance, and the public-house, seem to have caused more trouble to parliament than any other question, domestic or foreign. Upwards of 470 statutes, which we have carefully perused, attest as well the difficulties of the case as the persevering industry of our legislators.

England, in the reigns of John and Edward I., was in a state of sad disorder. The popular legends of Robin Hood exhibit no exaggerated picture of the lawlessness which prevailed; to check which, vain attempts were made by 13 Ed. I., commonly called the Statute of Winchester. 'Robberies, murders, burnings, and thefts be more often used than heretofore,' says that statute; and it provides that a host shall be answerable for his lodger, and that open spaces shall be left on each side of roads to protect the traveller from concealed danger.

By 51 Hen. III. the price of ale was first fixed by Act of Parliament. It was to be regulated according to the price of corn. Arising out of the assize necessary to determine the operation of this Act, grew an excellent provision. 12 Ed. II. (1319), and 6 Ric. II. (1383), entirely disqualified any trader, wholesale or retail, in wine, ale, or victuals, from holding any judicial office in any corporation, and this continued in force until the reign of Henry VIII.

Sufficient traces may be discovered in early statutes to show that the trade in strong drink had, long prior to the date of legislative records, been under very stringent regulations. The king's licence is frequently mentioned, and a statute of Ed. III. provides 'that the mayor and aldermen may rule and redress the defaults of fleshers, fishers, and poulters, *as they do of those that sell bread, wine, and ale.*' But whatever may have been the nature of these restrictions, taverns early became troublesome, and publicans very soon learned the tricks of their trade. Statute 4 Ed. III., c. 12 (1331), assigns as a necessity for legislation, 'Because there be more taverners in the realm than there were wont to be, selling as well

well corrupt wines as wholesome,' and prescribes, as a penalty, not only the closing of the tavern door, but the destruction of the liquor and the vessels containing it. Our readers will not fail to remark the curious coincidence of these provisions with those found effective in the modern legislation of the United States.

The literature, also, of this period abounds with allusions to prevalent intemperance. The Miller's tale, as told to the Canterbury pilgrims, is expressly assigned to a drunken vagabond, and it would be difficult to find a better temperance lecture than Chaucer has put into the mouth of the Pardonere:—

> 'A lecherous thing is wine, and dronkennesse
> Is ful of striving and of wretchednesse.
> Oh dronken man, disfigured is thy face,
> Sour is thy breth, foul art thou to embrace.
> And through thy dronken nose semeth the soun,
> As though thou saidest ay Samsoun, Samsoun,
> And yet, God wot, Samsoun drank nay no wine.
> Thou fallest as it were a sticked swine.
> Thy tongue is lost, and all thy honest cure,
> For dronkennesse is veray sepulture
> Of manne's wit, and his discretion,
> In whom that drink hath domination;
> He can no counsel kepe, it is no drede,
> Now kepe you from the white and from the red.'

The continental wars of Henry V. and the contests between the White and Red Roses were events little favourable to domestic progress. The statute-book received but few additions during this period of foreign and domestic strife. The publicans, however, still plied their mischievous trade. They seem to have acquired a habit of forcibly possessing themselves of the horses and accoutrements of travellers, for a statute of Henry VI. is expressly directed against this offence. A curious enactment of 1455,* without assigning any reason, declares that 'no person brewing ale or beer in Kent to be sold, shall during 5 years make above 100 quarters of malt to his own use.'

In the habits and condition of the people there was an increase of luxury, though not of temperance. Fortescue, a legal writer of the period, says that 'the common people never vouchsafed to drink water, except for penance,' while even the sacred edifices of the church were defiled by drunken orgies known by the name of 'glutton masses.'

The revolution which terminated the rivalry of the houses of York and Lancaster, and placed Henry VII. on the throne, left the country even more disorganised than it had previously been. The power of the crown under the Tudors rendered the duties of parliament in the matter of social legislation very subordinate, and even such efforts as were made to enforce order—the stringent

* 33 Hen. VI. c. 4.

laws

laws against vagabonds, for example—were abortive, from the disturbing influence of the ale-houses and taverns.

In 11 Hen. VII. a provision is found giving justices power to put away ale-selling and take sureties for good behaviour, but the mischief so rapidly increased as to necessitate the enactment of 5 & 6 Ed. VI., c. 25 (1552), not as a fiscal measure, as is now often argued, but for the sake of social protection. The title of this statute is 'For Keepers of Ale-houses and Tippling-houses to be bound by Recognisances.' Its preamble runs: 'Forasmuch as intolerable hurts and troubles to the commonwealth of this realm doth daily grow and increase through such abuses and disorders as are had and caused in common ale-houses and other houses called tippling-houses;' and it enacts a licence system under the direct control of the justices. The mischief, however, was not confined to ale-houses, as was soon discovered. In the following session taverns were attacked. Stat. 7 Ed. VI., c. 5 (1554) was enacted for 'the avoiding of many inconveniences, much evil rule, and common resort of misruled persons, used and frequented in many taverns, newly set up in very great numbers, in back lanes, corners, and suspicious places within the city of London and in divers other towns and villages within this realm.' It provided that no wine should be sold without a licence, and further, that no licence should be granted, excepting in cities, boroughs, or market-towns. In these the number was strictly limited to two, with the exception of four considerable cities. To London was allowed 40, to York 8, to Bristol 6, and to Westminster 3. *In no case was any wine to be sold to be drunk on the premises.* What do our modern restrictionists say to this last provision? Surely if any regulation can be satisfactory, measures so stringent as these should have resulted in success. They lamentably failed. By the end of the reign of Elizabeth drunkenness and disorder had very greatly increased. The severity of the time of Henry VIII., during whose reign 72,000 executions are computed to have taken place, was almost rivalled by that of his daughter. Three or four hundred vagabonds were annually disposed of by the hangman during the latter years of Elizabeth.

The consumption of drink became enormous. Ales—double, single, and, named on account of strength, 'dagger'—were the constant beverage. But the favourite popular drink was 'huff-cap,' called also 'mad dog,' 'angels' food,' or 'dragons' blood.' 'Never,' says Harrison, 'did Romulus and Remus suck their she-wolf with such eager and sharp devotion as these men hale at huff-cap, till they be as red as cocks, and little wiser than their combs." Not less than fifty-six kinds of French wines, and thirty-six descriptions of other wines, were imported to the extent of 30,000

30,000 tuns annually. Gout, emphatically called the enemy, began to make its appearance. To intensify the mischief, the Irish established the distillation of whisky in Pembrokeshire, but were checked by an Act to restrain the excessive making of malt.* This wise measure, which worked satisfactorily, was repealed in 1698, as we shall presently mention, avowedly and entirely for the sake of revenue.

A knowledge of adulteration, too, was a recognised qualification for the business of a publican. Falstaff's keen palate easily detected the lime in the sack with which he sought to refresh his exhausted valour after the fight at Gad's Hill. And when, the lusty knight being compelled to discard one of his servants, Bardolph offered himself for the situation of tapster, the host's first and only reply was, 'Come, let me see thee froth and lime.'

Such a state of society could not exist without exciting the alarm of thoughtful men. The pamphleteer, the poet, and the politician sought in vain to stem the tide of debauchery. 'All drunkards are beasts,' was the proposition maintained by George Gascoigne in his 'Delicate Diet for Daintie Mouthed Drunkards;' the charming allegory of Spenser sought to invest purity and virtue with fresh charms; and the supposed happiness of Utopia or of Arcadia was increased and secured by the absence of the 'institution' which would foment disorder and inflame the passions of the people.

The state of public morals at the close of Elizabeth's reign is shown by the eager haste displayed by the first parliament of James I. to devise some remedy. Almost the first Act of this first parliament was 'An Act to restrain the inordinate Haunting and Tippling in Inns, Ale-houses, and other Victualling Houses,' 1 Jac. I., c. 9 (1603). The following is its preamble:—

'Whereas the ancient, true, and principal use of inns, ale-houses, and other victualling houses was for the receipt, relief, and lodging of wayfaring people travelling from place to place, and for such supply of the wants of such people as are not able by greater quantities to make their provisions of victuals, and not meant for entertainment and harbouring of lewd and idle people to spend and consume their money and their time in lewd and drunken manner,' &c.

The Act provides for the infliction of a penalty of ten shillings on any publican suffering 'an inhabitant' to stay and tipple in his house; and if negligent of their duty in enforcing this Act, the constables or churchwardens are made liable to a penalty of forty shillings, which it is decreed shall be paid to the use of the poor.

These stringent provisions were abundantly needful. The court of James I. was even more depraved and scandalous than that of his grandson the 'merry monarch.' He 'wallowed in beastly delights.' Ladies of title haunted the taverns, and were frequently seen intoxicated in the vilest company, while the great

* 39 Eliz. c. 16.

mass of the people abandoned themselves to the temptations which surrounded them on every side.

The laws of Ed. VI. regulating the existence of public-houses were disregarded. With characteristic indifference to an Act of Parliament, James assumed the right of granting patents, by virtue of his prerogative, and, among the rest, the monopoly of licensing ale-houses and taverns. The result of such a grant may readily be imagined. The grievance soon became intolerable. Mr. Alford, a member of parliament,* described its operation in Bath to be, 'that instead of restraining the number of inn-keepers—where there were wont to be but six, and the town desired Sir Giles Monpesson there might not be more—yet he increased them to twenty.'

At length the pressure brought to bear on the king induced him to give way, and he agreed to leave the management of ale-houses, &c., in the hands of the justices of the peace, 'as before.' Immediately parliament took further steps to repress the evil. It passed the statutes 4 Jac. I., c. 4 (1606), 'For the better repressing of ale-houses, whereof the multitude and abuses have been and are found intolerable, and still and are like to increase;' and 4 Jac. I., c. 5, 'An Act for repressing the odious and loathsome sin of drunkennesse.' The preamble of this last Act is remarkable for the vigour of its expression. It runs as follows:—

'Whereas the odious and loathsome sin of drunkenness is of late grown into common use within this realm, being the root and foundation of many other enormous sins, as bloodshed, stabbing, murder, swearing, fornication, adultery, and such like, to the great dishonour of God and of our nation, the overthrow of many good arts and manual trades, the disabling of divers workmen, and the general impoverishment of many good subjects subversively wasting the good creatures of God,' &c.

The Act is directed against the drinker; a fine of five shillings or six hours in the stocks being the penalty attached to the offence of drunkenness, and the provisions of a former Act* are extended to the party who might 'stay tippling,' as well as to the host. This Act was subsequently† incorporated with 1 Jac. I. c. 9, and made perpetual. That portion of the incorporated statute which affected *the seller* was afterwards repealed by an Act of Geo. II.; but, as a means of chastisement for the drinker it is still in force, and is the authority in virtue of which magisterial fines are daily inflicted on our disorderly population. It is, however, acknowledged by the best authority to be entirely insufficient. The honourable member for Bristol, Mr. Berkeley, desirous to show that his support of publican views and policy in the repeal of the Wilson Patten Beer Bill, did not arise from a sympathy with drunkenness, or preclude him from aiding

* 1 Jac. I. † By 21 Jac. I. c. 7.

other

other measures, gave notice, in 1856, of his intention to move 'for leave to introduce a bill' to repeal this statute as useless and ineffective, and to substitute very increased penalties on the unfortunate victim of the public-house. No hint was given of the propriety of bringing back *the seller* within the penalties—nor, indeed, has the original notice ever been proceeded upon.

But we need not look so far away from the date of the Act itself for proofs of its inadequacy. Within three years the House of Commons declared that, 'Whereas notwithstanding all former laws and provisions already made, the inordinate and extreme vice of excessive drinking and drunkenness doth more and more abound,' it was necessary to provide that one offence only against the acts we have recounted should be followed by a forfeiture of the licence for three years.

The court of Charles I. was certainly more domestic and virtuous than that of his father. Open profligacy was not chargeable to this most culpable and unfortunate of kings. But in the nation the same mischiefs we have already traced were still at work. The first parliament of Charles I. found it necessary to pass an Act* for 'the further restraint' of the evil, including as well taverns as wine-houses, and strangers as well as inhabitants in the provisions of former statutes. Not content with this, so great appears to have been the exasperation of the parliament, that 3 Car. I. c. 3. (1627), declares the alternative penalty to be fine or *whipping* for the prime offender; and imprisonment for a considerable period for the negligent officer.

The dire social disasters arising from the drinking-houses attracted the constant attention of the judges as well as of the legislature. The magistrates were continually admonished to allow as few as possible. 'I once did discharge two justices for setting up one ale-house,' said Lord Keeper Coventry, on one occasion, to the judges, before dismissing them to their circuits; 'and I shall be glad to do the same again upon the like occasion.' While, however, the efforts of Charles to dispense with parliaments not only checked the current of domestic legislation, but led to the civil war and the scaffold at Whitehall, the rise of the puritan spirit among the people was accompanied, as we might expect, with an increased sobriety. The rigid morals of the Commonwealth tolerated no such excesses as had disgraced the Cavaliers, and great efforts were made, not without success, to stay the ravages of drunkenness.

But the licence of the Restoration plunged the nation once more into the whirlpool of sensual vice. A court without decency, an aristocracy without nobility, a clergy without religion, could not exist, save among a people without sobriety. The virtue and

* 1 Car. I. c. 4 (1625).

modesty of the few who retained their purity of life were outraged by seeing titles and honours lavished on the king's bastards; and even the queen herself was compelled to smother her womanly indignation, and to receive with smiling courtesy the harlots of her husband.

By the year of the Great Plague, the common complaint was again of facilities for intemperance. In the 'orders conceived and published by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, concerning the infection of the Plague,' (1665) it is commanded 'that disorderly tippling in taverns, ale-houses, cellars, &c., be severely looked unto as the common sin of this time, and the greatest occasion of dispensing the plague.' It is also very interesting to notice that the same orders compel all taverns to close at NINE, an order which is declared to be 'according to the ancient law and custom of the City of London.' It is much to be regretted so excellent a custom should have fallen into disuse.

It was during the reign of Charles II. that the Excise was granted to the Crown in compensation for certain feudal rights. By this time the traffic in drink had become a gigantic national institution. The value of the wine licences alone was 24,000*l.* per annum, at which sum they were purchased by parliament from the Duke of York, to whom they had been assigned by statute, when they were revested in the Crown.

The 'Times' claims for every Englishman the constitutional liberty to 'get drunk.' Perhaps the 'Times' may be right. At all events, gin flavoured the glory of the Revolution of 1688. The appetite for spirits which characterised the Dutch, and the exigencies of the revenue felt by the parliament, soon led to an encouragement of distillation, and a rapidly increasing consumption of its products. In 1691, Stat. 2 W. and M., c. 9, was avowedly passed to encourage the consumption of corn in distillation; and in 1698, by 9 and 10 Wm. III., c. 22, was repealed, solely for the benefit of the revenue, the Stat. 39 Eliz., to which we have before alluded. The fruits of this legislation were soon visible. The destruction of the people's bread for the sake of gain was found to be too serious a mistake to treat with neglect, and it was thought needful, in 1699,* to prohibit excessive distillation from corn, because of the high price of food. Experience is a dear school; but even in that, statesmen will not always learn. The parliaments of Anne sacrificed all considerations to the necessities of the exchequer. In 1702 (1 Anne), distillation was again encouraged, only to be suppressed in 1709, and yet again attempted in 1713, with what results we shall presently see.

Among the curiosities of the Statute Book may here be alluded

* 10 and 11 Wm. III. c. 4.

to,

to, the frequent local Acts which empower the corporations of many Scottish boroughs to lay a tax upon the drink consumed within their boundaries, the proceeds to be applied in the erection of public works. Thus Montrose builds a bridge, or Dundee improves its harbour, or Linlithgow secures a supply of water by means of this effective substitute for borough rates.

Over the period of our history to which we have arrived—which may be called the period of 'the great gin epidemic'—we must hurriedly pass. Our space is too far exhausted to allow us to engage in its full investigation, and we therefore propose to return to it in a future and special article. We must now content ourselves with a rapid survey of its principal features.

The legislation we have already alluded to, as characterising the parliaments of Anne, could not fail to debauch and demoralise the nation. The intemperance which, as a consequence increasingly prevailed, was appalling. Gin was very cheap, not exceeding in price sixpence per quart. In 1725, the police returns of London and Southwark showed 6,178 spirit-shops, or one to every seven houses on the average of the entire city! In some districts this was far below the proportion. While food was thus made scarce and dear, brandy instead of provisions was hawked about the streets. In 1728, a feeble effort was made by 2 Geo. II., c. 17, to place a high price on licences, and to prohibit hawking. Even this slight check was too effective for the rapacity of Government. With an infatuation, the folly of which appears almost incredible, the Act was repealed by 6 Geo. II., c. 17 (1732), precisely *because* it was to some extent useful; the preamble of the latter Act assigning as a reason, 'because it has been a discouragement to distillation.' The full torrent of temptation was then turned upon the people. The result is told by Smollett in his account of the orgies which prevailed. 'Here,' proclaimed the signboards, 'you may get drunk for a penny, dead drunk for twopence, and have clean straw for nothing.' The magistrates of Middlesex petitioned the parliament in the strongest language they could employ; and at last, with a sudden energy and desperation as ill-timed as its previous conduct had been infatuated, the legislature passed the famous Gin Act of 1735—Stat. 9 Geo. II., c. 23. This Act itself describes the state of things it sought to remedy:—

'The drinking of spirituous liquors, or strong waters,' says the preamble, 'is become very common, especially among the people of lower or inferior rank; the constant and excessive use whereof tends greatly to the destruction of their healths—rendering them unfit for useful labour and business—debauching their morals, and inciting them to perpetrate all manner of vices, and the ill consequences of the excessive use of such liquors are not confined to the present generation, but extend to future ages, and to the devastation and ruin of this kingdom.'

The Act therefore provides, that every licence for sale in quantities of less than two gallons shall cost 50*l.*; that the retailer

shall pay a duty of twenty shillings per gallon on his stock; that no wages shall be paid in drink, and no hawking of spirits be allowed.

The excitement produced by this Act was intense. We reserve our examination of the intrigues which sought to make political capital out of it, of the difficulties which it met with, or of the causes which led to its failure. It must suffice here to say that its failure was complete. The people proclaimed the Act as the funeral of Old Mother Gin, but, 'like a phœnix, she rose from her ashes.' The consumption of spirits rapidly increased, and the law was openly violated notwithstanding numerous convictions.

No other result could be expected. To attempt by a sudden and unpopular measure to control an appetite which had been inflamed by every means which could be devised, was to expose law to ridicule and defiance. The mere increase of a licence fee could do little, while the great agent of temptation, the drink, was still there to incite the appetite to trample on all restraints.

This Act was repealed, in 1743, by 16 Geo. II., c. 8. The repeal was, however, in practical effect, a measure of greater restriction. The licence fee was reduced to twenty shillings, and greater certainty of inspection and control thus obtained; but the number to be granted was still further limited, by providing that only those should be entitled who had previously obtained licences for the sale of ale and beer. The alteration in the law did not, unhappily, amend the mischief. The consumption of spirits still continued to increase. In 1744, the Excise returns show a consumption of 10,581,000 gallons, which, in 1750, had increased to 11,200,000. The correctness of this statement is further borne out by the passing of Acts of increased stringency in 1747, by the petitions which were still poured into the House of Commons, ascribing the most grievous social dangers to the augmenting number of gin-shops, and by the enactment, in 1751, of the well-known 'Tippling Act,' 24 Geo. II., c. 40.

This statute, assigning the increase of licences as the cause of the still-growing intemperance, further limits their number, and, in addition, enacts that no debt shall be recoverable at law contracted for the supply of liquor in quantities less than twenty shillings' worth at one time. Under this ban of civil disability, the retailer of spirits, and he alone of all traders, still remains. Coincident with, though hardly consequent upon, the adoption of this measure, the Excise returns fell to 7,022,000 gallons, and the 'great gin epidemic' may be said to have passed its crisis.

In the course of a few years subsequent to the date of which we have just been treating, we find a class of circumstances entirely novel. The high price of corn which prevailed at intervals throughout the reigns of George II. and George III. rendered

dered active measures necessary to prevent waste and consequent famine. We have accordingly periods of various length, sometimes stretching over several years, when, for this reason, distillation was entirely prohibited.

What then, our readers will ask, was the result of this prohibition? What was the result of the absence of the appetite-creating drink? We have only space to afford an answer by three quotations. Smollett testifies:—

'That the common people had become apparently more sober, decent, healthy, and industrious, while the good and salutary effects of the prohibition were visible in every part of the kingdom.'

Mr. Colquhoun, in his 'Police of London,' says:—

'The poor were apparently more comfortable, paid their rents more regularly, and were better fed than at any period for some years before. There was more orderly conduct, quarrels and assaults were less frequent, and they resorted seldomer to the pawnbroker's shop.'

During this time, our readers must remember, bread was at the starvation price of fifteen-pence per quartern loaf. And finally, the House of Commons itself declared in the preamble to 33 Geo. II., c. 9, that

'The high price of spirituous liquors hath been a principal cause of the diminution of the home consumption thereof, and hath thereby greatly contributed to the health, sobriety, and industry of the common people. And it is therefore of the utmost importance to the public welfare that some timely provision should be made for preventing the return of all those mischiefs which must unavoidably ensue in case such spirituous liquors be again suffered to be sold at as low a rate as formerly.'

We must now scramble hastily over the mountains of legislation which lie on the surface of the statute-book. During the reign of George III. repeated intensifications and alterations of the law were attempted, generally assigning as a justification the inadequacy of the penalties. At last the parliament appeared to become aware that all its tinkering had produced an unshapely and useless article, and it solemnly announced its entire dissatisfaction with the work. The 3 Geo. IV., c. 77 (1822), commences with the significant words: 'Whereas, all the several statutes now in force for regulating, &c., are found to be defective and inefficient.' An Act was accordingly passed to consolidate all the statutes relating to this subject into one, but without any favourable result. After some time a notion sprung up that it was possible by a supply of what was considered a wholesome beverage—beer—to draw away the people from the consumption of ardent spirits; and under the auspices of Henry Brougham and other leading statesmen the Beer Bill, 11 Geo. IV. & 1 Wm. IV., was passed, in order to 'permit the general sale of beer.' On the result attendant on this experiment we need not enlarge. Three times amended, the Act is now universally condemned. To quote the Report of a Committee of the House of Lords, 'The

consumption

consumption of ardent spirits has far from diminished, and the comforts and morals of the poor have been seriously impaired.' Ale-houses have been found to be as troublesome in the nineteenth century as they were in the times of Edward VI.

Such is our present position. With the undecided and timid legislation of the last few years our readers will be familiar. Suggestions and expedients without number have been laid before parliament. One influential party recommends an increase of facilities to the wine trade, hoping that light wine may effect a reform which beer has failed to accomplish. Others seek, by high price for licences, to limit the number of houses, without falling into the errors of the same scheme in 1735. Some, ignoring the experience of the Beer Bill, and hostile to monopolies, seek to throw open the trade to the enterprise and capital of all, without material restriction. Everybody admits that something must be done; nobody appears disposed courageously to face the difficulties of the question. How long the legislature will put new patches on an old garment, and so make the rent worse, it is impossible to predict.

What, then, are the lessons we should learn from this bitter experience of centuries? Are we to be disheartened and to despair of ever achieving our emancipation from the terrible thraldom of the public-house? It is true the evil cannot be tampered with, and breaks through all restraints. Must this always be so? Punishment and disgrace, fine and whipping, have alike proved inoperative to deter the drunkard; every expedient of restriction and regulation which it seems possible to devise has failed to purge the public-house of its fatal infection. Must we abandon all legislation, or can we hope for any thorough and radical remedy? If so, where, and how? The answer is ready and easy. We must 'abandon' all our preconceptions of legislation; we must courageously face the difficulty, and commence anew. The restrictions we have been discussing failed because they were founded in mistake.

Intemperance, or rather drunkenness—the particular evil against which we are to direct our efforts—is not, like dishonesty, a natural vice. It is as much a physical disease as a moral weakness. It is produced by a physical agent. The appetite for strong drink is not innate, it is acquired. No child, unless born of drunken parents, enters into life with a desire for strong drink. The first draught, taken in conformity to custom, asserts its power in the creation of a desire for the second, for its own sake. Drink satisfies no natural appetite—it creates an unnatural craving. A man who resorts to the pump to quench his thirst is not thereby impelled to revisit the pump at the earliest opportunity; but it is the peculiar characteristic of the public-house to exercise this fascination. The use of the drink, then, is the exciting cause

cause of the appetite for drink. The cause of the mischief is objective—external to the man; not subjective—within the man. Drunkenness is not a part of our natural sensuality or depravity, but a physical and moral state superinduced on these by the use of a physical agent. Let the appetite be created and excited by the presence of the objective temptation, and no refinement of education, or charms of wealth, or power of religious training, presents a barrier strong enough to resist its ungovernable fury. We do not say that this is, in *every* case, the result of a use of strong drink, but it is its universal *tendency*. Absolute safety for the individual can be found, therefore, only in absolute abstinence from that which does, in an awful number of instances, produce the drink appetite, and *may* do so in any one. Sound legislation with regard to intemperance must be based on a recognition of this truth. The peculiarity of the article sold infects the trade in it. The mischief which confessedly attends the public-house is not merely accidental, but essential and universal. The laws we have been considering were inoperative because they regulated only the circumstances under which the trade was to be carried on; the mischief did not lie in these, but in the trade itself; in the very article traded in. We have entirely failed in our purpose if our readers have been unable to trace something of this. The tempting drink, however its sale may be restricted, always generates an appetite which sets restriction at defiance. The high price of licences and the stringent regulations of 1735 failed when the liquor was there to inflame and madden;—the prohibitions of 1760 resulted in blessings when the exciting drink was absent. Just, we conceive, as individual safety will be found in abstinence alone, national safety must be sought in 'entire prohibition.'

We know this is a startling proposition. We are prepared for a host of indignant objections, but we are not dismayed. We are willing to admit there may be uses for alcohol in medicine and the arts, but we boldly venture to suggest that one sound, just, and effective measure, prohibiting, for purposes of beverage, its manufacture and sale, should displace all the ineffective expedients we have been discussing.

We believe such a law, based on an enlightened public sentiment, would be sound in principle and just in operation. The individual right of the citizen is strictly limited by the requirements of society. The security of the individual is dependent on the ability of the state to assert its authority. The primary guarantees of life, liberty, and property cannot be conferred unconditionally. Society must reserve the power of depriving any citizen of any or all of these rights if his exercise of them tend to render their enjoyment by others uncertain and insecure. The

guarantees

guarantees of society must obviously be qualified by the necessity for their own preservation. No social act can be tolerated the constant tendency of which is to subvert them. What is a trade in alcohol? It is a trade in an article which always has been, and always must be, dangerous; not, as with other dangerous articles, according to situation or circumstances, but peculiarly and essentially. The *specific* action of alcohol is, physically, on the brain, to disorganise its structure; morally, therefore, to dethrone reason, and substitute appetite as the governing power. Alcohol is confessedly, and for this reason, our great crime-producer. On the first principles of self-preservation, then, we submit, the state should declare illegal any trade in any such article.

We admit that such a measure would be possible, not to say useful, only in proportion to its popularity. More obviously than other laws this would need to be based on a prevalent public opinion. But the public opinion would not be sufficient without the law. There will always be avarice, and indifference, and cruelty, and selfishness to set public opinion at naught. Public opinion must be empowered to enforce itself against them. Unless sustained by public opinion, law would be useless; unless armed with law, public opinion would be powerless. A practical solution of the difficulties of the question has been thrown before the country by the United Kingdom Alliance, an association formed for the purpose of promoting its public discussion. This will be found in 'Suggestions for a Permissive Bill,' which, if embodied in an Act of the legislature, would enable a largely preponderating majority *of the inhabitants of a district* by vote to suppress the trade in strong drink within their limits. We recommend this new recognition of the rights of self-government to the consideration of our readers. Social reformers have long been content to dam up the streams of vice and corruption which flow on all sides, and have neglected to drain the stagnant pool from which they are supplied. They have exercised thought and efforts on means of cure for social diseases, and have done little to prevent them. 'Prevention is the best bridle,' says Owen Feltham. 'It is in a man to avoid the occasion, but not the inconvenience when he hath admitted it. Let a giant knock, *while the door is shut* he may with ease be still kept out; but if it once open that he gets in but a limb of himself, then there is no course left to keep out the entire bulk.'

ART. VIII.—OUR FRIENDS IN COUNCIL.

THERE are many persons deeply interested in questions of social reform who may have neither time nor ability to write an elaborate article for the press. There are especially those who are practically engaged in some of the departments of philanthropy, whose opinions and experiences are of the greatest value. They are consulted by legislators and by liberal benefactors who are anxious to do something for the improvement of society, but who do not know how, and their suggestions have been found most sagacious and practical. It is not to be expected that we can arrive at the best method of curing the many evils that afflict society without due consideration of different proposals, and perhaps not without various trials. To gather up wisdom on the several subjects of social improvement, this article is designed for our friends in council, and will be open within certain limits to the communications with which we may be favoured. Controversial correspondence would be out of place in a quarterly review, the intervals of publication being long, and the space at command limited. We shall, therefore, be more gratified to receive new suggestions, than criticism on the articles in our pages. Of course such suggestions may be different from those we may publish, but they may also be emendations. As our space is limited, brevity must be studied by those who address us. *We do not endorse the opinions of our correspondents.*

The Great Social Evil.

On this important subject we have received the following from Professor NEWMAN, of University College, London:—

'You have undertaken to deal with vast and perplexing topics. Your articles upon them cannot be exhaustive. You will need "line upon line, precept upon precept," and, if you are to gather, purify, unite, fuse, and intensify Public Opinion, you must (under due limits of space) allow the supporters of "Meliora" to express themselves freely in council. Presuming on this freedom, I address some words to you concerning the Vices of the Streets. To suppress the vices in question when they are mature is impossible: to drive them into greater secrecy seems to me difficult, useless, and even hurtful. To hunt wretched women from street to street, does not extirpate or lessen vice. At best we could thus only *pacify the public conscience* and whitewash our loathsome sepulchre. That both sexes should know of the vice and its ruinous mischiefs, so long as it exists, is more wholesome—and far less dangerous to the weak—than if it were hushed up. The more painfully it is obtruded on us, the better chance will there be of combining the forces of society to extirpate it radically.

'I cannot believe that any man, who is not already mentally corrupted, is ever *allured* by immodest advances. On the contrary, I believe that the touch of a strange woman on his arm palsies and repels him like the touch of a torpedo; and until either bad companions or other subtler influences undermine his repugnance, he is naturally shy and modest, like a woman. Such is not merely my private conviction, but that which is confirmed to me by one whose position gives him wide experience. I was never in the secrets of profligates, but I used to hear at Oxford, that it was only *after drinking-parties* that a young man could be brought to such a degradation *for the first time* as to consort with a strange woman. In London, I hear, that *after a drinking-bout* the experienced sinners lead out the inexperienced, and guide them to haunts of vice. Such determinate vice will not be cheated by barricades across a few handsome streets. If young men are to be strengthened against such dangers, it is by teaching them to shun the beginnings of excess in drink, to shun evil companions, immodest allusions and suggestions, and cultivate purity of heart. I well know that some who condemn their own youth as inwardly impure, can attest that an immodest woman always repelled them: hence I do gravely doubt whether these wretched creatures (painful as are their solicitations) can ever justly be called a "temptation," except to one already corrupted and not new to vice.

'I will go further. I say, that many sculptures and pictures, not perhaps indecent (for decency varies with man-

ners and associations), kindle voluptuous imaginations in young men, and sap their virtue. Artists, and men who secretly disdain purity, overwhelm us with insult if we deprecate voluptuous figures, and call us not only prudish and Puritanical, but impure. But if they even know men to be impure, is that any reason why our evil tendencies are to be inflamed by pernicious allurements? Nay, because the public vice proves how easy of corruption is a terrible proportion of young men, precisely on that account we justly deprecate seducing exhibitions. It is not the ugly and indecent which chiefly corrupt: this is painful, loathsome, repulsive. But that which does *not* offend good taste, that which is beautiful in itself and pleasing, which perhaps may be gazed at with pure admiration by elder men, is often exactly the most fatal means of corruption to young men, who could not have been harmed by that which was ugly. I do but now throw out a *protest*, that Art and Poetry, when they become voluptuous, are the subtlest poisons to the young; and that it is more important to guard them from these secret influences than from anything obtrusively immodest.

'But I do not mean hereby to say, that no duty of repressing and punishing vice directly rests on the State. Let the law against "brothels" (if any one will show us how) be improved, and actively enforced. Nevertheless, there is in my opinion a far more fundamental and earlier punishment needful.

'If there were no Seduction, there could be none of this traffic in vice. The average course of the victims of the traffic is estimated at five or six years, and at most rarely ten. Hence the evil would die out in ten years, if a severe check were given to Seduction. As I heard an eloquent young man say of the Liquor Traffic,—"If a boat has a hole in it, we are in more haste to stop the hole than to bale off the water: so, to stop the manufacture of new drunkards is more urgent work than to reform old ones." Just so, *to stop seduction is more urgent work than to punish or reform the seduced.* Dry up the fountains, and you will have no morass. *Crime*, not Vice, is confessedly the right word for Seduction. It is a deadly social wrong, evidently crying for punishment. It is not only the woman who is injured. Even if she be ever so headlong in her terrible course, yet *society* is injured, and emphatically her *kinsfolk*; and from the nature of the case, the legal presumption must be that the man is primarily guilty. On him alone should come the legal penalties; since nature and society reserve only too many for the woman. Two classes of criminals herein concerned need different punishment. The man who dishonours a woman should be punished by *public stripes*. His crime being prompted by base desire, is best repressed by ignominy. The severity of the stripes should be so moderated, as not to excite pity for his suffering. Fathers who now wink at the offence in their sons will become fierce against it, as soon as the law threatens it with public disgrace; and if once the rich and noble renounce it, they will not be tender of the crime in the poor. Even the outcry for such a punishment would awaken reflection and stimulate conscience. At present, I am informed that the worst seducers in London are middle-aged and old rich men, with whom this horrible iniquity is a fixed habit and perpetual pursuit; so that no one can say how many women one bad man ruins for life.

'The second class of criminals are the accomplices in seduction. Gain being their object, *ruinous fines* are the proper punishment. This also would bring judgments against many brothels, and might cripple their whole trade. For (possibly) their greatest gains rise from partnership in seduction, often so carried on as to be really violation.

'A right of action against both classes of criminals should be given to every kinsman or kinswoman of the seduced, who should have no power of stopping the cause except by denying the fact. If she was previously *notoriously* immoral (so that she has lost no honour) or if she is married by her seducer, either fact would break up the proceedings; but as far as I at present see, nothing else should be a bar to punishment.

'Yours, &c.,

'F. W. Newman.'

ART.

ART. IX.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

THE electrical phenomena exhibited during the last three months in the atmosphere of politics have attracted so much of the public attention that our records of social legislation and progress must necessarily be meagre. The administration of Lord Derby which, at the time we last wrote, seemed to be regarded more as a few hours' interregnum than a permanent or even temporary accession of a great party to power, has partly by dexterous management, partly by the chivalric support of some political opponents, partly by disunion among others, and partly by a series of fortunate accidents, become an accepted fact, and appears likely to acquire a stability little expected.

Amid the struggles which have been needful to attain this position, but little regard could be bestowed on those questions of social ethics which thrive only under the calm influences of political and party peace. The Amendment of the Law has, however, made some progress in the hands of the law officers of the crown. The Law of Bankruptcy, the consolidation of the Criminal Statute Law, and other important measures, will shortly receive the attention of the legislature, though they are not yet sufficiently advanced to allow more specific details in our Record.

INDIA and its government has been of all others the absorbing topic of interest. This is reasonable and just. Not merely for the present are many interests, domestic and national, centred in the progress of events there, but the future of much of our mercantile prosperity and manufacturing industry will be largely affected by the decisions arrived at. To the credit of the House of Commons, with one notable exception, complete party neutrality seems to have been tacitly agreed upon with reference to India, and a series of resolutions, upon which a measure will ultimately be based, has been adopted with some degree of unanimity. It does not fall within the scope of our Review to discuss these resolutions; but, as bound up with the material prosperity of vast numbers of our people, a reform in our Indian government is not without interest, even as a question of social science. While, as was shown in our last issue, we have succeeded in developing a trade in opium, it must not be forgotten that we have entirely neglected the vast resources of a mighty empire. Our merchants have but a very small share in the supply of the wants of the people of India. While to Australia British exports are sent to the value of 12*l.* per head of the population; and Mauritius—the worst of our colonial customers—takes to the value of 2*l.* per head; the consumption of India has only reached the sum of *one shilling and one penny* per head. And this, it must be borne in mind, while navigable rivers open up vast tracts of cotton country; while labour is cheap, and in the Bombay presidency alone thousands are clamouring for employment; and while at home, Manchester and its industrious artisans have, during the present year, been within thirty days of a cotton famine, the horrors of which would be in no respect less terrible than those attendant on a dearth of corn.

This question of COTTON SUPPLY is not a mere business question, or one which should be attended to merely by spinners and weavers. It is a great question, involving the prosperity and stability of a mighty industry. We are glad, therefore, to know that its claims are urged and maintained by a special association. We may probably direct attention to it at some future time with greater detail.

The EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN in some suitable and remunerative manner eminently claims the attention of the social reformer. Recent disclosures at the police courts of the amounts paid and earned by poor sempstresses at once strike us with shame at the rapacity of the traders, and compassion for the poor victims to the unrelenting spirit of cheapness. Who can wonder at the desperate plunge into crime or vice or death which often startles us? Political economists tell us that these things are the result of inexorable laws; that certain relations do exist between employer and employed, between capital and labour, between work and wages; but still the question

recurs,

recurs, and, with a pertinacity which will not be beaten off, our conscience reiterates, Must it always be so? We know that it is—we know that certain positions do govern the relations of master and workman—do regulate the rate of wages—*but* OUGHT IT TO BE SO?

With regard to the ordinary topics of social interest and inquiry, we have little to record.

The efforts made by the publicans of Scotland to injure the Forbes M'Kenzie Act have, so far, been unsuccessful. Lord Melgund, who had agreed to obtain, if possible, 'a committee of inquiry' to inquire on one side, has postponed—we hope indefinitely—his motion to that effect.

The societies devoted to the agitation of social questions have brought their winter campaign to a close by their usual assembly in London during the month of May. Generally their meetings have been very successful, and have displayed a growing popular interest in social science and reform. Their members have generally dispersed to enjoy the quiet and relaxation of a summer holiday, in which enjoyment we heartily wish our readers every participation.

ART. X.—LITERARY REVIEWS.

A Layman's Contribution to the Knowledge and Practice of Religion in Common Life; being the substance of a course of Lectures introductory to the study of Moral Philosophy. By William Ellis. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1857.

THE author of this volume has devoted himself to the study and illustration of social science, and has published several works upon the subject. He considers—and we think he is right—that there has hitherto been a fatal omission in not making this science one of the principal subjects of instruction in our schools. Much of the suffering, and many of the evils which exist among the lower classes, arise from ignorance and bad habits. Social economy in its simplest elements has not been taught by teachers, nor have Christian ministers made the morals and religion affecting this so much a topic of their pulpit discourse as its importance demands. Mr. Ellis, though a layman, has led the way in expounding this subject. The volume before us consists of a series of lectures delivered to young persons belonging to the 'upper ten thousand;' but they are equally useful to the middle and working classes.

He discourses in a simple, intelligible, and earnest manner on such themes as industry and its skilful pursuit; the division of labour; the rewards of labour; property, bargains, and wages; capitalists and labourers; landlords and tenants; money and credit; bankers and banks; and other topics—all in their moral, religious, and relative aspect.

Throughout the twenty chapters of this book, much information on points which all ought to know is imparted; and we earnestly hope that the sagacious and practical counsels of the author may meet with the attention they deserve. Schoolmasters and ministers of religion would do well to make themselves acquainted with it; as they have opportunity to instruct others in the wholesome lessons, it may teach themselves. Social science ought to form a subject of education both in our common schools, working men's colleges, and our universities; and we trust the day is not far distant when a respectable acquaintance with its various departments will be indispensable to all candidates for scholastic and ecclesiastical offices. An improvement is being made already; and in the volumes of the Rev. William Arnot of Glasgow, Dr. Guthrie of Edinburgh, and the Rev. Charles Kingsley, we have evidence that there are clergymen not incapable or afraid of handling social questions. In the University College School, London, there is a class formed for the study of industrial and social science. There are chairs of political economy in some of our universities; but should not attendance be imperative, and a successful examination in its principles be passed by every intending graduate?

Laws from Heaven for Life on Earth. Illustrations of the Book of Proverbs. By the Rev. William Arnot, St. Peter's Free Church, Glasgow. Vols. I. and II. T. Nelson and Sons: London, Edinburgh, and New York. 1858.

Few

FEW persons are able to illustrate and enforce the Book of Proverbs; but Mr. Arnot is well adapted to the work he has undertaken and so ably executed. He has an accurate scholarship, a clear perception, a rigorous logic, strong convictions, and ardent sympathies; and can give manly expression to his thoughts in 'words that burn.' The volumes before us are not critical or expository in the ordinary sense of these terms. They consist of short, pointed, and pithy papers founded on the Proverbs of Solomon, and designed to illustrate them, but directed to the hearts and consciences of the people of our own day. They form a collection of Christian ethics exactly suited to these times. They are homilies for men of business, and for social life. Fully acquainted with the character of a busy people and with the Scriptures, he boldly brings both together—unmasking the sins that stain the transactions of business, and the diseases that prey upon society, enforcing the laws which ought to regulate men in every sphere, and summoning all, as they shall answer at the bar of the great Judge, 'to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God.' While radiant with evangelical light, and glowing with a fervid piety, and sparkling with apt illustrations, there is in these volumes a rich practical philanthropy.

The various papers are not too long to weary, and they have a freshness of illustration to charm the reader. We sincerely wish that young men entering upon active business had these volumes in their libraries. Under so sagacious a counsellor as Mr. Arnot, they would be likely to grow up in the love and practice of whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report. There are few temptations to which youth is exposed but are touched upon by the royal preacher. No book is more fitted to be a young man's companion in business than the Proverbs of Solomon. Its sententious sayings are the 'wise saws' for 'modern instances;' and with so genial a guide to their interpretation and application as Mr. Arnot in his 'Illustrations,' the aspiring youth will find that he can do better than condescend to sin to insure worldly success. Many fine passages might be quoted; but we prefer enticing our readers to procure and peruse the work for themselves. It is elegantly got up and published at a very moderate price. Of the first volume eleven thousand have been circulated, and the second will doubtless follow in a similar circuit.

Essays, Physiological and Critical, on the Principles of Temperance. By Frederick Richard Lees, Ph. D. London: Tweedie. 1858.

THIS volume is a collection of essays on subjects more or less connected with Temperance. Some of them are highly scientific, others keenly controversial, and all of them severely logical. Dr. Lees is a clear reasoner, scrupulously exact in his words of debate, and ready to meet an adversary from any quarter, and to examine, and, if necessary, to refute, every objection that can be raised against his views. Those, therefore, who peruse the valuable works which he has contributed to Temperance cannot fail to derive much instruction, or to be intellectually quickened. 'The Physiological History of Alcohol,' which occupies eighty pages of this volume, is an argument of great research and power. It was originally written in 1848, ten years in advance of Professor Miller's 'Alcohol, its Place and Power,' which propounds the same doctrine. The doctor of philosophy, though he has not written so popularly, has written more scientifically, logically, and learnedly than the professor of surgery. We recommend our readers to peruse this valuable essay. The 'Plea for the Primitive Diet of Mankind' is a prize essay in favour of vegetarianism, and contains some very interesting statements, as also does the essay 'On Longevity.' The controversial papers that follow are by no means the least valuable portion of the volume. They discuss the objections that have been urged against total abstinence by divines, medical practitioners, and literary reviewers. Dr. Lees is quite at home alike in biblical exegesis, physiology, ethics, and politics; and his works merit the thoughtful perusal of the studious in each of these departments of knowledge.

James Montgomery: A Memoir, Political and Poetical. By J. W. King. London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

THERE was needed a brief biography of the bard of Sheffield, and Mr. King has ably supplied it. The volume before us sketches the whole career of James

James Montgomery, and contains a discriminating review of his works. The author has reverence and affection enough to keep him always *en rapport* with his hero: but his fine poetic taste, analytic skill, and sound critical acumen, have enabled him to present such an estimate of the poet-editor as posterity will approve. His style is vigorous, often slap-dash, but pictorial and poetical. This book will supplant the seven-volumed biography by Mr. Holland, in which the life of James Montgomery was in danger of oblivion.

Masters and Workmen. A Tale for the Times. By Sarah E. B. Paterson, Author of 'Sister Agnes,' &c. London: Nelson and Sons.

A GOOD tale written with a view to improve 'Masters and Workmen' in their individual and relative characters. It commends a stronger, healthier sympathy between employer and employed, disapproves of combinations of one class or the other, and counsels the possession of piety as the best means of social reform. It deserves a circulation in our busy spheres of industry, alike in the mansions of the employer and the cottages of the working men. Its thoughtful perusal would aid to improve them both. Its style is engaging, and its descriptions life-like. Norchester will readily be recognised by all acquainted with the Tyne. *Monkchester* was, we believe, its ancient name.

Morning Dew Drops; or, the Juvenile Abstainers. By Mrs. Clara Lucas Balfour. London: W. and F. G. Cash.

THIS work is written in a pleasing style, and adapted to the intelligence of youth. It is replete with much information on the Temperance question, and discusses the subject with considerable ability. It is withal pervaded with a fine spirit, and can scarcely fail to impress the reader, whether juvenile or adult. The Temperance cause depends greatly upon the rising generation; and we trust this book will be extensively perused, and be successful in forming many 'bands of hope.'

Good, Better, Best; or, Three Ways of making a Happy World. By the Rev. J. W. Alexander, D.D., New York. With Introductory Notice by the Rev. R. S. Candlish, D.D. T. Nelson and Sons, London, Edinburgh, and New York. 1858.

THIS is a tale without a very deep plot or great dramatic power; but it is well written, and contains much wisdom. Two young persons of intelligence, sympathy with suffering humanity, and anxiety to do good, are the chief characters portrayed. They are guided, or rather disciplined, in their inquiries and benevolent schemes by a sagacious uncle, who has seen much of the world, learned much by experience, and has himself been a practical philanthropist. The remedies suggested by this work are those which are needed by society, and they stand in the relative worth of the felicitous title, *Good, Better, Best.* It is *good* to care for the *body*, by promoting cleanliness, industry, and sanitary reform. It is *better* to care for the *mind*, by extending and improving the education of the people; but it is *best* —not, however, by neglecting or disparaging the other two—to care for the *soul*, and aid in the preparation of man for the high destiny which he may attain in an immortal existence.

The Purgatory of Prisoners; or, an Intermediate Stage between the Prison and the Public; being some account of the Practical Working of the New System of Penal Reformation introduced by the Board of Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland. By the Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. Second Edition. London: Masters. 1858.

THIS pamphlet deals with a question of deepest importance to society, and may be recommended to the careful consideration of those who are interested in the improvement of criminals. The ticket-of-leave system has been much maligned by the press, very unjustly we conceive, and as will be shown more fully in this review. It is important, therefore, that facts such as Mr. Shipley brings before the public should be considered; for if they establish the proposition that tickets-of-leave may be safely given to a large proportion of those who have been punished for their crimes, the sooner that such a system as has been in operation in Ireland is extended all over the United Kingdom the better. It has been frequently remarked that a large per-centage of those who pass through our public prisons return to penal servitude. The different results of the course pursued by the Board of Directors of Irish Prisons are very striking. 'In 1854 the present Board of Directors came to the

the helm of convict affairs: the present system of humanising and Christianising convicts came, though very imperfectly, into existence.' Since that period they have sent 1300 prisoners through a probationary course in their intermediate institutions. 'With a discharge of between five and six hundred criminals upon tickets-of-license, in a period of twenty months, only seventeen revocations of liberty have taken place. In other words, in round numbers, three per cent. of "exemplary" Irish prisoners, after a definite training in an intermediate establishment, relapse either into irregularity of life or into absolute crime.'

The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley. By Thomas Jefferson Hogg. Vols. I. and II. London: Moxon. 1858.

Mr. Hogg, in 1832, wrote some papers on Shelley in the 'New Monthly Magazine,' and Mrs. Shelley, the accomplished widow of the poet, meditated a biography, for which she had prepared a few notes, when she was arrested by the merciless hand of her father-in-law, who threatened to stop the supplies granted to the mother of his heir, if she should write anything for the press. Twenty years have since passed away, and Mr. Hogg, who is in many respects best fitted to prepare a life of his departed friend, has addressed himself to the task. The two first volumes are before us, and two are yet to be published. Biographers have not always the highest discrimination, and Mr. Hogg has his failings. He has a recklessness of thought, and a want of reverence, somewhat like Shelley, whom he estimates too partially. His style is vigorous and expressive, but often very abrupt. New paragraphs are introduced without any explanation. The connecting link of the history is often awanting. Nevertheless, the portraiture of Shelley is singularly faithful. Mr. Hogg was a college companion of the poet, and shared in his expulsion from Oxford. It is ever to be regretted that so fine a mind as was possessed by Shelley should have been so neglected by those who ought to have trained it. His home education was sadly deficient, and it appears that the University professors and tutors took little pains with their gifted pupil. Thus his mind ran wild, and adopted the most erratic and destructive opinions; his conduct became wilful; and, too early superior to parental control, he was entangled in an ill-advised marriage, which in no degree contributed to his welfare. In the second volume Mr. Hogg narrates some of the wanderings of the poet and his wife, who could never rest in any one place, and were frequently in financial straits from want of forethought and economy. In the course of a few years they were resident in Edinburgh, York, Keswick, Dublin, Killarney, North Wales, Devonshire, and in the neighbourhood of London. During their migrations they were accompanied by Mrs. Shelley's sister Eliza, who seems to have become an evil genius to the poet. Destitute of ideas, occupying many hours in the important exercise of brushing her hair, the dictator of her sister's feelings and movements, she aided to make Shelley unhappy at home.

Our readers will doubtless peruse these fascinating volumes, over whose pages are scattered many curious and entertaining stories. The notes on the Return to Nature, the advantages of nudity, vegetable diet, the rights of women, &c., are very amusing. So also is the description of the scholar who read nothing but Greek—Homer once a year, and other authors in a regular three years' course—occupying every day, with the exception of Sunday, when, as became a clerk in holy orders, he read the Septuagint and the New Testament in the original, and took a glance at the newspapers!

Shelley's life, for a considerable period after his expulsion from college, was without an object. He read voraciously, philosophised about the improvement of society, removed from place to place, but had no special study, no pursuit. He was still a minor, though a father, in 1814, when the second volume closes. We shall look with interest for the remaining volumes of a life which was so strange and so sad.

The Good Soldier. A Memoir of Major-General Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B. Compiled from Authentic Sources by the Rev. W. Owen. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1858.

This biography will not suffer from a comparison with the sketch by the Rev. W. Brock. It is an able summary of the events of the life of Havelock, and presents fuller accounts of his campaigns and publications than are given in any other Memoir we have seen.

The

The Crisis of Being. The Progress of Being. By the Rev. D. Thomas, Stockwell. Third Edition. London: Ward and Co.

THESE two small volumes being already in their third edition are now beyond criticism. They are full of original thought, expressed in terse and untechnical language, and press upon young men matters of deepest interest to their well-being.

Theology in Verse; or, Poems on the Fundamental Truths of Christianity, Doctrinal and Practical. By J. P. Shorthouse. London: Aylott and Co. 1858.

THE author of this work entertains some doubt 'whether it was worth sending to the press,' and we believe many will acquiesce therein. 'For the learned—for critics,' he says, 'there will be nothing here but faults.' It is, then, in vain to criticise. We wish the pious author had made plain prose the vehicle of his usefulness.

The New World: the First Chapter of Genesis expounded by the Science of Analogy. A Dialogue in Verse. Birmingham: Hugh Murdoch.

THIS dialogue is akin to the preceding. The miscellaneous pieces are better than the sacred; but true poetry is wanting.

The British Controversialist and Impartial Inquirer. Re-issue. Vol. I. London: Houlston and Stoneman.

THERE are some able papers in this work, of which we may mention the clear and well-written treatise on the 'Art of Reasoning.' Many questions of great importance are also discussed in a good spirit, and in a way likely to suggest and stimulate inquiry.

Lectures to Young Men. By the Rev. John Morrison, D.D., LL.D. London: Ward and Co.

Glimpses of Great Men; or, Biographic Thoughts of Moral Manhood. By the Rev. A. J. Morris, Holloway. Ward and Co.

DR. MORRISON'S work is earnest, thoughtful, and Christian, and calculated to interest young men in their age and the great philanthropic movements now in progress. Mr. Morris writes with great spirit, and his thoughts and illustrations are most suggestive.

Try: a Book for Boys. By Old Jonathan. London: Collingridge. 1858.

THE interest of this excellent and illustrated book is greatly increased by the pictorial outline appended to it, of the Rise and Progress of the Bonmahon Industrial, Infant, and Agricultural Schools in the county of Waterford, where the author has laboured with much success to improve his parishioners and encourage industry. In the printing establishment, where boys only are employed, many valuable works have been composed and issued from the press. Such philanthropic efforts deserve encouragement.

Chapeltown; or, the Fellow Students. By an English Congregational Minister. London: Ward and Co. 1857.

A TALE illustrative of ministerial experience, and showing its encouraging and discouraging aspects. It is written with good taste, and contains lessons which congregations and young ministers would do well to learn.

Exeter Hall Sermons for the Working Classes. With Portrait and Memoir of the Bishop of London. Partridge and Co.

THIS volume contains twelve plain, earnest, and eloquent sermons on the great salvation. It is an interesting social sign that this literature in a cheap form finds many purchasers.

Voices from the Garden; or, the Christian Language of Flowers. By S. W. Partridge.

WE have been much pleased with this *brochure*. It is vastly superior to the common sentimentalism called the 'Poetry of Flowers.' The eye of a naturalist, the heart of a Christian, and the pen of a poet, are manifest in these twenty-eight beautiful poems.

Handel: His Life, Personal and Professional. With Thoughts on Sacred Music. By Mrs. Bray. London: Ward and Co. 1857.

A VERY interesting sketch of the great composer, whose life, as well as his works, have been naturalised in England. It is written *con amore*.

Memorials of Sir H. Havelock, K.C.B. By James P. Grant. London: Berger.

A FAIR compilation, but without the personal and family details from authentic sources which render a biography valuable.

Meliora.

ART. I.—1. *The Social Condition of the People in England and Europe.* By Joseph Kay, Esq., M.A. 2 vols. London: 1850.
2. *Journal of the Bath and West of England Society.* New Series. Vol. vi. London: 1858.

THE pastoral poet is a literary fossil. The verses of Bion, Moschus, and Theocritus are the remains of a Palæozoic period in literature. Guarini, Marino, Sannazaro, Gay, Thomson, and Shenstone are of a later date indeed; but even these belong to a Mesozoic era which, no less than its predecessor, has utterly passed away. Corydon and Amaryllis, Damon and Cælia, Silvio and Daphne, may no longer be seen except as petrified witnesses of departed life. Very beautiful, no doubt, was Arcadia with its wood-clothed hills, its stream-watered ravines, its sun-tipped mountains, and 'boundless contiguity of shade.' The simple shepherd heard a dryad whispering in every tree, a naiad murmuring in every waterfall. The old belief is dead. The old worshipper is extinct. The poet will hold no fellowship with the statistician. Faith flies at sight of blue-books.

Were Spenser to read over the list of the learned societies that now hold their frequent *séances* in London, there would be one name which, more than any other, would cause him to shudder. More repulsive than the Palæontological, more dismal than the Numismatic, more hopelessly wearisome than the Entomological—the Statistical would, in his fancy, be comprised of men with yellow wizened bodies, lean and withered souls; of men whose whole existence was spent in endless practice of the four rules of arithmetic.

And yet it requires no great amount of chivalry to do battle in this cause. Statistics are the foundation of our knowledge of all outward phenomena. They are the bones and sinews, the nerves and muscles of legislation. Reforms are impossible without their aid. No lasting improvements can be accomplished without their assistance.

'Had statistics,' says Dr. Guy, 'effected nothing more than the substitution of *figures* for *words*, they would have established a strong claim to our approbation. Nothing can be more variable or worse defined than the meanings of some words in constant use. What meaning are we to attach to such vague words as "*sometimes*," "*generally*," "*occasionally*," "*in the majority of cases?*" These terms have every possible signification, and vary in their meaning with the varying dis-

position and more or less sanguine character of those who use them. The "*sometimes*" of the cautious is the "often" of the sanguine; the "*always*" of the empiric; the "never" of the sceptic. But the numbers 1, 10, 100, 1000, have but one meaning for all mankind.'*

To obtain trustworthy statistics is the peculiar duty of a good government. With us the census is not only lawful, but obligatory; and, indeed, David did not sin in numbering the people, but in forgetting that the Jewish polity was a theocracy.† Figures are the only safe data on which the statesman or philanthropist can rely. Whosoever wishes to correct a great national abuse, or remedy a crying social evil, must curb impatient enthusiasm, restrain his generous ardour, while he seeks in blue-books for his axioms and definitions, from which he may deduce incontrovertible propositions.

We purpose to lay before our readers a few facts connected with the condition of our *rural population*—facts which are the result of extensive inquiries made by various writers, and of some considerable amount of personal investigation. From the census of 1851 we learn that the population of Great Britain in that year was 21,121,967. These figures have been divided into various classes, representing the occupations of the people. The agricultural is one of the largest of these divisions. It includes 2,390,568 persons, or more than one-tenth of the whole population, all of whom are possessors, or occupiers of, or labourers on the land. The value of these figures is best understood by comparison with another class. The three learned professions, with their allied and subordinate members, comprise 110,730 persons, or not a hundred and ninetieth part of the population. In the specially agricultural counties, such as Wilts, Norfolk, and Dorset, the agricultural, in proportion to the total number of inhabitants, is respectively 1 in 5·7, 1 in 6·7, and 1 in 7. And even in the manufacturing counties of Stafford and Lancashire, the proportion is 1 in 19, and 1 in 36, respectively.

It will, perhaps, be a matter of surprise that, in spite of London, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and other great marts of trade (where there are multitudes of people who do not know wheat from barley, and who would ask with a puzzled air, as we were once asked by an inhabitant of the last-named town, 'Why do they mangle the wurzels?'), the agricultural class should be so large. It is this fact which so much astonishes foreigners when they visit England. One of the most intelligent of these, M. de Lavergne, in his very able 'Essay on the Rural Economy of Great Britain and Ireland,' states, that the belief was until very lately prevalent among our continental neighbours that we had neglected farming for manufactures. He himself, on his visit to this

* 'Statistical Society's Journal,' vol. ii. † See Exodus xxx. 12.

country,

country, was quite amazed at our broad pastures, our waving cornfields, our flocks of sheep and cattle upon a thousand hills. He was likewise forcibly impressed with the *centrifugal* tendencies of the English; that whereas in France every provincial who has made his fortune rushes to the capital, so that Paris has enormously increased at the expense of many departments where the population has actually receded; in England, on the contrary, the prosperous tradesman, the successful merchant, the millionnaire banker, look upon a 'country seat,' as the natural reward of their labours.

With us the owner of a hundred thousand pounds in the funds is a man of little mark compared with the lord of two thousand acres of land. In France, on the contrary, there are not many who follow the example of the wise and witty Montaigne. Very few can feel any pride or pleasure in being the seigneur of some obscure village. This diversity of character has operated greatly to the advantage of the Englishman. It has checked that spirit of excessive speculation, which, though powerful enough, is mild when compared with the mania that from time to time infects all ranks in Paris. Land, fortunately for us, is not subject to great or sudden fluctuations in value. There is little room for speculation in the purchase of real property. Some long-headed lawyer may buy a few acres on the chance of a railway hereafter cutting through his property, and bright visions of 'severance damages,' and compensations for mythical injuries, may make his dreams pleasant; or some calculating builder may purchase a few roods with the intention of erecting thereon, at heavy ground-rents, 'first-class residences' in the very substantial style of suburban dwellings commonly met with in the neighbourhood of London. But this is the extent of the evil. The possession of land gives to the owner a feeling of security and substantiality which fifty times the value in railway shares would fail to produce. The latter, indeed, are often things to be disposed of as quickly as possible. The former is a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί to be loved and enjoyed more and more. But there is another side to this question.

It has been asked more than once in the present century, 'What is it which gives a right to the possession of the soil?' Political economists boldly tell us that land cannot be viewed in the same way as money. The man who has gained a million of pounds makes no one else the poorer; but he who is lord of fifty thousand acres of ground takes them away from others, who, *primâ facie*, have as much right to them as he. It is a startling fact, affirmed by Mr. Kay, that whereas, 'In the year 1770 there were in England alone 250,000 freehold estates in the hands of 250,000 different families, at the close of the war in 1815 that land was concentrated in the hands of only 32,000 proprietors;

so that, in fact, *since* 1770 *the numbers of the freeholds have been diminishing at a much greater ratio than that at which the numbers of the population have been at the same time increasing.*'*

This is a matter of gravest import. Everywhere the old peasant proprietors are dying out. The evil which Goldsmith lamented is fast being consummated. Even in Cumberland the '*statesmen*' have scarcely outlived Wordsworth, who sung their virtues; while elsewhere the good yeoman, 'the gentleman in ore,' whom Fuller hoped 'the next age might see refined,' is well-nigh extinct.

'The labourer's hope of rising in the world,' says the Rev. Henry Worsley, 'is indeed a forlorn one. There is no graduated ascent up which the hardy aspirant may toil, step by step, with patient drudgery. Several rounds in the social ladder are broken away and gone. A farm of some hundred acres, requiring for their due cultivation a large capital, would be a day-dream too gaudy ever to mix itself with the visions of the most ambitious labourer, earning, on an average, probably less than 9*s.* a week. The agricultural workman's horizon is bounded by the high red-brick walls of the union-house; his virtual marriage-settlement can only point to such a refuge if troubles arise; his old age may there have to seek its last shelter.'†

'Once a peasant, always a peasant,' is in England an absolute rule. Without hope of change, the labourer plods on his weary way from year to year; and while yet at the age when hope should be highest, he has learnt by sad experience that if he were to remain single, and scrupulously save up a quarter of his wages, he might, by the time that he was a century old, think of 'settling down,' by taking a wife and a very moderately-sized farm. Finding that he can never materially improve his condition, he sees no motive for self-denial or providence. He marries full ten years earlier than the professional man,—becomes the father of a numerous family, dirty, squalid, ill-fed, ill-taught, or, in the vigorous language of poor-law guardians, a '*pauper-warren.*' Those who have honestly considered the matter cannot but see that in countries where the peasantry are the owners of the land which they cultivate, there is no such misery as this. An Englishman, travelling through the fertile plains of Flanders, cannot but blush for his own country. Traversing the Pays de Waes, once a barren sand, now the most productive, and well-nigh the most populous district in Europe, he bethinks himself of his own beautiful Devonshire, endowed by nature with every gift and grace, but which man has made the abode of every kind of moral evil and physical wretchedness.

A most difficult political problem is here suggested. We cannot solve it. The time may come when the principle which regulated the ownership of real property at the time spoken of by Mr. Froude in the splendid introductory chapter to his History of

* 'Social Condition of the People,' vol. i. p. 370.
† 'Essay on Juvenile Depravity,' p. 53.

England,—

England,—a principle, moreover, which has been reaffirmed of late years in the construction of railways—that private rights should give way to public good—may be made the basis of very stringent laws that shall materially alter our national constitution. But we will not strive to forecast the future. There is enough in the present to engage our thoughts.

Let us direct our attention to a few circumstances connected with the condition of the agricultural labourer, wherein *immediate* good may be effected.

These circumstances are connected with the *dwelling*, the *wages*, the *education and recreation* of the labourer.

The first of these topics has been of late years very fully discussed. The Royal Agricultural, the Highland, the Bath and West of England, and other Societies, have devoted a considerable portion of their respective journals to suggestions for improving cottages. Health and morality are the two points to which attention has been chiefly directed. The former is to be secured by proper ventilation and drainage; the latter, by the provision of sufficient sleeping accommodation. No cottage, it is said, should be built with less than three bedrooms, except one here and there, for the sake of childless or aged couples. Many existing dwellings comprise but two rooms altogether—the lower, or living room, and the upper room, in which the parents, children of both sexes, and not unfrequently one or two lodgers, are herded together. The awful amount of immorality that results from this circumstance may easily be imagined. The tongue will fail to tell it. Of what avail is it to teach the young to be virtuous and sober, when each night unteaches the lesson which they have learnt in the day? Chastity and modesty are virtues totally unintelligible to many of our rural poor. They scarcely recognise as failings sins which were 'not so much as named' among the Gentiles in the time when St. Paul rebuked the Corinthian church. Education, like charity, must begin at home.

Some of our readers may have lying on their drawing-room tables a very elegantly-bound and choicely-illustrated book, entitled 'Selections from the Poets in praise of Country Life.' In turning the decorated pages, we are almost compelled to think that Plato did right in banishing the poets from his 'Republic.' From them we should never learn what is the true meaning of the words 'country life.' One of them, writing two hundred years ago, exclaims—

> 'O happy country life! free like its air;
> Free from the rage of pride, the pangs of care;
> Here happy souls lie bathed in soft content,
> And are at once secure and innocent.'*

* Sir George Mackenzie, Lord-Advocate of Scotland under Charles II. and James II.

The artist takes out his pencil, and transfers to his sketch-book yonder thatched cottage that stands so picturesquely in the valley. He heeds not the broken roof through which the rain falls and the chill winds blow. He does not know, perhaps, that his favourite thatch is all rotten and decomposed, the constant manufactory of fever. He does not attempt to sketch the interior. For that we must turn to another and very different sort of draftsman. The Hon. and Rev. S. G. Osborne thus describes a cottage which he saw in Devonshire, the garden of England :—

'In one compartment of the building were dwelling a man, his wife, and five children; five of them had the fever: the man died of it. With some difficulty we ascended to the bedroom of this cottage. No one by pen can describe it. You get into it by a sort of ladder. When in it, you find it impossible to stand upright anywhere but in the direct centre, for the roof slopes down to the floor at an acute angle. The beds are so placed as to make the bases of so many triangles, of which the sides of the roof are the lateral lines. You must cross the first to get at the second; the second, to reach to the third. The floor is as rotten as possible, full of holes, through one of which the husband's leg had gone on one occasion. I ventured to ask how they got a corpse out of such a place. I found "*they had him downstairs to die;*" there he was seven weeks, and then they took him dead to the churchyard.'*

The homes of our agricultural population are not less deficient in external accommodation. No dwelling should be without some portion of ground attached to it. By the 7th of 31st Elizabeth, it was enacted that no cottage should be built without *four acres* being laid to it, which should be for the sole use of the occupants of such cottage. All dwellings failing in this respect were called '*silly cottages.*' In the 21st year of Queen Victoria it is scarcely considered safe for the labourer to be allowed to rent *one-quarter* of an acre!

And yet the garden is a useful school of industry. There the labourers' children receive their first lessons in that which is to be the business of their lives. The farmer also profits by it, since it enables the lad to serve an apprenticeship in many agricultural operations before he is taken on at the farm.

The allotment-ground should be merely a temporary expedient to supply the lack of gardens where dwellings have been erected without them. It is of great importance, in so changeable a climate as ours, that the scene of work should be close at home.

As a favourable contrast to Mr. Osborne's gloomy picture, may be mentioned the cottages which have lately been erected in Dorset by Mr. Sturt, of Critchell.

We are told that 'he rebuilt the village of Lincleston, placing two cottages, with three bedrooms in each, on an acre of land, dividing it equally between the two tenants, neither of whom trespasses on the land of his neighbour The cottages have a south aspect, and are protected from the north wind by a row of apple-trees in the rear. Mr. Sturt's property is scattered over the country, but his cottages are easily recognised by their comfortable and uniform appearance. The

* *Kay:* 'Social Condition of the People,' vol. i. p. 513.

results

results are, that in the villages thus favoured there is not now a single poacher, and that the labourers residing in these improved dwellings take a pride in the cultivation of the land, and carry off the best prizes for vegetables from the Labourers' Friend Society. . . . It is admitted that the labourer cannot afford to pay fair interest on this outlay, but Mr. Sturt affirms that the property generally is increased in value by increasing the comforts of the cultivators.'*

Were all landowners like Mr. Sturt, the labourer would have little cause to complain. Unfortunately, his complaints are only too well-grounded, for the landowners, in many cases, not only have failed to provide suitable accommodation for their servants, but have even pulled down the miserable dwellings which did exist. The following facts are only a few out of the 'countless woes' of which our Poor Law has been the spring. In the neighbourhood of Norwich, a few years since, the destruction of cottage property was disgraceful in the extreme. It was impossible to obtain a piece of ground for building purposes in any of the villages within eight or ten miles of that city. Many of the estates had been entirely cleared of tenantry. To such an extent had the system been carried on, that there were in Norwich not less than 500 agricultural labourers who had to walk to their work distances varying from three to seven miles. Again, it has been stated that in five villages in Buckinghamshire, between the years 1801 and 1831, the number of families was increased by 129, while the dwellings were diminished by 41. In seven villages of Suffolk the increase of families was 248, the decrease of residences 124; while in five villages of Sussex the increase was 62, the decrease 59! This selfishness which, while adding field to field by no means adds house to house, is like all other forms of selfishness, short-sighted and self-defeating. Notwithstanding that we have succeeded very tolerably in reducing the condition of the labourer to that of a machine, we have not yet discovered any contrivance by which we can obtain an unlimited amount of work from him. So much work, and no more, is to be got out of any one set of sinews and muscles. If a portion of this working power is expended in the act of walking from six to twelve miles a day, so much less power remains for ploughing, hoeing, carting, or reaping. The farmer will soon find his poor's rate repaid by the improved quantity and quality of the work done by labourers who live close at hand, instead of two hours' journey off.

The second topic affecting the condition of the agricultural labourer, which we have to consider, is that of *Wages*.

Let it be stated, at the outset, that we do not intend to enter upon the very difficult question of the rate of wages. It seems as if the amount paid must be regulated by the law of supply and demand. To the labourer earning seven shillings a week, the

* 'Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society for 1854.'

most

most ardent philanthropist can offer no other advice than to emigrate. 'You cannot,' he will say, 'obtain anything approaching to a livelihood in your own country; here you have no chance of getting a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. It is very sad that this should be so. There is no help for it, however. So long as your employer can get your services at the present low rate, so long will he refuse to give you higher pay. There is not room enough for you here. You must seek another country. You can pass from a land of want to a land of plenty at an almost nominal expense. If you go, it will be better for yourself and better for those who remain behind.'*

The remarks that we have to make will be confined to the *kind*, rather than the amount of payment.

In some counties, chiefly in the western district of England, it is usual for the farmer to pay his men a portion of their wages in cider. This portion varies from a tenth to a fifth of the whole amount paid. After an extended inquiry, made chiefly in the counties of Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, Dorset, Wilts, Hereford, and Monmouth, we find that this practice is condemned by almost every one who has not a direct interest in maintaining it. At the present time, the subject is obtaining a great share of public attention, and in the county of Hereford, especially, the 'cider truck' system has been most warmly discussed.

Now it does appear, at first sight, unjust to the labourer that he should be compelled to take 20 per cent. of his earnings in an article of food, which, viewed any way, cannot be deemed very nutritious. And when we further find, upon careful chemical analysis, that the amount of nourishment contained in cider is so small as to render it necessary to imbibe thirty-two gallons of that liquid before the system has received nourishment equal to that afforded by one pound of wheaten bread, we may well protest, in the name of the workman, against so thriftless and extravagant an arrangement.

Nor is this all. It has been found that the appetite for intoxicating liquors thus excited, grows by what it feeds on. At harvest seasons, especially, the quantity of cider drunk is incredible. From hence arise numerous quarrels, during which the work is stopped, and the farmer not unfrequently fails to get his crops housed in good condition by reason of the brawling or the intoxication of his men.

Enormous as is the ordinary supply of this beverage, the labourer is by no means content with what is furnished him during his daily work. In the evening he will resort to the

* Able-bodied farm-labourers may emigrate to Melbourne at the cost to themselves of 1*l.*

'cider-shop,'

'cider-shop,' and there spend, perhaps, another fifth of his wages. The consequences are disastrous in the extreme. Not only does the man himself suffer from intemperance, but his wife and children suffer from poverty. Health, comfort, domestic happiness are all sacrificed, recklessly squandered, that the appetite for drink may be satisfied.

Again and again have the moralist and the philanthropist pointed the moral so easily drawn from these sad facts. But it seems, alas! as though the effect were weakened by each repetition. The man of science has added his voice of warning. We have been told, on the highest authority, that, upon analysis, cider is found to be perfectly useless for all purposes of nutrition. And medical evidence is not wanting to affirm that the failure of the apple-crop is a real blessing to the labourer; *that the effect of such scarcity has produced the same favourable effects upon his health, as the good drainage of a parish has produced upon the health of the inhabitants* GENERALLY.

It would be difficult, we presume, to extend the operation of the Act against the truck system to the agricultural districts. We can, then, but urge upon the owners and occupiers of land the great importance of this subject. We can but exhort them as Christians, who are bound to give to their labourers that which is lawful and right, to set themselves resolutely against any system which tends to debase the workman, or impoverish his family.

We now pass to the last of the three questions which we have undertaken to consider. We have no wish to embark upon the troubled waters of educational politics; and thus our remarks will be brief. It has been proved over and over again that ignorance is the main source of crime. Were there no other evidence, the facts and figures collected by Mr. Joseph Bentley with such disinterested industry* would prove this fact.

The chief point then to be discussed, is the kind of education that should be given.

Mere teaching by rote should be sedulously avoided. All such is but lost labour, as many a school-inspector can testify. Imparting information is but one, and that the least important office of the teacher. It is in mental discipline that his art truly consists. In course of years the man will forget many of the facts which he learnt as a boy. But he has not been truly educated if his capacity for receiving and using knowledge should fail. It would be well if our rural schools bore a closer relation to the farm than at present exists. As it is, the boy begins to unlearn the moment that he quits the form and desk for the plough. This would not be so had be been instructed in such matters as mechanics, the

* See his very valuable work, 'Education as it is, ought to be, and might be.'

rudiments

rudiments of agricultural chemistry, the laws that regulate health, to say nothing of general lessons in the first principles of political economy, and the laws that regulate wages.* These and similar subjects will be of far greater interest and infinitely more use to him than crude bald facts about the 'four elements,' or the sun, moon, and stars. Where it is practicable, an adult evening school should exist no less than the ordinary children's school. Education and work, theory and practice, might then go hand in hand.

But if education be a hard subject, recreation is far more difficult. The old sports of 'Merrie England' have died out with the race of yeomen who maintained them. At the present time, sad to say, the beer-shop, or the cider-shop, is the only playground offered to our agricultural labourers. The bright fire, the sanded room, the companionship of his equals, are sources of attraction to most too great to be overcome by mere scolding and lecturing. We may, if we please, establish rival coffee-rooms on the plan proposed by Mr. Osborne. We shall be rejoiced to hear that any such have answered. We are disposed to think that we shall find it policy to learn wisdom from our ancestors, and at least endeavour to re-establish some of those healthful, mirthful, innocent games, which once graced our village greens.

From want of some such amusements, our peasantry have become proverbially uncouth and awkward. The 'Times' newspaper of June 14th, 1856, describing the Paris Agricultural Exhibition, remarks:—

'In that brilliant assembly, with the representatives of all the nations of Europe looking on, we grieve to say it, that the English labourer was the poorest-looking man among them all. The easy and independent look and bearing, and the picturesque dress of the Spanish peasant, the Hungarian shepherd, and the Swiss herdsman, contrasted painfully with the bent and slouching gait and slovenly fustian dress of the English cattle-man. . . . And thus, while England sends out the finest cattle and pigs, the smoothest-coated horses, the fleeciest sheep, she sends out, also, the most awkward and unpromising labourer.'

A humiliating assertion, this; yet, it must be confessed, the accusation is a true one. We think that we have partly shown how we may remove this reproach. In many things we must alter. In most things we must go back to the good old times when, as the historian tells us, every man 'had his definite place and duty assigned to him, and no human being was at liberty to lead at his own pleasure an unaccountable existence,—when the discipline of an army was transformed to the details of social life, which issued in a chivalrous perception of the meaning of the word duty, and in the old characteristic spirit of English loyalty.' —(*Froude, History of England*, vol. i. p. 13.)

* 'Lessons on the Phenomena of Industrial Life,' edited by the Dean of Hereford, is admirably suited for the more advanced pupils of our agricultural population.

ART. II.—1. *Norway and its Glaciers, visited in* 1851. By James D. Forbes, D.C.L., F.R.S., &c., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1853.

2. *Forest Scenes in Norway and Sweden: being Extracts from the Journal of a Fisherman.* By the Rev. Henry Newland, Rector and Vicar of Westbourne. London: Routledge and Co. 1854.

3. *The Oxonian in Norway; or Notes of Excursions in that Country in* 1854-55. By the Rev. Frederick Metcalfe, M.A., Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. 2 vols. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1856.

4. *A Long Vacation Ramble in Norway and Sweden.* By X. and Y. (two unknown quantities). Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1857.

5. *Unprotected Females in Norway; or the Pleasantest Mode of travelling there.* With Scandinavian Sketches from Nature. London: Routledge and Co. 1857.

6. *The Norse-Folk; or a Visit to the Homes of Norway and Sweden.* By Charles Loring Brace, Author of 'Hungary in 1851,' and 'Home Life in Germany.' London: Bentley. 1858.

7. *The Oxonian in Thellemarken; or Notes of Travel in South-Western Norway in the Summers of* 1856-57. By the Rev. Frederick Metcalfe, M.A. 2 vols. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1858.

NORWAY is becoming quite a favourite resort for tourists. Nor is this at all surprising. Linked as it is to this land by means of the Northmen, or Normans, whose influence contributed so much to develop that spirit of enterprise and nautical power characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, it must ever be interesting to Englishmen to visit the homes of their Viking ancestors, and to study the land that gave birth to the kings of the sea. The physical structure of Norway is peculiar, and replete with scenes of rugged grandeur and romance. There sea and mountain embrace each other, the massive shoulders of the latter rising abruptly from their ocean-bed; while the arms of the former stretch far around the bosom of the everlasting hills. In the Hardanger Fjord the mountains rise almost perpendicularly on either side to a height of three or five thousand feet, hiding the solar rays from the crater below, and giving a gloomy, almost horrific aspect to the scene. The waters rush through this rock-cleft for nearly one hundred miles, stretching out branches on every side. The whole western coast is crowded with similar scenes, while numerous rocky islands front

the dark entrance of the fjords. The interior of the country is an endless chain of mountains, many of which are covered with magnificent forests, and between them are romantic glens and fertile vales. Numerous rivers rush from precipitous mountains, now roaring in grand cascades, and now flowing placidly through a valley. Lakes, large and small, abound; one of them, Miosen, four hundred feet above the level of the sea, is 60 miles long by 18 miles broad at the centre, and contains an island of 10 miles in circumference; others are surrounded by forests of pine, and dotted over with floating islands. Then towards the north there is the Maelström—a terror to seamen, and the region of nightless day and dayless night—where 'the ruggedness of the dark-gray rock is not covered by a single shrub. The only music is the hoarse murmurings of the waves, ever and anon renewing their assaults on the huge masses that oppose them. The northern sun, creeping at midnight, at the distance of five diameters along the horizon, and the immeasurable ocean in apparent contact with the skies, form the grand outlines of the sublime picture presented to the astonished spectator.'*

Few countries afford so many attractions to the sportsman as Norway. It bears the palm for salmon and trout, and delights the soul of the angler. There is no tax on the stream, and no restraint to piscatorial pleasure. Its seas, lakes, and rivers swarm with fish, and afford some of its most profitable articles of commerce. Though there are extensive tracts unpeopled by feathered tribes, yet there is abundant range for the gun in bagging capercailzie, ptarmigan, woodcock, snipe, blackcock, or eider-duck. Nimrod could here have an occasional bear-hunt, or stalk rein-deer on the fjelds.

The naturalist can find studies in all parts of the world; but Norway presents features unusually met with. Its forests and mountains are not soon exhausted by the diligence of the student of nature. Its flora is extensive for a latitude so northern. And where vegetation ceases, the snow line and the glaciers afford new fields of inquiry.

Norway is situated in the temperate zone, with the exception of one-third, which extends within the polar circle. But surrounded so largely by the sea, and getting a special benefit from the Gulf Stream, it is not so cold as other places in the same latitude. Spring or autumn are scarcely known as seasons. Summer succeeds winter, and winter comes hard on summer. Within a week nature dismantles herself of her snowy robe, and puts on a verdant garb. Of course, the early vegetation assumes a weaker aspect—a more tender expression—and makes a deeper impression on the

* Acerbi.

traveller's

traveller's eye. There is a striking contrast between the rude and the gentle, the lively and the torpid, the painful and the pleasing, which, as described most poetically by Geijer, 'seem to draw the compassionate attention of man to nature, and to create a closer relation to it and to its mysteries.' This is manifest, as we may have occasion to explain, in all the Scandinavian mythology—itself a fascinating study, and calculated to throw much light on our own customs and history.

Norway has had fewer political changes than any other continental country, and still retains a primitive simplicity. Feudalism seems never to have prevailed. The Norwegians were never conquered. Canute, king of Denmark, is said to have done so in 1128, but he did not retain it long. They have been trained up in a liberty free as the air they breathe. A democratic spirit has governed them. There has never been a powerful aristocracy among them. By a peculiar law the land is divided among an immense number of peasant proprietors who cultivate their own farms. It is a land of equality. Though seldom governed by its own king, it has maintained its own constitution. In 1376, the four hundredth year of its independent monarchy, it gave a king to Denmark, to which crown it was united for upwards of four hundred years. In 1814 it was arbitrarily given up to Sweden; but throughout the whole period of its history it has maintained its national independence and self-government. The Viking-spirit still breathes in the democratic Norwegians.

From what we have thus cursorily referred to, Norway must be a country likely to repay the traveller. Judging from the number of works which have been published since the appearance of Laing's 'Residence in Norway,' which directed attention to it twenty years ago, there must have been a regular stream of English tourists every summer in the fjords and fjelds. To some of the recent travels in Norway we now propose to introduce the reader, and to present him with such notes from them as may induce him to visit higher latitudes, or afford him some pleasure even should he remain at home. Having gone back only for five years in the history of publication, we have been surprised at the number of volumes of travel which have been issued from the press on this subject. We have works detailing the science, the sports, the social aspects, and the scenes of Norway, from which, did space permit, we could glean much to instruct and amuse the reader.*

Railways are being introduced into Scandinavia; but the commonest mode of travel is by carriole, a small vehicle which is thus described by X and Y, the unknown quantities—

* We can only name several recent works more or less descriptive of Norway—all of them interesting. These include Jerrold's, Bunbury's, Bayard Taylor's, the 'Yacht Voyage to Hardanger Fjord,' Lord Dufferin's 'High Latitudes.'

'Your true Norwegian vehicle is like a deep spoon placed on wheels, with very long shafts. The solitary traveller sits in the bowl thereof, on a low seat, raised so little above the bottom of the carriage that his legs are nearly horizontal. There is a splash-board in front, and an apron to button over you, with a wide flap, which completely covers the seat when you get out, and keeps it dry. The long shafts form an admirable substitute for springs. Behind, there is a board on which your luggage is strapped: it serves also as a seat for the *skyd skarl*, or boy, who is sent along with you from station to station to bring back the horses.' 'We saw some carrioles in Christiania to carry two persons—a useful improvement this, as the only disadvantage of the vehicle is that it is sadly unsociable. Every word you utter has to be committed at the top of your voice to the mercy of the fickle winds, and reaches the ears for which it is intended, if it ever does reach them, in a fearfully-garbled state.'

The horses go at an astounding rate on the rough roads, and the traveller sometimes gets squeamish as he is rattled down a steep hill at full speed. But he gets accustomed to it. The posting arrangements are very admirable, and are fixed by rules, a copy of which every traveller may possess. The farmers supply horses in turn, and are obliged to be ready within a certain time. The expense is trifling, being at the most rapid rate only equal to $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ per English mile. 'Norsk miles,' says the Oxonian, 'are equal to seven English; it is well they are, or, as Paddy would reason, you would never get over the ground.' Inns are rare; but a traveller can be accommodated at certain stations, where, with the flad-brod and the lappered milk used as food, and a not overclean bed, he can get his wants cheaply supplied.

As the country abounds with lakes and *fjords*, or arms of the sea, boats serve the tourist at frequent intervals; and as the carriole can be taken to pieces, and is generally the property of the traveller, it is always taken on board.

Professor FORBES undertook a Norwegian tour for scientific purposes, including the observation of the eclipse of the sun, in 1851. He left England and proceeded to Christiania by the usual route. He then crossed to Drontheim in a carriole, ascending the Dovre-fjeld by the way that he might examine the glaciers on Sneehätten. He then embarked on board the 'Prinds Gustav,' a steamer which sails in the summer season around the north coast. As time afforded he landed at certain intervals to make observations, and from the deck of the vessel took many sketches, which he has published in his beautiful and valuable volume for the benefit of his readers. Instead of proceeding all the course of the steamer, he landed at the Kaa-fjord, in Alten, that he might have leisure for pursuing his object. Though mainly occupied with scientific studies, the Professor was not devoid of interest in other matters brought before the traveller. He has given us valuable notes on the cod-fishery at the Loffoden Islands, and a sketch of the Lapps and Quaens who inhabit Finmarken. Along the coast there are stationed, during the inclement months of February and March, some 3,000 boats and 16,000 fishermen, who

who in the season catch 3,000,000 cod-fish. These fish are 'dried without salt in the sun and wind, a process peculiar to the climate of Nordland and Finmarken.' He was surprised to find the Lapps so well educated and so religious. In every hut he observed a Finnish Bible and a Commentary, both quarto volumes. Drunkenness, formerly so common a vice among them, he learned, was diminishing by means of the revival of religion, which, under Lestadius, a devoted missionary, and his successors, had been productive of much good. It may interest some of our fair readers to learn how a Lapp mother arranges her child for the night. Professor Forbes thus describes it:—

'The characteristic composure of the people was well shown in a young mother, with rather pleasing features, who brought her infant of four months old out of one of the huts, and seating herself on the sunny side of it, proceeded in the most deliberate way to *pack up* the child for the night in its little wooden cradle, whilst half-a-dozen of us looked on with no small curiosity. The cradle was cut out of the solid, and covered with leather, flaps of which were so arranged as to lace across the top with leathern thongs. The inside and little pillow were rendered tolerably soft with reindeer moss, and the infant fitted the space so exactly that it could stir neither hand nor foot, yet made little resistance to the operation. A hood protected the head, whilst it admitted air freely. When the packing was finished the little creature was fast asleep.'

Professor Forbes accompanied the steamer from the North to Bergen, the place he had selected for observing the total eclipse of the sun. It was an unfortunate position, Bergen being the most rainy town in Norway. Good fortune did not attend him. Had he proceeded 30 or 40 English miles farther inland, science would have reaped more from his observation. It was, however, too late to change, as arrangements had been made for him by the *savans* and authorities of the town. He mentions that the darkness was so great during the total phase that it was 'impossible to read a portion of rather small English newspaper type.'

Professor Forbes left Bergen the day after the eclipse to visit the glaciers in the vicinity of the Hardanger Fjord. Rain impeded his work; but he reached the Glacier of Bondhuus, and ascended the Folge-fond. He then sailed up the Sogne-fjord to reach Fjaerland and Justedal. He traversed the ice of the latter, made some observations with his aneroid barometer, and took sketches of the Nygaard Glacier. After spending twelve days on the western fjords, he crossed the Fille-feld to Christiania, and returned by Copenhagen to England.

The chief value of the Professor's volume consists in the important contribution which it makes to the physical geography of Norway, hitherto in a most unsatisfactory state. This science, now rising in estimation, can afford the only correct description of a country. Much error had been long perpetuated in our maps of this portion of Europe, owing to their being constructed according

to

to the river courses, and not according to the orography accurately ascertained. The Norwegian mountains do not form ridges, nor are they distinct elevations; but extensive plateaux, separated by deep narrow valleys. This has given rise to the name by which they are designated—*fjelds*.

Physically, Norway may be divided into two parts, according to Professor Forbes—the narrow district from Drontheim to the North Cape, where the mountains cling to the coast; and the more extended district from Drontheim to the Naes, in which the high ground occupies the greater part of the breadth of the country. The coast bears marks of great violence in some former epoch when it was cut up into those bold rocks which stud all the west, and defend Northern Europe from the Atlantic. The climate of the country is not so inclement as some have imagined. Bishop Pontopiddan, who was the natural historian of a bygone age, cites the amusing mistake of our English Bishop Patrick, who describes a Norwegian as imagining a rose-bush to be a *tree on fire*, whereas roses are common flowers in many parts of Norway. He further adds, that 'the harbour of Bergen is not oftener frozen than the Seine at Paris, that is, two or three times in a century, whilst the harbours of Lubeck and Copenhagen are blockaded with ice.' Drift ice is unknown on the Norwegian coast. The Gulf Stream in the Atlantic, already referred to, pours in such a flood of heat as to moderate the winter, and give an average climate superior to any continental country in the same latitude. There is considerable variety between the west and the east, yet, at Alten (in lat. 70°), the Scotch fir attains a height of 780 English feet above the sea, and the birch of 1,500 feet.

The remarks of Professor Forbes on the snow-fields are important to men of science; but we will only give a few of them, lest we burden our readers. It is a singular fact, that 'nowhere in the northern hemisphere does the snow-line attain the level of the sea.' This is accounted for by the intensity of summer heat during the perpetual day. On the Folge-fond, in the Hardanger country, a hill only 4,700 feet high is covered with perpetual snow. On the western side the snow begins at 3,800 or 3,900 feet. On Sulitelma it begins at 3,840 feet, and at Alten at 3,480. Between 60° and 62° on the coast, the snow-line is at 4,300 feet. In the same latitude towards the centre, 5,300 feet; in latitude 67° in the interior it falls to 3,500 feet. Vegetation is influenced by the snow-line, and, according to Von Buch, one of the most scientific German travellers in Norway, 'the planes of the vegetation of the pine and birch run nearly parallel to the plane of perpetual snow.' The following table records the observations made by him at Alten in latitude 70°:—

The pine (*Pinus sylvestris*) . . .	ceases at	780	English feet.
The birch (*Betula alba*)	,,	1,580	,,
Bilberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus*) . .	,,	2,030	,,
Mountain willow (*Salix mirsinites*) .	,,	2,150	,,
Dwarf birch (*Betula nana*) . . .	,,	2,740	,,
The snow-line	,,	3,480	,,

Professor Forbes points out, 'as the result of the comparison of the configuration of the country, with the position of the snow-line, that though the surface actually covered by perpetual snow in Norway be small, yet the mountainous districts and table-lands everywhere approach it so nearly, that the snow-plane may be said to *hover* over the peninsula; and any cause which should lower it, even a little, would plunge a great part of the country under a mantle of frost. Nay, so nice is the adjustment, that even the convexity of the rocky contour has its counterpart in the fall of the snow-line near the coast, and in its general depression towards the north.' Thus a beneficent Providence is manifest in the preservation of Norway for its people.

The glaciers of Norway had not been fully enumerated by any scientific traveller until Professor Forbes attempted it in 1851. Wahlenberg and Von Buch had drawn attention to the subject, but gave meagre accounts of any. Naumann and Durscher, Keilhau and Munch have afforded considerable information; but Professor Forbes has earned the gratitude of the scientific world for his elaborate work, for his notes on the comparison between Norwegian and Swiss glaciers, and for suggesting the observations yet to be made by men of science for fully elucidating the subject.

The Rev. HENRY NEWLAND is devoted to the rod, and like sportsmen who love adventure and abundance of game, he has tried the Scandinavian waters, where the best salmon-fishing is to be found. In his 'Extracts from the Journal of a Fisherman,' so much fiction is mixed up with fact, that it is difficult to identify places, or attach responsibilities. He does not wish to be judged by the loose conversations and unclerical scenes depicted in this work, and hopes that the public will 'look at the parson at home as well as the parson abroad,—in short,' he says, 'to read my "Confirmation and First Communion," as well as my "Forest Life."' The truth is, that throughout the whole of this volume, though the word *parson* is introduced in every page, it would be difficult to attribute the book to any clergyman's pen. It is so full of fun, rather free speech and convivial scenes, as well as sporting talk of the first water, that one would rather believe the captain than the parson to have composed it. We sincerely hope that he is as earnest and as successful with the gospel as with the fly, and skilled in the art of man-fishing.* This book takes the

* Perhaps some piscatorial parsons will thank us for commending to their notice 'A Soliloquy on the Art of Man-fishing,' by the well-known *Rev. Thomas Boston*, author of 'The Fourfold State.'

form of conversation between a captain and a parson, 'who are not to be considered actual characters,' 'but merely pegs on which the author hangs his personal experiences.' A Lieut. Birger,—an intelligent Swede, and other Northerns, are also made to figure in the narrative. The sketches of sporting on lake and river are very lively and dashing. Along with his *compagnons de voyage* the parson enters with great zest into the sport, and can throw his fly and haul his fish with the best of them. He has no fear of water, and can encounter dangers for the sake of his fish amidst the rapids and rocks. He is quite at home in all places, and, provided his favourite sport can be enjoyed, is regardless of accidents. The following may serve as a specimen of the book—its style and theme. It describes a vexation of the parson caused by the timber floating down Norwegian rivers:—

'"Hallo! what is the matter now?" said the captain, who had been out with his gun that morning, and on his return caught sight of the parson sitting disconsolate on the river's bank. By the waters of Torjedahl we sat down and wept! "What has gone wrong?"

'"Why, everything has gone wrong," said the parson, peevishly; "look at my line."

'"You do seem to have lost your casting-line, certainly."

'"Yes, I have, and half my reel-line beside."

'"Very tinkerish, I dare say; but do not grieve over it. Put on a new one, and hold your tongue about it. No one saw you, and I promise not to tell."

'"How can you be so absurd?" said the parson. "Look at the river, and tell me how we are to fish that. Just look at those baulks of timber floating all over it. I had on as fine a fish as ever I saw in my life—five-and-twenty pounds, if he was an ounce—when down came these logs, and one of them takes my reel-line, with sixty yards out, and cuts it right in the middle."

'"Well, that is provoking," said the captain; "enough to make a saint swear, let alone a parson. But hang it, man, it is only once in the way; come along, do not look behind you; I am in a hurry to be at it myself; I came home on purpose. I was ashamed to waste so glorious a fishing-day as this in the fjeld!"

'"That is just the thing that annoys me," said the parson; "it as, as you say, a most lovely fishing-day—I never saw a more promising one; and I have just heard that these logs will take three days floating by at the very least; and while they are in the river, I defy the best fisherman in all England to land anything bigger than a groul."

'"Why?" said the captain, "have the scoundrels been cutting a whole forest?"

'"This is what Torkel tells me," said the parson. "He says that in the winter they cut their confounded firs, and when the snow is on the ground they just square them, haul them down to the river or its tributaries, where they leave them to take care of themselves, and when the ice melts in the spring down come the trees with it."'

It must be confessed that this is not very nice language for a parson, and the book is generally of the same kind. There are, however, very good notes on angling, boating, and shooting. Our author condescends, on one occasion, to refer to ecclesiastical matters, and gives a very fair *resumé* of the state of the Norwegian church. He has a poor idea of it, and scarcely thinks it worthy of any more sacred name than that of an establishment. He was struck with the reverence which the people paid to religious ordinances, and with the small effect which religion had upon

upon their lives. 'A man,' he says, 'would lose character at once, and would be shunned by his acquaintance as a hopeless reprobate, if he neglected confirmation or the Lord's supper. Nothing, indeed, is more common than to see an advertisement, "Wanted a confirmed cook or housemaid," which advertisement in no ways relates to the capacities of the servant, but simply to her age, it being taken for granted that a person of a certain age must have been confirmed.' Throughout Norway confirmation and communion are necessary to the holding of public offices. But the Christian knowledge of the people is not proportionate to their reverence. Owing to the enormous size of the parishes, they cannot receive much instruction. 'No man can teach over fifty miles of country.' The Norwegian church is very Erastian, being dominated over by the Storthing.

The *Oxonian* must be included in the ranks under which Sydney Smith waggishly classed the clergy of the English church in his day, when he described them as 'Nimrods, Ramrods, or Fishing-rods.' Mr. Metcalfe to be the fellow of a college, and occupied with literary pursuits, is a singular adept in adventure over fjeld and fjord. He has spent several summers in Scandinavia, and has a pleasure in wild scenery, and in roughing life on the simplest fare, that he may catch splendid fish and have nothing to pay for the sport. He has not only enjoyed the excitement and bracing for himself, but by his lively and engaging volumes has gratified many readers, and, we have no doubt, created a desire in some, who have leisure and money, to devote a portion of both to explore the scenery of that grand and attractive country.

Besides describing his fishing quarters and the glorious success that crowned his labours, he gives many very interesting notes upon the country and the people. He lived much among the bonders, and was a frequent guest of the priests. He penetrated into districts where Englishmen were little known, and where he was regarded as a doctor, a lord, or some other notable person. He generally found the best fishing-places, and caused the death of many a noble salmon. The use of the fly was introduced into Norway by such as he; and in his early adventures, the wonderment of the natives was great, as they saw him hook fish after fish in his splendid style. When tired of the rod, he took to the gun, and chased the deer over the precipitous rocks and ice-fields.

The Norwegians have very little of the sportsman. 'When they shoot it is for the pot.' They never think of shooting a bird flying. They steal at pairing time, or snare ptarmigans when they approach the sea; but they never give the poor things a chance for their lives. Englishmen, however, have taken the sport out of their hands, and have taught the slow Norwegians some useful lessons. The Oxonian has done his part in this.

Sharing much in the hospitality of the people, he had ample opportunities of observing their customs. Their politeness always strikes a stranger. 'Dinner over,' which is waited upon by the mistress of the house, 'every one seizes his or her chair, and places it against the wall with the utmost rapidity. You then rush forward to the hostess, and say, "*Tak for mad*" (Thanks for the meal), and then everybody says to everybody else, "*Vel bekomme*," (May it do you good).' Their politeness is sometimes very embarrassing to a stranger. In some farm-houses it is considered a mark of politeness for the family to stay in the best room, set apart for strangers, until their guests turn in to bed!

Mr. Metcalfe considers both the morality and the religion of Norway to be improving. To the removal of incentives to drink he attributes much of this. He says that 'a sort of Maine liquor law has come into operation in Norway. Private stills are forbidden, and spirits are only allowed to be sold in towns.' There is besides a Sunday law, which prevents any one from selling spirits from five o'clock on Saturday evening till nine o'clock on Monday morning. There is a fine for each offence—first five dollars, then twenty. The beer of the country is not included in this law.

Mr. Metcalfe sometimes felt inconvenience for want of a drop of brandy, not being able to get any to purchase at country places; but Mr. Brace, the American traveller, took none with him, and did not feel the want. The Norwegians have a custom of taking a glass of brandy before every meal, which is apt to stimulate the appetite for more, and has, doubtless, tended to make them so drunken. But it is pleasing to hear of improvement. In most of the homes of the people, all sup out of one dish. They take their food easily—as they do most of their work—resting the elbow on the table, and first dipping the spoon in the porridge, then in the milk, they convey the contents to the mouth without lifting the arm! At a marriage feast, to which he was invited, *The Oxonian* had opportunity of observing the provisions which loaded the table.

'At the top of each table was a capacious wooden vessel of bridal porridge, *i.e.* rye and barley stirabout floating in hot butter; next to this came a bowl of milk; next, a similar vessel, full of salted salmon of last year's catching; below these was a pile of flad-brod, nearly a yard in diameter; and then a castle of butter, placed on a wooden stand, an edifice of about two feet in height. Such was the fare, repeated in exactly the same order up and down the tables; there being about four editions of these dainties at each board. Although the very sight of the delicacies almost turned my stomach, I must fain dip a wooden spoon into the bridal porridge, and swallow a lump of it, and then into the milk and do likewise, after the most approved Norwegian fashion.'

Apropos of feasting, we may give an account of a dinner which our author got in a priest's house one Sunday. He had been attending service five hours long, and was quite appetised.

'A

'A very good dinner it was. Mountain mutton, quite equal to Welsh, potatoes, and lettuce. Pancakes, a regular Norwegian dish, followed. The priest apologised for any deficiency in the cookery, on the score of his lady's absence. She had gone to the "by," or town. But the only defect I could observe, which, indeed, was a radical one, was in the cellar department. Imagine an Englishman finding nothing more stimulating than milk to his dinner, after jogging for hours on a Norsk pony, through a Norsk forest; yet such was the melancholy fact; but *n'importe.*'

In the evening, Mr. Metcalfe accompanied his host to an *Opbyggelse*, where a peasant, Ole Carlem, was to preach. An *Opbyggelse* is a religious service held by the people themselves, and where some earnest man among them gives an address. Encouraged or allowed by the clergy, and intimated from the pulpit, this greatly promotes vital religion. The people crowd to the barns where it is held, and think they understand better what is spoken in an impassioned way by one of themselves than the more learned discourse of their priests. In districts where the parish is large, the peasant-preachers—the Methodists of Norway—do much good. They are generally abstainers, and, at the conclusion of their discourses, administer the pledge. These revivalists are known by the names—*Opvachte* (waked-up people), *Lesere* (readers), and *Haugianer*, after their chief leader, Hauge, who laboured in the commencement of the present century. The Oxonian, however, did not relish their puritanism, opposition to dancing and other amusements; but he seems to admire them for not dissenting from the national church.*

In the rural parts of Norway *surnames* are rare. 'With the exception of the parson, they are all plain Ole, or Eva, or Peter;' or, for greater individuality, their father's name is added, such as 'Ole Olsen, Peter Nielson,' &c. They are Jacks-of-all-trades. Every man can make his own clothing, which is spun and woven at home. Their implements of labour, boats, and oars, are all of their own manufacture.

In his second volume the *Oxonian* describes his tour to the north, and adventures among the Lapps and the troublesome mosquitoes. From the latter, despite veil and corderoys, every now and then a sharp proboscis stabbed him like a dagger. His very dogs suffered martyrdom. The Lapps, in 1847, mustered 14,464, and have among them 80,000 rein-deer.

In two additional volumes just published, Mr. Metcalfe records his experiences in the Thellemarken county during the summers of 1856-57—a new scene to him—from which he has, with his wonted skill, gleaned much to interest, amuse, and instruct his readers. In these volumes he mingles more legends with his adventures than was done in his former work; but they are as

* In his recent volumes, he hints that dissent has really commenced in Norway.

lively

lively and interesting as their predecessors. His trip in 1857 was thus occasioned. After the long vacation commenced, he was left almost alone in Oxford. Fellows and students had gone. His cupboards became the rendezvous of the famished rats and mice in the University. What was he to do? It was out of the question to think of Norway again. He must be satisfied with a short excursion into Wales or Scotland, where he might beg permission of some proprietor to throw his fly on the waters. In the midst of his reverie, a tap came to his chamber, and a youth entered with a letter of introduction, containing a humble request for information how to spend a month in Norway. Having chalked out a route for the young traveller, and dismissed him, the Norwegian itch began to trouble the Fellow of Lincoln College, and, on the third day thereafter, he stood on board the steamer *en route* for Scandinavia! On this occasion he explored 'Sætersdal, one of the wildest, poorest, and most primitive valleys of Norway.' In costume and language Mr. Metcalfe observed much in the natives to confirm the tradition that they are a Scotch colony. They are also a religious people, particularly strict in their reading, which they limit to the Bible and books of devotion. In these volumes some dark disclosures are made of the intemperate habits of the Norwegians.

X and Y are two unknown quantities, who with peculiar humility and modesty veil their names under algebraic formulæ. But they hint that they may be 'hagiographically described as the "law and the prophets." ' They were resolved to see as much of Norway as their long vacation would allow. They took the usual route to Christiania, thence by rail, carriole, boat, and steamer, over fjeld and fjord, till they reached Hammerfest, the most northern town in the world. They spent ten weeks on their tour, and, after passing through Sweden and Holland, returned to England, so well satisfied with their ramble that they have added their itinerary to the library of Norwegian travel. They had leisure to make some botanical collections up to the snow-lines, and mention that, beside the glaciers of Justedal, may be found *Salices*, *Lychnis*, *Aconitum*, *Olchemilla*, *Ranunculi*, *Euphrasia*, *Geranium*, the *Bilberry*, *Heath*, and the pretty *Pinguicola*, and. higher still, the *Ranunculus glacialis*, and some half-dozen ferns. The number of indigenous insects struck them as very large. Professor Esmark collected, by his unaided efforts, 900 species of *Lepidoptera*, and 1,400 of *Coleoptera;* and there probably exists double that number. Marine forms of life abound in the western fjords, and afford an untried and almost inexhaustible field for exploration. Among the Loffoden isles they found the sea quite alive with jelly-fish, some 'more than two feet across, others again delicate and small, of a pale silvery lustre, compared with which the

the water in which they floated seemed of the deepest blue.' In a chapter of facts connected with the history and statistics of Norway, they state that 'the qualifications of a voter are—that he be 25 years of age, the owner (for five years at least) of land paying tax, or a burgess of a town; or the owner of a house or land within the town to the value of about 35*l.*: to be elected, he must be 35 years of age.'

Mr. BRACE is an American, and like all true patriots, fond of his country. He never loses sight of his transatlantic citizenship while moving in other lands. He has already produced two volumes of continental travel, and has now added a third on the *Norse-folk*, which fully sustains his reputation. It is decidedly the best on Norway generally, in our list of recent works. It is one of the rare instances of a volume rising in price as it is being known. Mr. Brace has given a fuller view of the social life of Norway than any traveller since the days of Laing. He has an eye for the grandeur and beauties of the scenery; but he looks with as deep an interest on the condition of the people. He can enjoy the glory of the midnight sun in Lapland, but he is equally impressed with the religious light which has of late illumined the Lapps. He notes the snow-line, and the limit of vegetation on the fjelds, but marks also the state of education and religion—the position of schoolmasters and clergymen. He enters with zest into the history of the past, and feels in Norway as on a visit to the home of his forefathers. A thousand signs tell him that he is in the cradle of the race which leads modern enterprise, and 'whose Viking-power in both hemispheres has not yet ceased to be felt.' He dips also into the lore of the Sagas, and presents his readers with a glimpse of Scandinavian mythology. But he is no mere antiquarian; he has a keen interest in the political institutions of the present, and gives 'a picture of the life of to-day.'

In his travels, Mr. Brace had his wife with him, a rather uncommon thing in Norway; but we are on the eve of a change in this respect, for even 'unprotected females' from England have ventured on fjeld and fjord. While in Christiania, Mr. Brace visited the public institutions. In the asylum he learned that insanity is chiefly caused among the Norse, not by intemperance, licentiousness, love, or disappointment, but by *solitude* and its self-consuming lusts. The population being scattered over so extensive a district, where the dark mountains, and the rocky fjords, and the dense forests, are the gloomy companions of man, and where he has little of human society, many become a prey to the solitude, and lose their reason. This *silence* of nature produced one of the old Scandinavian gods—Vidar the Silent, and Son of Odin, who lived in the Boundless Land. Of him Thorpe says, 'Who has ever wandered through such forests, in a length of many

many miles, in a boundless expanse, without a path, without a goal, without being filled with their monstrous shadows, their sacred gloom, without being filled with deep reverence for the sublime greatness of nature above all human agency, without feeling the grandeur of the idea which forms the basis of Vidar's essence!' Professor Forbes also notes the absence of villages, as giving at first a dreary interminable aspect to a journey. With the exception of a part of the west coast, villages are almost unknown in Norway.

The gentry of Norway are of the middle class, and chiefly composed of the bonders, or peasant-proprietors. They have the independence of nobles with the manners of farmers. They send most of the representatives to the Storthing, or parliament. They are a class without pretence, and without much care. The bonder has no anxiety for the temporal condition of his family, for they have an equal share in his land and property. He is owner, without fear, duty, or feudal service to any superior. He has no class above him. He has no fear of want, and yet is not above the necessity of labour. There are in the country some 40,000 estates among a population of a million and a half; while Scotland, with twice the population, has not 9,000 estates.* The bonders may well be called by Mr. Brace 'the muscle and bone of Norway.'

We have already glanced at the religious condition of Norway, to which Mr. Brace also devoted particular attention. Clergymen, he thinks, have too many secular duties imposed upon them. They have to make up a census of their parishes, to act as magistrates and lawyers, and some of them are representatives of the people at the Storthing. Provision for the ministry in Norway is creditable, and on each prestgaard or glebe there is a house and land† for the widow of the clergyman. The churches are of a quaint modern architecture, and all contain ugly statues of Christ crucified, and some sacred pictures. Priests dress after the fashion of Luther, with black gown and starched ruff. The service is partly liturgical and party extempore. Sunday is not observed as in Scotland or England. They reckon from Saturday evening, according to the preadamite calculation, when the *evening* and the *morning* were one day. The Sunday evening is given up to feasting and parties of pleasure. Even the priests have dancing at their houses after the service is over.

Education is general over Norway, but not of a high order. Owing to the scattered population, schools circulate in the rural districts, the master remaining eight weeks at each station. Inter-

* Laing, pp. 109, 110.

† The land, we understand, has been recently sold, and a money payment is now made to the clergyman's widow.

mediate,

mediate, or *real* schools in the towns, are good and well-conducted, where youth can be prepared for the university. Almost all the people can read, but there is a want of thoroughness. The clergy are well educated. Teachers are paid from 3*l.* to 8*l.* for thirty weeks' teaching, with board. There are 2,000 itinerating teachers, and 7,000 schools. Out of a population of 1,400,000, only 180,000 dwell in towns. The remaining 1,220,000 are spread over an area of 5,750 square miles. To every preacher is allotted, on an average, 3,473 persons. The number of children to each teacher varies from 60 to 100. The proportion attending school is from 2 to 9½ per cent. Mr. Brace remarks, that where preachers are fewest, and least is expended on education, immorality is most abundant.

Illegitimacy is great in Norway, though not equal to Sweden, where, in the towns, the proportion nearly equals the legitimate births, and where, in the liturgy, there is a prayer for *unmarried mothers!* In 1851-55, there were 10 per cent. of illegitimate births in Norway. This prevails to the greatest extent among the labouring class. In some counties, to every 100 marriages there are 92 illegal *liaisons* producing children, among the men, and 85 among the women. Among the freeholders, the proportion is 26 per cent. male, and 12 per cent. female. With immorality so flagrant, and drunkenness so common, there is much work for the religious and social reformer in Norway.

Mr. Brace says that 'the worst travelling habit in Norway is the disgusting spitting. I thought America had reached the lowest grade of nauseating vulgarity in that respect, but it is worse here. The decks are clammy with it.' X and Y also observed it in church and at a wedding, the priest himself stopping the service to expectorate!

But it is time to turn to the 'UNPROTECTED FEMALES.' It is now the fashion for ladies to adventure themselves in almost all regions where the stronger sex have gone, and some are so courageous as to do this alone. Who has not heard of Ida Pfeiffer, and her journey round the world? The volume before us is a very sparkling account of a tour in Norway, by two unprotected females—mother and daughter, the last of whom seems to have written the book for the benefit of the sex generally.

'We two ladies,' she says, 'having gone before, show how practicable the journey must be, though we have found out, and will maintain, that ladies *alone* get on in travelling much better than gentlemen; they set about things in a quieter manner, and always have their own way; while men are sure to go into passions and make rows, if things are not right immediately. Should ladies have no escort with them, then every one is so civil, and trying of what use they can be; while, when there is a gentleman of the party, no one thinks of interfering, but all take it for granted they are well provided for.

'The only use of a gentleman in travelling is to look after the luggage, and we take care to have no luggage. "The unprotected" should never go beyond one portable

portable carpet-bag. This, if properly managed, will contain a complete change of everything; and what is the use of more in a country where dress and finery would be in the worst taste? Two waterproof bags, with straps, and no key (a thing always mis-ing), straw hats which will not blow up, thin mosquito veils, solid plaid shirts, with light polkas, woollen stockings, and hobnail shoes, are the proper Norwegian accoutrements, with a light hooded waterproof cloak to go over all, much the same as would be taken for a Highland tour, with the addition of two other things—a driving-whip and fishing-rod: the former is generally represented as a switch at the Norwegian posting-houses, and it is the greatest resource in the world to have the latter to throw in the nearest stream, without fear of a loud "Halloa," if kept waiting for, or in want of, a meal.'

Thus our ladies started on their tour—having gone through Denmark and Sweden to Christiania. Immediately on entering Norway, they began to sketch, and won much favour in the eyes of the natives by freely showing to all who cared to see them, the pictures they had drawn. Their readers will also feel grateful for these sketches, as they are beautifully impressed on paper. They thought Christiania a happy town—having only *seven barristers!* The politeness of the people gratified them, as did their hospitality. Mounted on a carriole which held two, they traversed Gulsbrandsdahl, and quite enjoyed the free life to which they were introduced. One circumstance they mention as a warning to ladies, that the constant question addressed to them was, '*How old are you?*' But they got accustomed to this, and did not blush in their reply. They soon were at home amidst the flad-brod, porridge, and cream, the short beds in rooms without locks, and the cup of coffee in the morning before getting up. In the forest, where they had to take to riding, only one lady's saddle could be procured. Mounting her mother on this, our fair traveller made necessity invent for herself. 'Now the *non-talk-aboutables*,' she says, 'proved their usefulness; bagging all my clothes in their ample folds, I at once mounted *à la Zouave*, and can assure every one for a long journey this attitude has double comforts; while mamma sat twisted sideways on a saddle which would not keep its balance, I was easy and independent, with a foot in each stirrup; besides the scarlet having the most beautiful effect through the green trees.'

Our adventurers penetrated into the silver mines at Kongsberg, and then diverged into primitive Tellemarken. In Naes they spent some time in the home of a Norwegian gentleman, whose 'young ladies took the housekeeping in turn—a week at a time; not merely superintending things in general, but helping to cook and wait, besides commanding in the dairy. On comparing the different ways of young ladies in England—the hours spent lolling in arm-chairs and frowning over crochet, they were much amused, saying, "in a distant country-place like Naes, there was time for everything, and they would rather go through any amount of housekeeping than be tormented by servants (dreaded even in Norway!

Norway!), so never thought of exceeding the moderate number of *one* within the house."' This is a lesson for daughters in England!

After visiting some of the splendid waterfalls in the neighbourhood, the *unprotected* returned through Sweden and Denmark to England. We wish our space had allowed us to follow their route more closely, and to have introduced some of their lively descriptions of Norwegian scenes and customs. But our readers must for themselves peruse the fascinating and beautiful volume of the 'Unprotected Females.'

ART. III.—1. *Lectures on Political Economy.* By Richard Whately, D.D. *Fourth Edition.* London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1855.

2. *Chaplain's Reports on the County House of Correction at Preston. Presented to the Magistrates of Lancashire.* 1855-1858.

3. *Early Payment of Wages.* Special Lectures to the Working Classes. No. 3. By the Rev. R. Maguire, M.A. London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

POLITICAL economists are not agreed in their opinion respecting the limits of their particular science. Continental writers have given much freedom to their inquiries, and have discussed questions which, it is true, are connected with national prosperity, but which more naturally belong to the departments of the statesman and the moralist. English writers, however, have been unanimous in their agreement on the fundamental topics of economical science; and from the days of the celebrated author of 'The Wealth of Nations' to the present time, they have confined their attention to the investigation of the principles which regulate the production, accumulation, and distribution of wealth. Many circumstances combine to promote national prosperity; and a long series of causes and results must be investigated, before we can arrive at the essential element which, under certain conditions, produces it. Often a single result, or one of these conditions, is pointed out as the true cause. Thus the statesman refers to the nation's just and wise laws, the merchant to its commerce, the officer to its army and navy, the scientific to its science, the philanthropist to its social condition, and the divine to its religious institutions, as the cause of prosperity. Many of these, however, may be regarded more as the evidence than the cause; or, at least, as belonging to the series of causes and effects which exert a most powerful, reciprocal influence in producing the result. When Lord John Russell says,* 'The first and main cause of the

* 'Essay on the English Constitution,' &c. p. 285.

wealth

wealth of nations is liberty,' he evidently points out a condition, necessary, perhaps, to the highest prosperity, but certainly not 'the first and main cause.' A nation may enjoy a large amount of freedom, and yet there may be something in the character of the people, and in their outward circumstances, which prevents their development and prosperity. We think it would be much more correct to say that the *useful industry* of the nation is the main element in its prosperity; for, when operating under favourable circumstances, it is that which constitutes its wealth, and enables it to secure the right administration of law, to extend commerce, to provide the sinews of war, to promote the discoveries of science, to ameliorate the social condition of the people, and to support and extend religious institutions. 'Labour,' says Dr. Adam Smith, 'was the first price, the original purchase-money, that was paid for all things. It was not by gold, or by silver, but by labour, that all the wealth of the world was originally purchased.' We have no hesitation, therefore, in affirming that England owes her prosperity to the industry of her people, which has enabled them to turn to advantage their position, and the passing events of their national life.

Labour, however, will be conducive to national wealth according to the conditions under which it is performed, and the relation which exists between the employer and the employed. Now there are three aspects in which labour may be regarded. Its performance may be entirely absolute, it may be conditional, or it may be free; corresponding to the three relations which the labourer can sustain towards his employer. He may be in a state of slavery, when his master has absolute power over him and his services, as is the case in the southern states of America. He may be in a state of vassalage, as in Russia, and in the feudal age of England, when the serf is bound to render certain service to his lord. He may be in the state of freedom, now enjoyed by our working classes, when labour is performed under stipulated conditions. Now in each of these relations, the labourer receives what may be regarded as his wages, yet under different circumstances. The slave receives the mere necessaries of life, as the result of his labour; the serf receives protection, and the enjoyment of certain advantages, as the reward of his services; the free labourer receives, as the compensation for his toil, the amount for which he has stipulated with his employer. The first is bound to accept whatever his master pleases to give him; the second is obliged to perform his service as long as he sustains the feudal relation; the third alone is free to choose his work and his master, and to stipulate the conditions under which he will perform it.

It is of the greatest importance to have a clear perception of these

these different relations, if we would understand the right position of master and man, and the duties which are appropriate to it. There is often a disposition on the part of each to treat the other as if the relation existing between them was based on feudal rights and tenure. When the labourer in a free country has performed his stipulated work, the master has no *claim* to his obedience and reverence, as the feudal lord had; nor has he a right to interfere with him in anything apart from his appointed labour. It is true, there are certain amenities which custom has sanctioned, and which are generally cheerfully rendered by those who occupy a subordinate position: these, however, do not arise out of the relation existing between them, nor can they be claimed by the employer *as rights*. On the other hand, there is a tendency among the employed to forget the relation they sustain, and to claim from their employer what they might justly claim if they were in a state of vassalage. When they have received their appropriate wages, all claim ceases; and they have no right to expect that assistance in times of need, and protection and support in times of difficulty and danger will be given to them, in addition to the amount for which they are willing to render their services. The relation of master and man is voluntary; the conditions of service are mutual; the one gives his labour, and the other an equivalent for it; and neither has a right to demand anything further. Whatever else is granted must be traced to the influence of interest, kindness, or respect, and does not necessarily arise from the relative position of employer and employed. The master can justly claim the due amount of labour; the operative can equally justly claim the due amount of wages.

Our present purpose does not require us to discuss the propriety of the definitions which economical writers have given of wages. Adam Smith defines it as 'The price of labour;' Malthus, 'The remuneration of the labourer for his personal exertions;' Mill, 'The price of the labourer's share of the commodity produced;' M'Culloch, 'The compensation paid to labourers in return for their services.' All these writers draw a distinction between wages, profit, and rent; though, as Dr. Whately has shown, they are often led into confusion by the impossibility of always preserving the distinction. The definition of wages by M'Culloch is quite sufficient for our purpose; and, as now the only legal mode of payment is by money, we shall use the term in its ordinary sense, to denote the amount of money given to the labourer in return for his services.

Now there are two important considerations, arising out of the industrial relation, which claim our notice. The great question, which the employer is constantly asking himself, is—'How can I obtain the greatest amount of the best labour at the lowest price?'

The

The question, which the employed are frequently agitating, is—'How can we get the greatest amount of wages for the least amount of work?' The solution of these problems has often been attempted by each party, and the most lamentable results have followed the endeavour. Masters and men have been arrayed against each other in deadly strife; work has been suspended, capital has been wasted, wages have been lost, distress has overwhelmed thousands, and even riot and bloodshed have not unfrequently signalised the attempt to solve these economical problems. A momentary triumph is gained when the weaker side is obliged to surrender. The master, perhaps, congratulates himself that he now pays less than he formerly did for the same kind and amount of work; or the artisan rejoices that he now gains more wages for the same work, or the same for less work. Still the triumph is but short; and each is ere long reminded that the subject is too difficult to be disposed of in a single struggle, and by their individual influence. The fact is, these questions are really already settled by a fundamental principle, which is constantly operating in a free country. It is an axiom in economical science, that the rate of wages and of profits in any department of industry cannot, for any long period, either rise above, or fall below the rate of wages and profits in any other department. The law of competition effectually prevents it; for if any one department secures higher wages, or higher profits, at an equal expenditure of labour and capital, and at equal risk, labour and capital are attracted to it, the demand and the supply become equalised, and the marketable value of labour and money is attained. All attempts, therefore, in a free country, to force the rate of wages or profits beyond their appropriate value by strikes or reductions, can never be successful for any lengthened period. An artificial state may be produced for a time, but it will soon be destroyed; and a reaction will set in, which will ultimately restore the equilibrium to the agitated department. It is true, combination and monopoly will enable men to control the operation of this economical law; but so far as they prevail, to that extent will the freedom of national industry be restrained. The true rate of wages is the marketable value of labour, which is determined by the value of that which labour produces. Men's wages, therefore, will be regulated by the nature of the labour they perform, and will vary from the lowest mechanical work to the highest skilled employment. Each department, however, will have its real price determined by this economical law; and no arbitrary proceedings on the part of either master or men can effectually raise or depress the hire of the labourer.

While there are these definite relations between employer and employed, and these settled principles regulating their profits

profits and wages, which cannot be interfered with without producing distressing results, much remains in the power of each to influence the welfare of the other. The artisan may give his amount of stipulated labour in a way, which, though technically correct, may become prejudicial to the interests of his master; and the master may pay the workman his appropriate wages, yet under such conditions that their value is considerably depreciated. Some years ago it was a common practice among masters, especially in the mining districts, to pay their men on a system which obliged them to purchase certain articles of food and clothing at shops in which the employers had an interest. The evils of the 'truck system,' however, were exposed to the light of day; a terrible outcry was raised against it; and an Act of Parliament, the 1 & 2 Will. IV. c. 37, made it illegal for masters thus to gain a profit out of the hard earnings of their men, or to pay their wages otherwise than by the current coin of the realm. It was an injustice, which could scarcely be tolerated under the feudal age, and was wholly incompatible with the relation which men now sustain towards their employer. The practice has not entirely ceased, for it is still connived at in a few districts.

The interests of the employer and employed are so intimately connected, that what will best promote the welfare of the men will also best promote the welfare of the master. The great want, which has long been experienced, has been that of sympathy between those who sustain this relation. Almost the last words of the late Sir Thomas Talfourd were, 'The want of sympathy is the real want of English society;' and nowhere has this been so keenly experienced as in the industrial circle. Often the operatives have regarded their employers more as their tyrants than their friends; and masters have looked down upon their workpeople with supercilious pride and disdain, both forgetful of the fact, that they are dependent upon each other's harmonious cooperation. The steady, upright, industrious labourer must be far more valuable to his employer than the wretched, poverty-stricken, depraved workman, who, while his brief existence lasts, divides his life between labour and sensuality. The social condition of the employed, therefore, has a much greater effect on the employer's interest than has been estimated; and, no doubt, investigation would show that his interest has declined, or prospered, according to their social habits. Self-interest, then, should have led him to consider the welfare of his people; and when to that are joined the higher motives of justice, benevolence, patriotism, and religion, there is a powerful inducement to urge him, not only to pay to those in his employ the right amount of wages, but to consider how he can enhance its value, by placing them in a position to use it to the best advantage. Money is power, which the

the working classes will use for good or bad purposes, according to their social habits.

We are glad to find that this subject is occupying the attention of some leading manufacturers and employers. Deeply sympathising with the condition of their people, and conscious how closely their interests are bound up with the welfare of those in their employ, they are seeking to ameliorate their condition, and to awaken within them the spirit of true manliness and self-reliance. Much has already been accomplished. Instead of the wretched hovels, which men gladly forsook for the attractions of the public-house, they have erected comfortable abodes; and instead of leaving them in their ignorance, they have built schools for the education of the children, established reading-rooms and libraries, furnished baths and wash-houses, and provided means for their religious instruction. Government aid has been secured for the promotion of their welfare. Taxes which pressed heavily upon them have been removed, hours of factory labour have been curtailed, inspectors have been appointed to protect their health and safety, oppressive laws have been repealed, and many facilities have been afforded them to save part of the increased value of their wages, and to acquire property and privileges. Never was there a time in the history of our country when there was so much real sympathy manifested towards the working man as at the present day; and we hope the career of improvement in his condition, which has thus been inaugurated, will continue to advance, till the foul stains, which so long have chequered his social state, will be entirely removed.

Much attention has recently been given to the condition of our criminal population. The different aspects which crime presents have been carefully considered, and the influences which foster it have been investigated. Among other important facts, the connection between the rate of wages and crime is one deserving particular notice. The excellent reports of the late chaplain of Preston Gaol, the Rev. J. Clay, have thrown great light upon this subject. At the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Liverpool in 1854, Mr. Clay read a paper before the statistical department on 'The Effect of Good and Bad Times on Crime,' in which he showed by statistics that, when high wages prevail, the number of committals to prison is increased. The statements then made were severely criticised in the 'Economist' for June 1856; and in the following August, Professor Walsh read a paper before the same department of the Association to prove that good times are favourable to diminished crime, and that bad times increase the number of criminals. Mr. Clay replied to these criticisms in a second paper, which is printed in the Journal of the Statistical Society, Dec. 1857. Now after

after carefully considering the evidence furnished on each side, we are bound to admit that Mr. Clay has satisfactorily made out his case, as far as statistics can indicate it. It is this:—

'That bad times may add a few cases to the session calendars, and that good times greatly aggravate summary convictions; that the increase to the sessions consist of the young and thoughtless, who, when thrown into idleness, are liable to lapse into dishonesty; and that the increase of summary cases arises from the intemperance which high wages encourage among the ignorant and sensual.'—Report, 1855, p. 44.

The statistics of Professor Walsh do not really militate against the conclusion Mr. Clay has reached; and several considerations may be urged in favour of it. The professed criminals form but a small portion of the occupants of our gaols. It is a serious fact that *one* in 14 males of the working classes, or *one* in 16 of the entire male population render themselves obnoxious to the law, (Report, 1855, p. 51, note); and that a very large proportion of those who are committed to prison are in the receipt of wages when they perpetrate their offence. In the North Lancashire district, about 73 per cent. of the annual prisoners are in employ at the time of their arrest; and among the juvenile offenders it rises to 79 per cent. In Manchester, where there is a large number of professional thieves, the employed offenders amount to about 65 per cent. The committals for the first time also illustrate the effects of wages on crime. Nearly 100,000 annually enter our prisons for the first time; and this large number, says Mr. Clay, 'does not belong so much to the criminal, as to the ignorant and neglected portion of the labouring class. . . . . The proportion of prisoners committed annually for the first time in North Lancashire (74 per cent.) agrees very closely with the proportion in employ (73 per cent.); and nearly the same proportion of first committals obtains in England and Wales collectively.' (Report, 1858, p. 67.) Now these first committals appear to rise and fall with prosperity and distress among the working classes. Thus in Manchester, Captain Willis reports, in 1846, that 'the largest number of committals occurred during the most prosperous period of the year;' and in 1847, that, 'in consequence of the shortness of work, and the high price of provisions, the apprehensions had been fewer in three months than they have ever been during any three months since the police force was first established in 1839.' In Liverpool, the summary committals rose from 10,407 in 1853, to 13,127 in 1854, which was a year of great prosperity, when the ship carpenters were receiving 15*s.* per day, and were actually taken to and from their work in conveyances! The returns of the 'drunk and disorderly' point to the same result. At Liverpool, the apprehensions of this class in 1848, the year of distress, amounted to 3,019; in prosperous 1855, the number rose to 9,055. At the time of the Preston strike in

1854, the summary convictions for the year fell to 957, against 1,456 in 1851, and 1,226 in 1852. The excise statistics for Preston prove that there were 4,028 gallons of spirits, and 5,340 barrels of beer less consumed during the six months of the strike than in the preceding six months, representing a decrease of expenditure in the ale and beer houses of about 25,000*l.* It is now acknowledged that the main cause of crime is drunkenness; and this is most prevalent when money is most plentiful.

With these facts, then, before us, we think it entirely consonant with reason and experience to believe, that, in the present state of things, high wages operate injuriously on the social condition of a large proportion of the working classes; and that what ought to be to them the means of their social elevation, and to secure their present comfort and happiness, is employed to debase their nature, add to their wretchedness, and at length conduct them to crime. It is important, therefore, to inquire into the cause of this, and to ascertain whether there is anything in the present mode of the payment of wages which tends to produce such a painful result.

The main cause of the connection of high wages with dissipation and crime evidently exists in the ignorance and weakness of moral principle to be found among the working classes, which render them unable wisely to regulate the expenditure of their earnings. If they had the wisdom to see, and the resolution to effect, what would best promote their welfare, the precise day on which wages were paid would be immaterial. Labourers may be divided into two classes—the intelligent, sober, and prosperous; and the dissipated and improvident. To the first, the *day* of payment would be immaterial, because their prudence and self-respect would prevent them squandering their wages; and the *time* would be of consequence only if it be driven off till late on Saturday night, because then they might have to purchase at a disadvantage, when the market was about to close, or resort to the obnoxious practice of Sunday trading. To the second class, both the *day* and *time* of payment are of much consequence; because they require severe restraint, until higher influences can operate, to keep them from yielding to powerful temptation. The interests of the employer and employed, therefore, demand that, in selecting the day and time for the payment of wages, that method shall be chosen which will best promote the welfare of the two classes we have indicated. To all classes the *place* of payment is important, for nothing can be worse than the custom which prevails in some manufacturing districts of paying workmen at public-houses. From such places of payment the drunken labourer goes penniless to his home.

Employers are now seeing the importance of an early payment of

of wages. Saturday night was for a long period the general time for pay, and is even still retained by a large number of employers. In mining and manufacturing districts, different modes prevail; some masters paying their men on Friday, and some on Saturday morning, or early in the afternoon. Now a little consideration, we think, will show, that Saturday is the worst day that can be chosen in the whole week. On any other day, the labourer knows that when he has done his daily toil he will have to resume it the next morning, or run the risk of losing his employment; he therefore cannot afford, even if he has the money, to unfit himself for work by drunkenness or debauchery. On Saturday evening this restraint is taken away. He has a day of leisure before him, when he thinks he can sleep off the effects of his carouse; he therefore hurries from the pay-office to the public-house, becomes charmed with its 'company;' and when turned out of his retreat at midnight, he reels to his wretched abode, if indeed the commission of some crime does not conduct him to another place. We cannot use terms too strong in condemning the practice of deferring the payment of wages till a late hour on Saturday night. The sober workman is by it thrown into the midst of temptation; the careful housewife has to market on disadvantageous terms; the weak-minded operative is caught by the splendid baits of the gin-palace, and robbed of most of his earnings. The only pleas for its continuance are convenience and custom: but the former, when steadily looked at, soon vanishes; and the latter, like all bad customs, ought to be abolished. It would be good for the employer, better for the employed, and best for their wives and children that all wages be paid at any other time than Saturday night.

The principal objection which masters urge against any other day than Saturday for the payment of wages, is, that it will interfere with the labour of the men on the day following that on which they are paid. No doubt, among bad and dissipated workmen there will perhaps be instances of men absenting themselves from their work; but this, instead of being an evil, would ultimately prove a great benefit to the master, and to those in his employ. It would weed out the worthless labourers, and preserve the rest from contamination, and thus really place the interests of the employer on a firm basis. There is, however, abundant evidence to prove that few men worth keeping would absent themselves; and we shall select from it a few instances which, we think, ought favourably to influence all employers of labour. As early as the year 1832, a Committee of the House of Commons on Sunday trading reported,—

'If gentlemen, manufacturers, master-tradesmen, and farmers, were aware of the benefits which must result to the labouring class from paying their wages on an earlier day than Saturday, especially if that day precede a market-day, your

Committee entertain no doubt that feelings of kindness, as well as duty, would soon cause the practice to become general.'

In the year 1847, another Committee investigated the same subject.

The Rev. Robert Maguire, Incumbent of Clerkenwell, has collected evidence from some of the leading London establishments. We quote from his admirable lecture on the 'Early Payment of Wages' the following:—

'The Queen's printers, Eyre and Spottiswoode, say, "We have paid wages on Friday for some years past, and have not found any inconvenience from it. The men have expressed themselves very much obliged for the convenience and opportunity which it gives them and their families of making necessary purchases in good time, and without interfering with the Sunday. We learn that the temptation to excess is less on the Friday than on the Saturday evening, as a working-day is immediately to follow." Messrs. Spottiswoode, of New Street-square, write: "In reply to your inquiries, we beg to state that we have paid wages on Friday for five years and a half, and have found no inconvenience whatever from it. The men are very glad of the arrangement, and the only complaints we have heard are from the publicans." Then one of the great firm of Hansard, the printers to the House of Commons, writes: "In reply to the question which you have asked me, viz., Whether I experience any inconvenience from the practice pursued by me of paying my workpeople their wages on Friday instead of Saturday? I am happy to say, that not only is there no inconvenience felt by me from the plan, but, on the contrary, the system has worked most satisfactorily to myself, and, I feel assured, with much comfort and advantage to my men. . . . From the peculiar nature of my business during the session of Parliament, the greatest pressure is most often experienced on the Saturday; and far from the plan proving detrimental in any degree to the progress of the work, I think that the people, feeling quite sure that the change was made for their convenience and advantage, are most zealous that there should be no ground for attributing carelessness and non-attendance as the result of it." Messrs. Harrison, of St. Martin's-lane, write: "No one absents himself on Saturday, or appears at the office in an unfit state for work." Messrs. Woodfall and Kinder, of Angel-court, write: "We also see a marked improvement in the habits of some of the men arising out of the alteration. The custom of spending in drink on Sunday, which in many cases led to the same thing on Monday, is now checked at the outset by the necessity of working on Saturday; and we find practically that we have much less difficulty in getting regularity on Saturday than we had formerly on Monday." And to come nearer home, Mr. Rivington, of St. John's-square, writes: "The alteration from Saturday to Friday payment has resulted in advantage to all parties. On a recent occasion, the workmen passed a resolution, that the 'present system of paying on Friday is considered most beneficial.'" '—Pp. 6, 7.

Much more evidence to the same effect might be quoted, but the above will suffice. Saturday ought no longer to be the working-man's pay-day. The Queen and the Government have set an example worthy of being followed by all employers of labour. In the royal establishments all weekly wages are paid on Friday, except in one department, when it is deferred till Saturday morning. At the naval dockyards, and the Royal Mint, the workmen are paid on Friday; at the Woolwich Arsenal, in one department on Thursday, another on Friday, and a third on Saturday noon; at the Tower Ordnance, on Saturday noon; at the Post-office, part on Friday, and the remainder on Saturday morning. The Metropolitan Police are paid, a part on Wednesday,

nesday, and the rest on Thursday; and the City Police, in the same way, on Friday and Saturday morning. A very long list might be drawn out of great companies and commercial firms who have adopted the principle of early payment.

We advocate, then, the early payment of wages as best for the interest of the master, and the welfare of the men. The working classes would be great gainers by such an arrangement. If there be any truth in the old proverb, 'He gives twice who gives early,' it forcibly applies to the present subject. The real philosophy of wages consists in making a certain amount as valuable as possible. Early payment will secure this. Were it universally adopted, the wives would obtain better articles of food and raiment; the men would not be so much exposed to the seductions of the beer-house; the great curse of drunkenness would not be so prevalent, and crime, arising from it, would be diminished; the heavy pressure of business on Saturday, so expensive to the tradesman, and wearying to his assistants, would be relieved; and the evils of Sunday trading would be remedied, or, at least, the excuse would be taken from the lips of its advocates. The efforts made to ameliorate the social and moral condition of the working classes would become more successful; education would be better appreciated, and more generally secured; the press and the pulpit would exert greater influence than at present; and a career of improvement would be commenced which would elevate the tone and character of the labourer, and add much to his prosperity and happiness. The master would participate in the beneficial result; and he would find, by experience, that he would be amply repaid for any slight sacrifice he might make in promoting the comfort, intelligence, and morality of his men, by the additional security of his property, the increased value of his productions, and the confidence and respect of those whom he employs.

ART. IV.—1. *Report of the Parliamentary Committee, whether any measures could be adopted by the Government or Parliament, that would improve the position of Science or its Cultivators in this Country.* LORD WROTTESLEY, *Chairman.*

2. *Report of the 25th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Glasgow in September*, 1855, pp. xlviii.—liii. London: 1856.

WERE we to judge of the social benefits which science has conferred on England from the social position of her men of science, we should form a very low estimate of their number and value; and that estimate would be immeasurably lowered were we

we to reckon the millions which science annually casts into the Treasury, and sum up the pauper allowances which are doled out to its cultivators, and the miserable pittances which are disbursed for its advancement.

When we consider the vast extent of the British empire, the number and area of its colonial possessions, the magnitude of its royal and commercial navy, the grandeur of its manufacturing establishments, and the extraordinary expansion of its trade and commerce, we should have expected that the sciences and the useful arts, so essential to the development and promotion of these various interests, would have found in England the highest patronage; and that the sovereign and the legislature would have delighted to honour and reward the men whose inventions and discoveries have enriched the nation and added to its glory. But it is with grief we must confess that such expectations have been disappointed. The history of science and scientific men, of inventions and inventors, proclaims the melancholy truth that England stands ignominiously behind every other nation in the patronage of science and the arts;—and stands, too, with a statute-book in her hand defaced with unjust and oppressive laws, subversive of the highest interests of science, and hostile to the diffusion of knowledge and the progress of civilisation. By her patent laws she sells, exorbitantly and ruinously to inventors, an illusory privilege, bearing the great seal of England, while in her courts of law she strives to rob them of the boon she has conferred. By her laws of copyright she seizes the property of authors, and refuses to the productions of the brain the protection which she accords to every other species of property. She prohibits the free importation of works of science and art, teeming with theoretical and practical knowledge, invaluable to the cultivators of science, and calculated to promote even national interests. She imposes a tax upon paper, thus preventing the publication of works of profound science and learning, retarding the diffusion of knowledge, and impoverishing the unfortunate authors of valuable works which are too profound to be popular, and too expensive to be saleable.

If such be the spirit with which the Government and the legislature deal with our intellectual interests, we need hardly ask what patronage she has extended to the philosophers and inventors who have added to the glory and wealth of the nation. In other countries we find their intellectual chivalry seated in the senate-house, discharging official functions in the state, associating with the sovereign, and wearing those badges of honour, which, however small be their value in the eye of reason, are honourable distinctions—tests of a nation's gratitude, which the sage may covet, and to which even the Stoic may aspire. It is true, indeed, that these honours have sometimes been lavishly and wantonly

wantonly conferred, and so far degraded in public estimation; but the order which hangs on the breast of the hero, or the laurel which entwines the chaplet of the sage, are not the less honourable though sometimes worn by a soldier who never unsheathed his sword, or by a court favourite who never did a service to his country.*

Foreigners have found it difficult to understand how England should be the only monarchy in Europe where science is neither fostered nor endowed, and where her great men are systematically excluded from the honours of the state. It is, nevertheless, a problem of easy solution. Under absolute governments the sovereign exercises personally all the powers of the state. Every act of generosity to his subjects, and of liberality to individual genius, is reciprocated in sentiments of gratitude and affection, and in this action and reaction of beneficence, fresh motives are developed for more graceful concessions and more extended liberality. Every title which the autocrat wisely confers becomes a support and an ornament to the throne. Himself the fountain of honour, every stream which it sends forth sympathises with the source from which it flows. If he distinguishes genius or patriotism in his own domains, he entrenches himself in the affections of his people; and if he has the magnanimity to honour or reward the inventors of other lands, who have conferred benefits on society, he earns the gratitude of a wider circle, and rises to a higher place in the Temple of Fame.

Under a constitutional government, on the contrary, science and its cultivators occupy a very different position. The sovereign is there but a myth, without influence and power. He reigns but he does not govern. Though the fountain of honours he is not permitted to confer them. Though the purse of the civil list be nominally at his command, he cannot open it either to reward merit or relieve distress. Though the humblest of his subjects is supreme in his castle, the constitutional sovereign cannot choose the members of his own household. The royal functions are in abeyance. They are exercised by the minister of the day, to repay personal obligations, to quiet political consciences, and perchance to wrest from the subject his rights, and from the nation its liberties. Every influence at his command is employed to strengthen his administration and maintain him in office.† Science,

* The reader is referred to an admirable and eloquent chapter 'On the Rewards of Merit' in Mr. Babbage's able and interesting volume entitled 'The Expositor of 1851; or, Views of the Industry, the Science, and the Government of England.' See chap. xvii. p. 200. This work, replete with important facts, and characterised by just and noble views of the position and claims of science, merits the study of every member of the legislature.

† This fact is more gently expressed by Lord Wrottesley in the Report to which we shall presently refer. 'Owing,' says he, 'to the system which prevails

powerless

powerless to assist him, receives none of his patronage, and when he falls, another faction succeeds, and turns into new channels of corruption the honours and rewards within its grasp.*

Previous to the passing of the Reform Bill, there was hardly a single philosopher who shared in the honours and liberality of the state. Lord Brougham, when Lord High Chancellor, called the attention of the King to this important subject, and obtained for several distinguished individuals the royal recognition of their claims. Sir Robert Peel sought for popularity in the same cause; and, under the pressure of public remonstrance and private expostulation, succeeding ministers imitated his example. The patronage of the Government was thus sometimes extended to men of science, not on account of their merits, but because it was importunately solicited by political partisans.

The British Association, in 1831, made it a leading object 'to obtain a more general attention to the objects of science, and a removal of any disadvantages *of a public kind* which impede its progress;' but many years elapsed before they made a direct appeal to the Government, 'to improve the position of science or its cultivators.' A Parliamentary Committee was at last appointed for this important purpose. It consisted of members of both Houses, with Lord Wrottesley as its Chairman, a nobleman well qualified for so important an office by his habits of business, as well as by his high scientific acquirements. The Committee met, for the first time, on the 3rd of February, 1852, and in the spring of that year Lord Wrottesley had an interview with Lord Derby on the subject of *pensions* and other rewards to men of science. He complained that out of 16,800*l.*†—'the total sum granted for pensions since the Civil List was settled at the commencement of the Queen's reign—a sum of 2,150*l.* only had been appropriated to science properly so called, or not quite 13 per cent.' 'Our complaint,' he adds, 'is that *in a country like this, which owes so much to science*, there should be *at any time*‡ no means of rewarding, either by money payments, or in any other manner, both appro-

in this country of each successive Government striving to outvie its predecessors in popularity by the reduction of public burdens, there is a temptation sometimes to withhold grants which may swell the total outlay of departments in which reductions are contemplated.'—Report, p. lxii.

* An eminent writer, entitled by his position to speak with authority, has declared that in this country 'science and starvation are almost interchangeable terms. Literature and the fine arts may lead to fame and wealth in the case of a very few youths, but, for the most part, merely to struggles and beggary.'—'*Times*,' August 15th, 1858.

† During fourteen years, the annual grant of 1,200*l.* amounted to 16,800*l.*

‡ When Lord Rosse applied to Lord Derby for pensions to Dr. Mantell and Mr. Hind, it was found that the whole of the annual grant of 1,200*l.* had been appropriated, and much of it to persons who had no claim upon the fund.

priate

priate and acceptable to the candidates for distinction,* cases of great merit which have been brought to the notice of the Government.' †

Having received small encouragement from Lord Derby, Lord Wrottesley and his Committee issued a circular with the view of obtaining the opinions of the most eminent men of science, and afterwards drew up the Report which we have placed at the head of this article. This Report contains many just and noble views on the national value of science, and on the duty of the Government to endow and extend it; but we cannot concur in the injudicious and indiscreet opinions of some of the eminent men of science which are emblazoned in the Report.‡ Among the counsellors of the Committee we do not find the names of any philosopher resident in Scotland or Ireland, with the exception of Lord Rosse, and we look in vain for many of the great names which stand at the head of English science.§ The advisers of the Committee, indeed, are, generally speaking, the office-bearers of the Royal, Astronomical, and Geological Societies, and hence they may have been alarmed at the idea of an Academy of Science, or of a National Institute, which might be supposed to interfere with the institutions which they control.

But however divergent be the opinions of the Committee's advisers, on some of the points submitted to their consideration, they are nearly unanimous in suggesting to the Government several important reforms,‖ and in recommending the establish-

* In reference to the *distinction* here referred to, 'Professor Faraday' (to quote the Report), 'when speaking of the distinctions, both national and foreign, which may even now be earned, writes, "I cannot say I have not valued such distinctions; on the contrary, *I esteem them very highly;* but I do not think I have ever worked for, or sought after them."' In this sentiment we believe that every person who has gained such distinctions will readily concur.

† 'Report of British Association, 1852,' p. xxxi.

‡ The late Professor Edward Forbes is lauded in the Report as a person peculiarly qualified to advise and assist the Committee. 'He does not think anything like an Institute desirable!' In order to test the value of such an opinion, we must inform the reader that, in the first edition of the Report, he added to the above opinion, that the Institute of France, that is, the Academy of Sciences, has done more harm than good to science! The author of such a sentiment must either have been supremely ignorant of the history of science, or must have laboured under some mental hallucination.

§ The following distinguished individuals have not returned an answer to the circular of the Committee, and it is not improbable that many of them might have concurred with us in recommending a more general measure: Dr. Whewell, Professor Sedgwick, Dr. Peacock, Professor Stokes, Professor Willis, Mr. Hopkins, Sir William Hooker, Mr. Robert Brown, Dr. Daubeny, Mr. Baden Powell, Mr. Thomas Graham, Mr. Babbage, Sir James South, Sir W. S. Harris, Mr. George Rennie, Professor Wheatstone, Colonel Sykes, Mr. Horner, and Mr. W. Fairbairn.

‖ The following are the *nine* suggestions contained in the Report, *that* of a Board of Science being the *tenth*. Several of them, as Lord Wrottesley remarks, 'are rather suggestions on behalf of national education than privileges to be conferred on science;' but their importance cannot be overrated, and we trust they will attract the notice of the Government:— ['1st.

ment

ment of A BOARD OF SCIENCE, 'composed *partly of persons holding office under the Crown*, and partly of men of the highest eminence in science.' This Board is to 'have the control and expenditure of the public funds given for the advancement of science, and is to originate applications for pecuniary or other aid to science, and generally perform such functions as are above described, together with such others as Government or Parliament may think fit to impose upon it.' In this recommendation we cheerfully concur; but along with Lord Rosse, the Astronomer Royal, and Admiral Smythe, we must protest against the admission into the Board of *unscientific persons holding office under the Crown*. Questions of national importance, and affecting large interests, must often be submitted to such a Board, and the proposal of permitting ignorant men to have a voice in their decision is not less monstrous than would be that of allowing the deputy-lieutenants of counties to sit and act along with the judges of assize. A board of science, rightly constituted, would perform in matters of science all the functions now so perfunctorily and so expensively discharged by Committees of Parliament, and their decisions would go forth to the public stamped with the impress of theoretical and practical wisdom.

'1st. That reforms shall take place gradually in the system of any of our universities which do not at present exact a certain proficiency in physical science as a condition preliminary to obtaining a degree.

'2ndly. That the number of professors of physical science at the universities shall be increased when necessary; but that at all events, by a redistribution of subjects, or other arrangements, provision should be made for effectually teaching all the various branches of physical science.

'3rdly. That professors and local teachers shall be appointed to give lectures on science in the chief provincial towns, for whose use philosophical apparatus shall be provided; and that arrangements shall be made for testing, by examination, the proficiency of all those who attend such lectures.

'4thly. That the formation of museums and public libraries in such towns, open to all classes, shall be encouraged and assisted in like manner as aid is now given to instruction in the principles of art; that all imposts shall by degrees be abolished that impede the diffusion of scientific knowledge; and such donations of national publications be made as above mentioned.

'5thly. That more encouragement shall be given, by fellowships, increased salaries to professors, and other rewards, to the study of physical science.

'6thly. That an alteration shall be made in the present system of bestowing pensions; some annuities, in the nature of good-service pensions, be granted; and additional aid be given to the prosecution, reduction, and publication of scientific researches.

'7thly. That an appropriate building, in some central situation in London, shall be provided at the cost of the nation, in which the principal scientific societies may be located together.

'8thly. That scientific offices shall be placed more nearly on a level, in respect to salary, with such other civil appointments as are an object of ambition to highly-educated men; that the officers themselves shall be emancipated from all such interference as is calculated to obstruct the zealous performance of their duties; and that new scientific offices shall be created in some cases in which they are required.

'9thly. That facilities shall be given for transmitting and receiving scientific publications to and from our colonies and foreign parts.'

Although

Although the Committee refer only to the Board and its constitution, yet we find in the Report more special suggestions, which seem to meet with their approbation. It is suggested, for example, that the members of the Board should be distributed under the following departments:—Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, Mechanics, Physiology, Zoology, Botany, Geology, and Chemistry; and that their number should not be fewer than *thirty-five*, which would give nearly four to each department.

We have thrown out the conjecture that some of the advisers of the Committee may have been afraid that an Academy of Science, like that in the French Institute, would interfere with the Royal and other Societies, of which they were office-bearers; but, what was less probable, and what proves the truth of our conjecture, the very Board of Science so unanimously recommended by the Committee, is not only supposed to interfere with the Royal Society, but is deemed inexpedient, lest *it should supersede that body*. 'It is proper to add,' says the Report, 'that Lord Rosse is doubtful as to the expediency of constituting the new Board of Science, on the ground principally that the duties here assigned to it might equally well be performed by the Council of the Royal Society, enlarged for the purpose, and *that the Society would be, in fact, so far superseded by the new body.*'* In this sagacious prediction we entirely agree. The Royal Society would doubtless be superseded by the Board of Science. It would be reduced to a club, which would meet weekly to drink tea and digest profound papers; and its Council would have no other functions than that of adjudicating the Society's medals, and editing the 'Philosophical Transactions.' Lord Rosse, we think, has seen the whole question submitted to the Committee in its true light. He proposes that the functions of publishing scientific papers should be united with those of the Board of Science, which is exactly what is done in France. The Academy of Sciences of the Imperial Institute discharges, and discharges to the admiration of the civilised world, both these functions, and we cannot conceive how they could be performed beneficially to science by two independent bodies, one of which is endowed and the other not.

With these views, and for reasons which we shall presently explain, we unhesitatingly predict that the Board of Science recommended in the Report will never be established in England. The Parliamentary Committee seem to have forgotten that there

* In replying to this opinion, Lord Wrottesley asserts that the Council of the Royal Society 'is not likely to contain at any time within it *such* a union and variety of talent as would be concentrated in the new board;' but Lord Rosse expressly provides for such a contingency by an enlargement of the Council; and if the Royal Society did not, as we believe it does, represent every department of science, the evil would be removed by the election of a few members qualified to discharge the new functions imposed upon the Council.

are

... British interests which have as good a claim to have the ... as those of science. The interests of literature, ... archæology, history, and poetry;—the interests of the ... sciences, including philosophy, moral legislation, political economy, and statistics;—the interests of the useful ... economy, mining, medicine, and surgery;—and, the ... fine arts, embracing painting, sculpture, architecture, engraving, and musical composition, are all entitled to the ... of the state; and we cannot suppose that the ... advocates who have cultivated and advanced these ... of knowledge and of art will permit them to be ... as exceptionally useless, and undeserving of national recognition. Still less can we believe that the powerful Press of England, ... especially distinguished by its literary and political ... will remain silent should the funds of the state be ... on the incorporation and endowment of only *one* department of knowledge.*

If the Parliamentary Committee, therefore, of the British Association, and the true friends of science, are desirous, as we know they are, to advance its interests, and place its cultivators in the social position to which they are entitled, they will demand from the state a *Board of Science, Literature, and the Arts*, which shall discharge the duties of existing societies, and perform the more important functions which the Government and legislature may demand. Such a board must, in reality, be an Institute composed of several Academies. The prejudices of Englishmen may give it a different name, and the state may charge it with different functions, but there can be no union of the intellectual powers of a great nation that is essentially different from that which characterises the Imperial Institute of France.

In the present state of the House of Commons, we cannot expect any just appreciation of intellectual labour or of its bearing

* The following admirable observations of Dr. Whewell have an important bearing on this question. After speaking of the great exertions made in every country for the promotion of astronomy by observatories, scientific voyages, costly instruments, and national rewards, he says: "Yet the largest and wisest plans for the extension of human knowledge in other provinces of science by the like means have remained hitherto almost entirely unexecuted, and have been treated as mere dreams. The exhortations of Francis Bacon to men to seek by such means an elevation of their intellectual condition have been assented to in words, but his plans of a methodical and organised combination of society for this purpose ... has never even been attempted to realize. *If the nations of the earth were to ... for the promotion of human knowledge as they ... of the navies, the armies, the ... the conquests, the charges, the commotions, which they have expended in every age ... the treasures of human life, and of human means of enjoyment, we might soon find ... all we desire to know ... compared with what men have the power of knowing.*"

The establishment of a *Board of Science, Literature, and the Fine and Useful Arts*, endowed by the Government with a fraction of the wealth employed in the ... of human life would certainly be the first and the best instalment of ... a noble scheme.

on

on the material interests of the country. When men of science and learning are admitted into parliament, and have an opportunity of pleading their own cause, we may look for some comprehensive measure for bettering their social position and that of its cultivators; but the constituency must be better educated and instructed before such a reform can be expected; and, in despair of anything better, we are disposed to welcome the establishment of the limited Board of Science which Lord Wrottesley and the Parliamentary Committee have in vain solicited from the liberality of the state.

Such is a brief account of the social condition of science and its cultivators, and of the fruitless attempt which has been made by the Parliamentary Committee of the British Association to obtain from the Government the very smallest measure of reform. When an individual asserts the great national importance of a Board of Science and Art, he may be supposed to plead for a cause in which he has a personal interest; but no one will call in question the deliberate and disinterested judgment of eminent members of the House of Peers* and of the House of Commons when they declare to the world 'that science has not its due weight and importance in the councils of the nation,'—that 'a feeling pervades the community at large that *our country's welfare and even safety* depends on its due encouragement and fostering,'—that 'no limit can be set to the importance, even in a purely productive and material point of view, of mere thought,'—and that 'every extension of knowledge of the powers of nature is fruitful of application to the purposes of nature and life.'†

That these propositions are true we shall now proceed to prove by considering the claims of science in some of its more important and practical departments. If our narrow limits compel us to confine our observations to those great inventions and discoveries which have sprung from the practical application of scientific researches, it is not because we regard the most abstract truths as less worthy of national encouragement. Science is necessarily the parent of art. The speculations, and even the conjectures of one age have proved the germ of great inventions in another. The discovery of latent heat by Dr. Black conducted Mr. Watt to his great improvements on the steam-engine; and as an eminent writer quoted by Lord Wrottesley observes, 'the modern art of navigation is an unforeseen emanation' from the properties of the

* Lord Brougham has given it as his opinion 'that the teachers of the age of George III. (viz., Black, Watt, Cavendish, Priestley, Davy, Simson, Adam Smith, Robertson, Hume, &c.) covered it with still greater glory than it drew from the statesmen and warriors that ruled its affairs.'—Preface to 'Lives of the Philosophers of the Time of George III.,' p. viii.

† These two last propositions are quoted in the Report from Mr. Mill's able work on Political Economy, vol. i. p. 52.

three

three conic sections discovered by the mathematicians of Alexandria. This affiliation of theory and practice is strikingly exhibited in the noble bequests which astronomy and optics, and other branches of physics, have more recently made to the art of navigating the ocean. How many thousands of lives and millions of money have been saved to England by the lunar theory of Sir Isaac Newton, which has enabled the mariner to find his longitude at sea! How much does the nation owe to those optical discoveries which have given the sailor his telescope, and those lamps of the ocean, those beacons of mercy, which in midnight darkness light the seafaring stranger to our shores, and warn him of the wild shelves with which they are defended! How much do we owe to theoretical mechanics for our ships of war and of commerce, and for the chronometers which direct the mariner when the stars cease to be his guide! How much to magnetism for the mariners' compass and the correcting-plate of Barlow! How much to electricity, for the thunder-rods which protect our public and private buildings, and for the noble invention of Sir W. Snow Harris, by which the lightning is carried quietly into the sea through the very heart of the ship which it would otherwise have destroyed! Even meteorology, the least advanced of the sciences, has enabled the navigator, by studying the temperature of the ocean currents, to find a safer and a quicker path across the great oceans of the globe. It would be presumptuous to estimate the value of human life which these inventions have saved:—it would be difficult to compute the amount of national property which they have protected, or the millions of money which they have poured into the treasury. And yet almost none of the men by whom these great services have been performed have been either honoured by the sovereign or rewarded by the state.*

In speaking of the steam-engine and its application, our readers will more readily appreciate the claims of science. Although Mr. Watt did not invent the steam-engine, he made it capable of performing those great and varied functions to which it is now applied. After years of intellectual labour and mental anxiety this great man brought the steam-engine to such a high degree of perfection as to render it the most precious gift which man ever bequeathed to his race. Whether we see it as a model with the strength of an infant's arm, or as a giant machine with the power of a squadron of horse, it never fails to excite our admiration. When we employ wind and water as the first movers of machinery, they serve us only in particular localities; and when the weather is serene and the season dry, they often altogether fail us. The steam-engine, on the contrary, is a servant that never sleeps. His

* Sir W. Snow Harris, after years of importunity, succeeded in obtaining from the Government 5,000*l.* for his invention.

brawny

brawny arm is at our command whenever and wherever we require it. On the arid heath, on the mountain ridge, in the deepest mine, and in the heart of the most populous city, we can summon it to our aid, and when it has performed its functions there, we can despatch it on another errand. But when we view it as the palpitating heart of the steam-boat, or as the organ of locomotive force, it assumes an almost superhuman aspect, and in ancient times would have been worshipped as a god. On the boundless ocean

> 'Calm or convulsed—in breeze, or gale, or storm,
> Deep heaving'——

its triumph is complete—disporting itself among the ocean waves, dashing through their foaming crests, and piercing even the watery precipice that threatens to engulf it. The sea-god of ancient times crouches before the bold usurper, casts his trident among the waves, and abdicates his power to the new sovereign of the ocean. The elastic breath of a pound of coals and a bucketful of water is now the beneficent ruler of the deep—abridging the aqueous dimensions of the globe—bearing to unvisited shores the truths of reason and inspiration, and uniting the sage and the savage in the same brotherhood of faith and charity.

But it is not merely in shortening the sea routes across the oceans of the globe that the steam-engine has been the benefactor of mankind. It is now carrying our railway trains over the continent of Europe, the provinces of North America, and the plains of Hindostan. In another age it will rush along the southern pampas of the New World, and perchance bedew with its vapour the burning sands of Africa.

In order to enhance the public services of Mr. Watt, it is hardly necessary to tell our readers that the steam-engine is at work in every factory and workshop of the kingdom; that above *fifteen millions sterling* are annually gained by the nation in the saving of power alone; and that there is hardly an article in the cottage or in the palace, in the dress of the poor, or in the garments of the rich, that has not been made better and cheaper by the genius of Mr. Watt.

After this history of his services, we are anxious to know how he was rewarded, and it is with shame that we have to report the base ingratitude of his country. While titles of honour have been freely conferred on the mere possessors of wealth; on the soldier and sailor who did no more than their duty; on the corrupt supporters of government, who sell the liberties of their country; and on the immoral parasites and flatterers of royalty, they have been withheld from the greatest benefactor of the nation. In 1824, five years after Mr. Watt's death, when a parliamentary vote was proposed for a *monumental reward*, Lord Liverpool, the representative

representative of the sovereign and the nation, had the boldness to reply that there was no precedent for granting to intellectual merit what had been accorded to military and naval services, and that the government might be embarrassed by similar claims! At the public meeting which was held in consequence of this declaration of the minister, the very members of the cabinet confessed that *the fate of a war* might have been decided by the aid of steam, and that, but for the creations of Mr. Watt, *the safety of the state* might have been compromised;—and yet these heartless statesmen refused to him the simplest mark of a nation's gratitude.

But it was not ingratitude only that Mr. Watt experienced. He was the victim of the Patent Laws. In order to repay the labour and outlay which he had expended on his inventions, he secured his rights to them by a patent: and if such a privilege could in any case be branded as a monopoly, it could not in his. He did not ask the Cornish miners to buy his engines, nor did he demand a high license for the use of his inventions. He asked only for *one-third* of the value of the fuel which was saved; but even this pittance was refused. His inventions were pirated by the manufacturers of abortive engines. His patent was called in question: and in 1797 two out of four judges of the Court of Common Pleas voted for its reduction! After a lapse of two years this decision was unanimously reversed by the Court of King's Bench, and Mr. Watt was thus enabled to spend the rest of his life in enjoying the independence which he had achieved, and, by several valuable inventions,* establishing new claims to the gratitude of society.

If the great improver of the steam-engine was neglected by his country, and oppressed by its laws, the eminent men who applied his inventions to navigation and railway locomotion could hardly have expected a more generous treatment. Professor Robison and Mr. Murdoch, both Scotchmen, were the first to suggest and apply the steam-engine to carriages; and yet their names are hardly ever recorded in the annals of the useful arts! Henry Bell, of Helensburgh, another Scotchman, was the first engineer who applied a steam-engine, and one, too, of his own construction, to the propulsion of vessels on the Clyde. He, too, was neglected by the Government: and had not the magistrates of Glasgow liberally settled upon him a small annuity, he would have dragged out, in absolute poverty, the latter years of his life.

Although Mr. Watt's inventions have done so much for society,

* These inventions were—a machine for drying linen by steam: a machine for copying or reducing all kinds of sculpture and statuary: a method of heating apartments by steam; a plan of constructing lighthouses of iron: a flexible water-pipe for carrying water across deep rivers: an ingenious perspective machine: and two new micrometers. See 'Edinburgh Review,' vol. lxx. p. 488.

they

they have yet other great applications to achieve. Steam-carriages for ordinary roads (and especially those which lead from towns and villages to railway stations), steam reaping-machines, and steam-ploughs, if not steam-balloons, are among the inventions of the future; and unless some great reform takes place in our political institutions, or some second Colbert becomes the adviser of the crown, we may safely hazard the prediction that the engineer or the man of science, by whose genius these contrivances shall be executed, will, like their great predecessors, be starved and dishonoured by their country.

The electric telegraph, which we do not scruple to call a Scotch invention, though perfected by Englishmen and foreigners, is another of those triumphs of science to which British statesmen might have appropriately extended the most generous patronage. In peace and in war its national value is inestimable. At home it is the right arm of the magistrate in the detection and punishment of crime. To the distant battle-field it carries out the commands and congratulations of the state, and makes known, in return, the wants, the triumphs, and, perchance, the disasters, of its armies. This great gift to society was offered to the world more than a hundred years ago by a gentleman in Renfrew, with the initials C. M., who published an account of it in the Scots' Magazine for February, 1753.* This ingenious proposal of conveying intelligence along wires by common electricity excited no notice, and has never till lately been referred to in the history of science. The very same contrivance was, in 1774, published by M. Lesage, of Geneva. Voltaic electricity was substituted, in 1811, by Soemmering; and after the grand discovery of electro-magnetism by Professor Oersted in 1819, a number of ingenious telegraphs were invented, by which the art has been brought to a high degree of perfection. It is not our intention to inquire into the relative merits of these eminent individuals. We are concerned only with the distinguished inventors to whom England owes the introduction of the electric telegraph. To Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone this honour is certainly due, but in what proportion we are not disposed to inquire. We willingly adopt the decision of their mutual friends, the late distinguished engineer, Sir Mark Isambard Brunel, and the late eminent chemist, Professor Daniell, of King's College, which was acknowledged as just oy the rival inventors:—'In May, 1837,' they remark, 'Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone took out a joint English patent on a

* In this remarkable communication, entitled 'An Expeditious Method of conveying Intelligence,' the author describes several methods of conveying intelligence along wires by ordinary or statical electricity. Those who cannot refer to the original in the 'Scots' Magazine' will find it at full length, with an estimate of its importance, in the 'North British Review,' vol. xxii. pp. 548, 549.

footing of perfect equality for their existing inventions. . . . Whilst Mr. Cooke is entitled to stand alone as the gentleman to whom this country is indebted for having practically introduced and carried out the electric telegraph, as an useful undertaking, promising to be a work of national importance, Professor Wheatstone's profound and successful researches had already prepared the public to receive it as a project capable of practical application.' Desirous of possessing the patent, Mr. Cooke gave Professor Wheatstone 30,000*l.* for his share of it, and, in 1846, he succeeded in establishing 'The Electric Telegraph Company,' which, by the outlay of *three quarters of a million of money*, had, in 1854, covered England and Scotland with a complete network of telegraphs, extending along 5,480 miles of railway, and employing no less than 24,000 miles of wire. New companies have since arisen for the establishment of submarine telegraphs, and they have been permitted to lay down telegraphic lines for connecting the submarine cables with the principal towns in the island.

From these details it is obvious that Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone have the sole merit of introducing the electric telegraph into England, a boon to the nation which it would be difficult to overestimate—a boon to the Government which they seem incapable of appreciating. While rewards and titles have been lavished on equivocal and even negative merit, neither Mr. Cooke nor Mr. Wheatstone has received from the state the slightest recognition of their inestimable services.

The inventors of the electric telegraph, sanguine though they were of its general adoption, never contemplated its submersion in the ocean. It is difficult to find who first started this bold proposition. So early as 1839, Dr. O'Shaughnessy actually carried the electric current across the Hooghly. In 1842, Professor Morse stretched a submarine conducting cable from Castle Garden to Governor's Island, New York; and the same distinguished individual, in the autumn of 1843, announced to the Secretary of the United States Treasury, '*that a telegraphic communication on his plan* might with certainty be established* ACROSS THE ATLANTIC, and that, startling as this statement might now seem, *the time will come when the project will be realised.*' Verified as this prediction has been, yet the experience gathered from the laying of cables of an inferior span was necessary to its accomplishment. In 1851 the first submarine cable was completed

* Professor Morse is said to have 'demonstrated to a Committee of the American Institute the possibility of effecting electric communication through the sea, although the transmitting cable was destroyed by the anchor of a vessel almost as soon as telegraphic operations had commenced.' We have no doubt of this. The electric current, though enfeebled, would pass from one end of the broken cable to the other, though separated by a considerable distance.

by

by the Messrs. Brett from Dover to Calais. In 1852 another was stretched from Holyhead to Howth. In the same year Dover was united with Ostend, a distance of 70 miles; and latterly a cable was carried from Varna to Balaklava, though distant not less than 300 miles. These great undertakings prepared the public mind for the magnificent project of uniting Europe with America, the two distant halves of the habitable world. But though it was now probable, and might be proved experimentally, as it afterwards was, that a wire, 2,000 miles long, might be perfectly insulated so as to transmit telegraphic signals, yet a great problem had still to be solved. Could such a wire be deposited safely in the basin of the Atlantic if bristling with submarine islands; and could it remain, when it was laid, undisturbed by ocean currents, and the other influences to which it might be exposed? The basin of the Atlantic is a long trough or groove, extending nearly from pole to pole. Its lowest bottom is *nine miles* beneath the highest peak of the Andes, and is very irregular and rugged. Sharp peaks and crested ridges with precipitous flanks give it an alpine character; and were a cable to be laid upon such a bottom, it would, in some places, be suspended upon lofty pointed peaks, and, in others, would be bent up and down 'in zig-zag depths;' and elsewhere it would hang from precipitous walls thousands of feet high under a constant strain from its own enormous weight. Although this is the general character of the basin of the Atlantic, yet the officers of the United States' navy, in their submarine survey by a new sounding apparatus, discovered a platform or steppe, separating the Atlantic from the Northern Ocean, and peculiarly fitted for the reception of an electric cable. This steppe, which Lieut. Maury, by a sagacious anticipation, called *The Telegraphic Plateau*, is hardly 12,000 feet deep (a little more than two miles), and extends continuously, with a width of 400 miles, from Cape Clear in Ireland to Cape Race in Newfoundland. This line is the shortest distance between the Old World and the New, and the only one over which a cable could be safely carried and permanently maintained. 'Newfoundland is stretched forth as the hand of the New World to meet the grasp of the British Isles, which are extended as the hand of the Old World.' Between these hands Providence has placed a level highway, which the anchors of ships cannot graze, nor the eddying currents of the ocean disturb;* and wisely designed 'that

* It is a remarkable circumstance that the Atlantic steppe is not covered with a deposit of sand, but by a layer of delicate shells, proving that 'the depths are there calm and undisturbed; and that if a telegraph cable were once lodged upon this impalpable deposit it would soon be entirely covered over by fresh settlings, even if it did not at once sink into it by the mere influence of weight.' The little dead siliceous monads which compose this deposit agglutinate themselves round masses of metal; and it is believed that a submarine cable, deposited in this

the Old World and the New, severed at first by a great gulf, shall be re-connected by electrical sympathies and bonds.'

The formidable difficulty of crossing the Atlantic being thus removed, the Colonial Government of Newfoundland undertook the grand enterprise of establishing a telegraphic communication between the Old and New World. In April, 1854, they passed an Act incorporating a Company for that purpose; and aided by a grant of lands and money from the colony, the Company immersed 13 miles of cable in the straits of Northumberland, and 85 miles in the waters of the St. Lawrence, preparatory to the grander enterprise of crossing the Atlantic itself.*

Our limits will not permit us to continue the history of this gigantic undertaking. It may be sufficient for our present purpose to state, that after Mr. Whitehouse, the electrician, and Mr. Bright, the engineer of the Newfoundland Company, had ascertained, by elaborate experiments, that there was no scientific difficulty to be apprehended in telegraphing across the Atlantic, and had actually transmitted signals through 2,000 miles of wire, the Newfoundland Company sent their Vice-President, Mr. Cyrus Field, to England, to make such arrangements as were necessary to carry through the great enterprise which they had undertaken. The result of this visit was the establishment of *The Atlantic Telegraph Company*, consisting of the holders of 350 shares of 1,000*l.* each. Mr. Bright and Mr. Whitehouse became the engineers of the Company, and a distinguished Professor, Mr. William Thomson, of Glasgow, was wisely associated with them as a director. The prospectus of this adventurous Company—a body of men that had faith in science—was issued in November, 1856, and in less than a month the whole capital was subscribed. The

cemetery of the *Dictomeceæ*, will in a few years be 'built in by a flinty pavement which no trifling force could penetrate, and that it will become an integral and permanent part of the ocean bed.'

* It has been stated, in a letter in the 'Times,' that in 1852 Mr. Frederick Newton Gisborne, a young English engineer, abandoned a lucrative appointment in order to lay before the Government of Newfoundland certain plans for connecting Europe with America by means of an electric telegraph. Approving of the proposal, the Government furnished him with the means of making the necessary survey, and in the autumn of the same year Mr. Gisborne started with six assistants to survey the 400 miles of wilderness west of St. John's, over which the telegraph was to pass that connects the Atlantic cable with Canada and the United States. Each of the party carried on his back 70 lbs. weight, including clothing, axes, surveying instruments, and 20 lbs. of biscuit; the rest of their food depending on their rifles. Among the swamps, lakes, rivers, and woods which cover the country, they were exposed to such hardships and suffering that four of the assistants, worn out with hunger, fatigue, and exposure, were obliged to return home. Of the other two who remained with Mr. Gisborne till the completion of the survey, one survived only a few days, and the other has never been able to follow any occupation. After finishing the survey, Mr. Gisborne is said to have projected two companies to carry out his plans, but that financial difficulties compelled him to abandon to others the great scheme of carrying a telegraph across the Atlantic.

Governments

Governments of Great Britain and the United States 'engaged by a contract of twenty-five years' duration to pay to the Company, up to the time when its dividend shall have reached 6 per cent., a subsidy of 14,000*l.* a year, and of 10,000*l.* a year subsequently,' and to furnish ships for laying down the cable. Our readers already know that the cable has, after one failure, been laid by the 'Agamemnon' and the 'Niagara;' and that messages have been already telegraphed across the Atlantic, between the western terminus in the mid-entrance of Trinity Bay and the mid-entrance of Valentia Harbour, in Ireland, a distance of 1,831 miles. We congratulate our readers—we congratulate the world—on the success of this magnificent undertaking, this glorious triumph of theoretical and practical science.

In the early projects for submarine telegraphs, the English Government, true to its Bœotian instincts, refused to take an interest. When the Messrs. Brett, who originally projected these instruments of civilisation, offered to lay down wires across the Irish Channel for 20,000*l.*, and to give the free use of them to the State, this boon to Ireland and to England was peremptorily refused. Thus baffled in carrying out a purely British undertaking, these enterprising engineers addressed their scheme of crossing the English Channel to the French government. An exclusive privilege was instantly and unconditionally conceded, and Great Britain gave her tardy concurrence on the condition of paying nothing, and taking the use of the cable! The parsimony of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose feelings and intelligence are tied up in his money-bags, may be some excuse for the meanness of the Government of which he is the organ; but no apology can be offered for the illiberality of the heads of successive administrations, in withholding from the scientific benefactors of their country the cheap rewards of which they are the dispensers — those laurels which they gather for their underlings, and plait for themselves. England and the United States have, to some extent, assisted the Atlantic Telegraph Company. It remains to be seen how they will treat the distinguished individuals by whose genius and perseverance the Atlantic cable has been invented and deposited. Had the Queen of England, in her message to the President of the United States, reciprocated his noble sentiment, that 'the Atlantic Telegraph was a triumph more glorious, because far more useful to mankind, than was ever won by a conqueror on the field of battle,'* we might have hoped that civil and military merit would

* This sentiment, so little in unison with English feelings, is, we are glad to say, adopted by the '*Times*,' August 23rd, 1858, and as strongly expressed by Lord Eglinton in his speech at Killarney.

In speaking of the great excitement and public rejoicings in the United States on the completion of the Atlantic Telegraph, another, or perhaps the same writer be

be at least equally recognised by her Government; and that the men 'by whose skill, science, and indomitable energy the great national enterprise had been accomplished, and religion, civilisation, liberty, and law diffused throughout the world,'* would receive some special honour from the two great Anglo-Saxon nations between whom they have placed the calumet of peace.

Among the great inventions of the age, that of Locomotion by Railways stands pre-eminent,—a gift to civilisation,—a gift to nations, and a gift to the humblest individual of the human family. By the enterprise and wealth of English companies, the railway system has been developed in this country to an extent unknown in any other part of the world. Three or four hundred millions of money have been embarked in it. The rich man contributed his superfluous wealth, the poor man the pittance of his honest industry, and the gambler the shadow of his name. In 1845 and 1846, thousands of miles of new lines were sanctioned, which the companies had not the means of executing. In the prospect of high premiums and enormous dividends speculation ran riot. Shares in impossible lines were sold at extravagant prices; and the nation became an unlicensed gaming-house till a general panic brought the public to reason, and involved in one common ruin thousands of its victims.

Had the railway system been properly developed, it would have speedily triumphed over this paroxysm of speculation; but the mode of sanctioning new lines adopted by the Government gave a blow to it from which it never can recover. In place of appointing a board of eminent men to visit the localities of new and competing lines, and decide, upon their personal responsibility, without the expense and embarrassment of counsel, those great questions which were at stake, they intrusted this delicate and difficult function to Parliamentary Committees, subject to personal, local, and even political influences. In the parliamentary contests which ensued, bands of lawyers were marshalled against each other, and no less than *ten millions* of the money of impoverished shareholders were thus spent in the short space of three years.† Decisions were pronounced, unjust in themselves, and ruinous even to the successful parties. Lines were granted which injured by competition more important under-

in the '*Times*,' makes the following just observations: 'We may already learn a lesson from our American brethren in their *prompt recognition of national service*. The expedition from which the "Agamemnon" has successfully returned *was, at least, as important and as heroic as any of those which, in old times, brought down the acknowledgments of royal visits, knighthoods, promotions, and gratuities.*'—'*Times*,' August 26th, 1858. See Note on p. 240.

* President Buchanan's Message.

† This took place in 1845, 1846, and 1847. We leave the reader to calculate how much this sum must have increased in the *eleven* years which have since elapsed.

takings;

takings; and such has been the result of this wanton and unwise legislation, that very few of our railways yield a remunerative dividend, and some of the most important lines do not pay a single farthing to their original shareholders.*

But it is not merely through Committees of Parliament that railway companies have been ruined. The Government, in its direct interference, has sometimes imposed upon railways the most perilous conditions. When the line from Crewe to Chester was completed, it was the duty of the state to construct a line to Holyhead to complete the communication between London and Dublin, but they left it to the Chester and Holyhead Company, who executed it to their ruin. They were not permitted to erect bridges at Bangor and Conway, that would have cost only 300,000*l.*, and they were thus compelled to expend 750,000*l.* on tubular bridges. The Government at first wrested from the Company 200,000*l.* as a contribution to the Harbour of Refuge at Holyhead; but they were afterwards obliged to resile from the extortion.† This unfortunate Company lost 47,000*l.* in parliamentary and law expenses, and paid to voracious landholders 124,000*l.* beyond the estimated value of the land! The idea of an oppressed and impoverished company does not at first excite our sympathy. We forget the ill-fated individuals that compose it;—the men of property driven from their estates,—the men of wealth reduced to poverty,—the men of professional industry lowered in the social scale,—the widows and orphans thrown upon their neighbours' charity, or consigned to the tender mercies of the workhouse. Such is the English system of carrying on great undertakings. Our fathers have told us that 'England expects every man to do his duty;' but history has written the fatal counterpart on the wall, that 'no man expects England to do hers!'

When we study the railway system as it exists in England, and admire the magnificent public works which it has created—its bridges—its viaducts—its tunnels—its terminal palaces—its work-

* These views have been illustrated within the last few months in the contest between the North British and Caledonian Companies relative to the Liddesdale and Langholm lines. After an expensive contest, the Committee of the House of Commons decided in favour of the Langholm line. The Committee of the House of Lords immediately threw out the Langholm Bill, so that a second ruinous struggle must be carried on in the approaching session. Under a 'Council of Roads and Bridges,' such as that which exists in France, results like this would have been impossible. Our limited space has not allowed us to notice the taxes and local rates imposed upon railway property, nor the enormous sums extorted by the unchecked rapacity of landholders, nor the gratuitous services which the state has so unjustly reserved for itself. But for these exactions, and the law expenses already mentioned, our railways would have been remunerating and prosperous.

† A writer in the 'Quarterly Review' characterises the terms imposed upon this Company as *excruciating*. The contribution to the Harbour of Refuge was remitted by the authority of an Act of Parliament!

shops—

shops—and its cemeteries covered with the fragments of its shattered machinery, we are prepared to estimate the amount of theoretical and practical science which it has evoked. It is fortunate for our national reputation that no philosopher or engineer can lay claim to be the inventor of the railway, or its first promoter in England, for we should have found him a poor and unhonoured individual. We have Stephenson, however, and Fairbairn, and Brunel, and a phalanx of eminent men who have devoted their lives to the perfection of our railways, and who deserve every honour that the country can bestow. Foreign Governments have recognised their merit, and conferred honours on several of our philosophers and engineers; but we look in vain for their distinguished names in those lists of distinctions and decorations which the Sovereign of England professes to confer on the wisest as well as on the bravest of her subjects.

Among the other great practical inventions which science has bequeathed to society, we may enumerate the application of carburetted hydrogen gas to the illumination of our streets and dwellings; to the new art of photography and stereoscopic relief; to the electrotype and its application to the photo-galvanographic process of Mr. Pretsch; to the application of chemistry to agriculture; to the employment of chloroform in surgery; and to the electric light, though still in its infancy.

Although the Rev. Mr. Clayton, more than a century ago, obtained gas from coal, and burned it when made to issue from a small aperture in bladders, yet Mr. Murdoch was the first person who actually applied it as a substitute for lamps and candles. In 1804-5, he lighted up with gas the large cotton-mills of Messrs. Phillip and Son, of Manchester, and not long after this the writer of this article saw it in a glass chandelier in the drawing-room of Mr. Phillip. Mr. Winsor had the merit of introducing it into London, and of impressing upon the public the great value of the discovery, and various ingenious individuals have rendered it now safe and economical. When we consider that we obtain as much light from coal gas for three shillings as we do from tallow for twenty-five shillings, and as we do from wax for a hundred shillings, we may form an estimate of the immense sum annually saved to the nation by its use. In our great manufacturing establishments, and in the cottages of the poor, it has proved equally valuable. In large towns it has been a security against the perpetration of nocturnal crimes; and it has afforded to the humble artisan the means of carrying on his profession during the night as conveniently as during the full light of day. Mr. Clayton, Mr. Murdoch, and Mr. Winsor lived and died, unrewarded and unhonoured.

The art of photography, which has now such numerous and valuable

valuable applications, we owe to Mr. Fox Talbot and MM. Niepce and Daguerre. We all know its value in portraiture and in landscape delineation, and its vast importance as an auxiliary to art; but we seldom think of its great national value. We do not allude to its employment in the discovery of criminals, and many other matters in which the State has an interest, but to the thousands of individuals to whom it has given employment, and to its large contributions to the national income. We have no means of ascertaining the number of persons in England whom it professionally employs; but we may form a rude estimate from the fact that above *fifteen thousand* persons are engaged in Paris in the manufacture of lenticular stereoscopes and binocular pictures. In nations with an increasing population every invention, however small, has a national value, employing idle hands and taxed materials; and foreign statesmen have been liberal in encouraging and rewarding them. France gave an annual pension of 833*l.* to the inventors of the Daguerreotype, and made the art a present to the nation, and even to the world. The more important invention of Mr. Fox Talbot was never acknowledged by the State, and we are ashamed to say, that, by an unjust decision, an English judge and jury deprived him of his patent right.

Our allotted space will not allow us to dwell upon the Electrotype, an English invention, and one of the most elegant and valuable of the useful arts. It has received an unlooked-for application in the photo-galvanographic process of Mr. Paul Pretsch, in which he obtains, from a photographic impression in gelatine, a gutta-percha cast, upon which, when metallised, he deposits galvanically a plate of copper, from which thousands of impressions may be taken. For the same reason we can only mention the great improvements which agriculture has received from the discoveries of Liebig and the labours of Dr. Lyon Playfair; the noble application of chloroform in surgery and midwifery, which we owe to Professor Simpson; and the electric light, which we have no doubt will, for certain kinds of illumination, be universally employed.

Such is a brief, and, we trust, not an exaggerated view of the social condition and claims of science. That some reform is necessary, and must sooner or later be made, can hardly be doubted. Men of science and inventive genius are but little fitted to influence the public mind, and still less to take the legislature by storm.* The Parliamentary Committee of Lord Wrot-

* Mr. Grove, himself an eminent discoverer, very justly remarks, 'that scientific men have but very limited means of acting upon Government. They are politicians in a less degree than any class of her Majesty's subjects. They consist of men belonging to various classes of society, and whose ordinary occupations differ greatly. Most of the great measures of reform in progress which

tesley

[illegible] has fully failed from its too gentle appeal to the State. [illegible] the minister has the title of the philosophe, and [illegible] he can be chafed into sensa[illegible] Press of England alone, with its [illegible] power and [illegible] can impress the national mind [illegible] the liberality [illegible] We invite it to the [illegible] its title to [illegible] The 'Times' has already pro[illegible] and the 'Examiner' has been equally bold in denounc[illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] of the state.

In the preceding pages we have attempted to enumerate some of the most important services which science has rendered to the State. In times of peace we have hesitated to speak of its great value in offensive and defensive war. It is science, however, which teaches the [illegible] to discharge its fatal elements: which speeds the [illegible] on its [illegible] mission: and which guides the [illegible] on the [illegible] of life. It is science which constructs and [illegible] our fleets and [illegible]: which places its lanthorns beside the Syrtes and Quicksands of the deep: and which teaches us to [illegible] and elude the hurricane and the storm. Disastrous campaigns [illegible] but [illegible] in our councils and science in our fleets and armies: and if England shall be compelled again to send her brave legions to a distant battlefield, or even to defend her [illegible] against foreign invasion, she must enlist in her service, and dignify with her honours, the theoretical and practical skill of the philosopher and the engineer. But it is on grounds higher than utilitarian that we would plead for the national endowment of science. The name of England, the interests of civilisation, and equal justice to every class of the nation's servants demand it from the State. Even when science had few useful applications, the sage occupied a higher place than the hero and the lawgiver: and History has preserved his name when theirs have disappeared from its page. Archimedes lives in the memory of mankind who have forgotten the tyrants of Syracuse, and the Roman consul who subdued it: and Newton's glory will throw a lustre over the name of England when time has paled the light reflected from her warriors. The renown of military achievements appeals but to the country which they benefit and adorn: it lives but in the [illegible] of granite: it illuminates but the vernacular page. Subjugated nations turn from the monument that

---

have been effected in this country result from a strong pressure of public opinion, urged on by agitation: and as much of science has pecuniary interest for this [illegible] Government must not [illegible] easily be asked to step out of its usual [illegible] and [illegible] a helping hand."—Report of Parliamentary Committee, [illegible].

* See page [illegible].

degrades

degrades them, and the vanquished warrior spurns the record of his humiliation or his shame. Even the traveller makes a deduction from military glory when he surveys the red track of war; and the tears of the widow and the orphan obliterate the inscription that is written in blood. How different are our associations with the tablet of marble which emblazons the deeds of the philanthropist and the sage! No trophies of war are hung in their temple. The cry of suffering humanity never mingles with their anthem; and ignorance and crime are alone yoked to their triumphal car.

But if the statesman be insensible to his country's fame, and to the interests of humanity, he is bound, by a sense of justice, to place the genius of knowledge on the same level with that of legislation and war. If the inventor adds to the national resources, strengthens the national defences, and saves the national life, is he not entitled to the same protection as he who speaks or fights in the nation's cause? If the minister sensitively appreciates in military adventure a higher risk of life, and a nobler self-devotion, may we not urge an equal claim in behalf of the philosopher? Are there no personal risks in his acts of voluntary service? Has science no strongholds to storm—no nightly bivouac to endure—no casualties in her bills of mortality? Do her rank and file exhibit no emaciated frames—no overwrought and distracted minds—no scanty commissariat—no widows and orphans? Believing that in the lifelong campaign in which the philosopher has to serve, there are more acts of self-devotion than in the soldier's briefer service, we make our final appeal to the legislature—to some commoner within its halls—some Burke or Sheridan to plead with burning eloquence the cause of the order they adorn, —to some senator whose industry or talents have raised him to the peerage, to demand for his fellows a portion of that which he has himself obtained. If our legislators are silent, we appeal to that illustrious prince, who, from his love of science, and acquaintance with foreign institutions, cannot fail to believe that England will never do justice to her benefactors, nor take her due place among civilised nations, till she has endowed a National Institute with its three Academies of Science, Literature, and the Arts.

ART. V.—1. *Essay on the means of eradicating the prejudices of the Whites against the Negroes and Coloured People—to which a prize was adjudged by the French Society for abolishing Slavery.* By S. Linstant (of Haiti). Paris. 8vo. 1841.

2. *Collection of the Laws and Proceedings of the Government of Haiti, from the Declaration of its Independence to the present day.*

day. Made and published by S. Linstant (of Haiti), Member of the Imperial Bar at Port au Prince, and of the Chamber of Representatives. Formerly Secretary to the Minister of Justice, of Public Instruction, and of Worship. Vol. I. 1804-1808. Paris. 8vo. 1851. Pp. 319.

3. *Essay upon Emigration to Haiti.* By M. Linstant. Paris. 8vo. 1850.
4. *Translation of the Prize Essay against the Prejudices of Colour.* By Baron Linstant de Pradine, Chargé d'Affaires from the Emperor of Haiti to the Court of London. London. 8vo. 1858.

EVERY question concerning Africa and its people is rapidly assuming a new character; and the various zealous labours of the last half-century in favour of its civilisation are producing their fruit in our perfect comprehension of the means proper to promote its welfare and improvement.

Speculation upon the capacity of the negro, and upon the resources of his country, has become conviction; and ere long the great nations of the civilised world will deal with him as they deal with each other, and as they are bound to deal with every nation and tribe upon earth, *according to settled rules of international law and justice.* This enlarges the sphere of African relations with the rest of mankind by making the negro what he really is, a common member of the great family of man; and it narrows the sphere of our agency towards him by bringing it within the acknowledged rules of duty from all men to their fellows. This position of the question gets rid of much difficulty, and, above all, sets aside the absurd and insolent imputation, often brought by shallow pretenders to enlightened views of things, that *philanthropy* is only the 'maundering sentimentality of weak people;' and it elevates that glorious work of Christianity to what it is justly to be termed—a work of true statesmanship. Therefore in examining the present prospects of the negro race, and their real genius or capabilities, it will be indispensable chiefly to ascertain what is doing at this moment in regard to that race by the civilised states most extensively connected with them, and especially what our own Government and people are doing in respect to that connection.

After more than two hundred years' use of the slave trade, we gave it up; and the emancipation of our colonial slaves—a fit accompaniment of the first measure—slowly followed. The analogous claims of free colonial tribes of our fellow-creatures upon our justice had never been entirely neglected; and seeing that we have been able to moderate the sufferings of enslaved Africans beyond sea, the time assuredly is come thoroughly to respect their rights

rights at home, and to determine how the due appreciation of their moral and political capabilities shall raise them high in the scale of humanity. The end is worthy of all the means at the command of reasonable men who, in their past philanthropic successes, can find encouragement towards greater efforts, and who will thus be prompted to resume with vigour the duty of protecting the oppressed when new occasions arise for the revival of our old regard for them. Hence the general and strong sympathy in the recent African discoveries of Livingstone and Barth, although, with all their merit, their works are but lively repetitions of those of our Mungo Parks and Clappertons, and of the other famous men of a former generation.

But the present revival of our old interests in Africa is in all respects opportune. A careful and candid review of the history of the negro race during the last thirty or forty years completely removes the veil that has covered that continent for ages in impenetrable mystery; and a vast field is opened for the application of the best means recommended by experience for securing our just and benevolent objects.

By the negro race is here meant coloured men in Africa, and of African origin, of all hues and configurations, from the tribes of Sennaar in the east, and of Senegal in the west, to the central Kroomen and Ashantees and Mozambiques—from the people of the Niger to those of the Congo and Zambese, to the Bechuanas, the Zoolas, the Basootus, the Cape Caffres, and the Hottentots of the extreme south. To all these must be added the coloured people of Madagascar and of the other African islands, with the descendants of Africans in North and South America and the West Indies. Various in their languages, their features, and the shades of their skins, they offer plain common characteristics. They are all exposed to the same unreasonable prejudice of colour, and have all been treated with the same measure of gross injustice whenever the whites have come into contact with them as slave-dealers, slave-owners, or unscrupulous, intruding colonists. Nor are any of them without links of natural union with well-disposed white men, recent positive facts showing that, when dealt with equitably and wisely, all these Africans are alike willing and able to make us suitable returns for every social benefit imparted to them. It is not pretended that they are free from human vices belonging to their rude condition; but every form of progress has demonstrated their capacity for the highest civilisation. The philanthropist and the missionary have ever found them docile. Science has long since opened the way to their teeming millions, who receive our travellers with confiding welcome. They themselves also offer abundantly that indication of capability of improvement—the love of travel. At the same time, legitimate trade

trade gives us boundless products of their eager industry. Regions in Africa, once held to be barren sands, are found as rich for culture as they are populous; and where geographers used to place 'elephants instead of towns,' we now see millions of well-tended sheep to supply the looms of Yorkshire with the finest wool. The sugar-cane and cotton-plant too, which two centuries ago were sacrificed in Africa, to favour monopoly supported by her enslaved sons in Brazil,* are now brought back with advantage to the native sons of emancipated men.

Nor has the African, when escaped from slavery beyond sea, been slow in his progress. Nobly independent in Haiti, in defiance of the resistance of France, and despite of the demoralising effects of former enslavement, African patriots have there become intelligent statesmen and enlightened members of the great commonwealth of nations. The writings of one of these statesmen, of which the titles are at the head of this paper, are acceptable contributions to our own intellectual productions; and their author, the Baron de Pradine, is thus not only the worthy representative of Haiti at the court of a British queen, but also the advocate of Africa before the intelligent Christian world.

This last circumstance happily illustrates a novel scene in the grand drama of civilisation, which in Africa, in common with other lands, now more than at any former period of our intercourse with that continent, depends upon the measures of statesmen for its advancement. Such an unquestionable fact gives a special value to M. de Pradine's writings published at the time that the African race is taking its proper station erect among us, and so, as he justly urges his people to do, by their own energies fulfilling the expectations confidently formed of them by their earlier friends. What such well-grounded expectations were, was pointedly stated sixty-six years ago by Mr. Pitt, who when prime minister declared his persuasion that the barbarous Africans, if allowed 'the common means with which other nations had been blessed, would emerge from their barbarism.'

Some persons then insisted that incurable savageness was the doom of Africa; but Mr. Pitt, in perhaps the most brilliant display of parliamentary eloquence that ever graced the cause of philanthropy, showed, with logic as powerful as his eloquence was feeling, that like our own British forefathers—once carried slaves to Rome, and sunk in deep social degradation, but by slow progression at length renowned in all the acquirements of civilised life—the swarthy sons of Africa would, 'under the guidance of a

* It is upwards of thirty years since a Portuguese minister, the Marquis Sa Bandeira, pointed out the fact of prosperous plantations in Congo being destroyed in order to secure a more profitable market in Lisbon for the American colonists!

beneficent

beneficent religion, and the protection of just laws, gradually attain equal improvement.'*

Mr. Pitt's sagacity is well approved by the rise of the negro independent state of Haiti, in the West Indies, over prodigious difficulties opposed to it by France, and by every other civilised nation interested in negro slavery; and along with these difficulties, over the corrupt influences of slavery upon the people themselves. Notwithstanding these great obstacles, the coloured Haitians have achieved a triumph equal to those of the patriots of Switzerland, of Holland, and of the United States of North America. They are now, too, besides the warriors who won their victories, producing statesmen capable of organising a community, and writers to adorn and defend their cause.

Among the last, the Haitian minister at our court holds a pre-eminent place; and during eighteen years he has maintained it with vigour and complete success. The first of the Baron de Pradine's works was a prize essay upon the best means of extinguishing the prejudice of colour. The subject was the fittest for such an athlete; and he demonstrated, in the competition, his own worthiness by carrying off the prize from several French competitors of no mean pretensions. Of the eleven who contended for that prize, it deserves to be noted that two others were Africans, to whom the second and third places of honour were awarded. The names of Lamartine and Carnot, among the judges of this intellectual contest, are guarantees of the unsuspected fairness of the decision. M. de Pradine, after filling a weighty office in his own country, has produced two other works of merit —an essay on emigration to Haiti, and a collection of the laws of Haiti.

Injustice long suffered from the white planters naturally raised feelings of hatred and alienation among the negroes, which they indulged after the actual conflicts, by prohibiting the settlement of white people among them as citizens. M. de Pradine, on the contrary, in his essay on emigration, now warmly advocates the suppression of *the black man's* prejudice against us, and recommends the union of races, in order to the elevation of his own people, and for the general good.

'What have we in common with the homicides of France?' asked ferociously the earlier avengers of negro suffering in Haiti, after they had won its independence. 'Their cruelty opposed to our enduring moderation; their colour so different from ours; the expanse of the seas between us; our climate so fatal to them; —all this warns us never to look upon Frenchmen as our friends.' Such is the language of the black chief, Dessalines, to

* Mr. Pitt's speech in the House of Commons on the 2nd of April,

Haitian people half a century ago.'* Having learned [a better lesson from the philosophy of Europe, and from experience, M. de Pradine maintains that all men are brothers; and from that principle he logically deduces consequences in favour of universal amity, from which his countrymen above all may reap countless benefits.

To this end, M. de Pradine extends the subject of *African* civilisation to its legitimate limits as belonging to the world-wide question, so long and so bitterly debated between the more and the less advanced members of the human family—a question really dependent, not upon colour, but upon the far more ancient occasion of dispute among men, namely, the overbearing pretensions of the stronger to rule the weaker, the insolent claims of wrong over right, which heathen poets denounced, and all religions reprove.

M. de Pradine's more important work is the 'Collection of the Laws and State Acts of Haiti,' in which he offers an historical tribute to its heroic founders, and, at the same time, exhibits his countrymen in the performance of the most difficult of human works—resistance to misrule, and the construction of good laws. Knowing well that the merit of being capable members of civilised society can only be properly claimed for his race by fair evidences of their superiority to the humbler victims of former wrong, he elaborately displays their powers as evinced by black lawgivers and coloured administrators. The result is no less to the credit of his own capacity, than it is demonstrative of the talents of the heroes who brought Haiti safely through its arduous trials.

Other valuable books of recent dates, by coloured Haitians, furnish new proofs of the validity of their title to our respect. M. Saint-Remy has published several works upon the more interesting periods of Haitian history, and is now completing an elaborate historical biography entitled 'Petion et Haiti.'

In reading the earnest, eloquent pages of M. Saint-Remy, we see sufficient proofs of the identity of his race with our own. The same ambition and jealousies, and too often the same corruptions which disgrace us, harass and disgrace the Haitians. But individual heroisms, of which we are justly proud, do them also honour; and the people, so often misled, as among ourselves, for the most part take a correct view of things, because, in Haiti as here, the people must be disinterested.

To the writings of M. Saint-Remy must be added the voluminous works of M. Ardouin, also of Haiti, entitled 'Studies upon the History of Haiti.' And at this early period of its annals to have produced three authors so eminent as M. de Pradine, M. Ardouin, and M. Saint-Remy constitutes an irre-

* 'Collection of the Laws of Haiti,' by M. de Pradine, p. 3.

sistible

sistible claim to our respect, and justifies the strongest hopes of what may come hereafter from the general cultivation of the African mind. Nor is it less to the honour of France to have produced a community of negroes and coloured men capable of establishing an independent state like Haiti, and, so soon after its establishment, writers like these to grace its literature.

On the last point, M. de Pradine insists with force, that the brilliant world of the tropics, with its marvels of nature, must of necessity give a new career of letters, and new forms in the fine arts to the world, whenever the millions of men, at present uncultured, shall enjoy the advantage of civilisation.*

But deeply as sincere Christians must sympathise with the seven or eight millions of Africans beyond the Atlantic, we turn to the shores of all Africa with still deeper concern.

It is, however, in that south, with frontiers of a thousand miles towards the interior from our colonies of the Cape and Natal, that a wise philanthropy might promote African improvement without calculated limits. It is here, nevertheless, that misrule during the last twenty years has done its worst to turn good into evil, to the cruel oppression of the native tribes, and to our own enormous cost in life and treasure. Here we have made great wars, one after another, upon those tribes without any justifiable grounds, and sacrificed the finest hopes of humanity both in simple ignorance of its claims and by the influence of false principles of policy. The whole case of South Africa is, indeed, full of instruction; and it is still possible that the disasters at this moment threatening its tribes and ourselves may be averted by the British Government retracing the ill-advised steps and staying the proceedings it has blindly permitted during the last twenty years and is now sanctioning in South Africa.

The case of the Caffre frontier of the Cape is altogether worthy to be set forth thoroughly, and without respect of persons, seeing that the climax of calamity is here reached in a quarter which, with common care, would have become an example of social improvement to the whole south; whilst if our present deliberate aggressions upon the natives be not peremptorily stopped, those aggressions must be the precursors of incalculable misery from that frontier to far beyond the southern tropic. The case is the more urgent as there is plainly a design in powerful quarters at home, and at the Cape, to destroy the best elements of African civilisation by crushing its proper native agents, the well-disposed chiefs of the tribes, to seize their lands, and use their people as our servants.

* We have much pleasure in adding another name to the above list, viz., that of M. Machon, a talented young African, author of the only complete 'History of Haiti.'

A brief narrative of unquestionable facts will set this grave charge in a clear light, and show how the civilisation of Africa is impeded by measures which ministers have unscrupulously approved through their habitual delegation of authority to unchecked subordinates, and which parliament has sanctioned in culpable disregard of its duty.

South Africa came under British rule at a period of zealous efforts to promote the good of the African race. In 1806, the year of the abolition of the slave-trade, the Cape colony was retaken by us, with a resolution to retain it at the general peace. But under such ill guidance the colonists, Dutch and English born, followed their own devices in regard to the native tribes. Consequently frequent and violent collisions, with breaches of good understanding on both sides, which a system of humane policy, recommended by impartial men, must have prevented, formed the ordinary condition of the Caffre frontier prior to 1833.

General indignation was excited at this by unceasing appeals of writers of all classes — travellers, poets, and philanthropists — against our aggressions on that frontier; whilst the colonists themselves were in a state of extreme irritation on account of the vacillation of the Government on the subject. At the same time the public at large, relieved by the emancipation of our colonial slaves, turned with less divided zeal to this old field of philanthropy. It was an era of great promised reforms; and a powerful call in support of those appeals was made upon parliament by the late Sir Fowell Buxton, who easily obtained a committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the whole subject of the relations of all our colonial aborigines with us. The natives of Africa, and especially those of the south, were prominent objects of this great inquest. The Secretary of State for the Colonies had already, in something like alarm at the growing storm of dissatisfaction, sought counsel from afar to meet it by a better administration at the Cape. Scandalous nepotism there had driven the very ablest functionary of the colony, the present Sir Andries Stockenström, into retirement; and in 1834 he was in Sweden. Thither, accordingly, inquiries were sent for his opinion how to calm the difficulties upon all the Cape frontiers—not only towards Caffreland, but also beyond the Orange River to the north-east. The Boers, or Dutch colonists, were breaking bounds in one quarter; in another the English settlers of 1820 pressed upon the Caffres; and an enterprising party of English and Dutch had formed an outlying post at Natal, where they urged the Government to plant a colony in a most suitable spot upon an improved principle of settlement. Sir Andries Stockenström gave the soundest possible advice upon this occasion, setting forth the advantages of the Government taking the *lead* of the enterprising whites, so as to guide their advance, and

and to prevent the wrongs upon the natives, so often the precursors of bloodshed in the like circumstances. The careless reception of this wise advice by the Secretary of State was shown in a curious misprint of the despatch containing it. Instead of the proper words, 'taking the *lead*,' which sufficiently expressed the meaning of the writer, being correctly given in the Blue Book, the passage was turned into 'take the *land*!' the very thing which is the main cause of mischief and disaster, and which Sir Andries Stockenström certainly did not recommend.

Events, however, did not halt whilst the careless Colonial Minister blundered. Sir F. Buxton's committee sat year after year, collecting vast stores of good information, more especially upon South Africa. Sir A. Stockenström was the chief witness before it; and his clear, eloquent account of the mischievous system in force upon the whole Cape frontier made a deep impression. There appeared also before the committee native South Africans, whose genuine tales exhibited at once their own worth, and the worthlessness of our administration of Cape affairs in the interior. Nor did any one of the parties locally interested in those affairs hesitate to ask for a radical change in the *system* then in force upon the Caffre frontier. Discontent was general, with no small apprehension of coming disasters.

When, therefore, pending that parliamentary committee's sitting, news arrived of a great Caffre war having broken out, none were surprised; and a thorough reform was quickly adopted for the government of the Caffre frontier. A new minister, Lord Glenelg, was become Colonial Secretary; and the restoration of Caffreland, which the Cape Governor had conquered, advised by his lordship, substantially proved that a better principle prevailed for the time in the Colonial Office. If a vote had then been taken in parliament upon the subject, the advocates of that better principle would have triumphed. The appointment of Sir Andries Stockenström as lieutenant-governor of the Cape, to carry out the act of justice resolved upon, gave much satisfaction. A still stronger guarantee of justice, and of its sure accompaniment, African improvement, was afforded by our then making TREATIES with the Caffres for a more cautious frontier police, by which the influence of their chiefs was enlisted in favour of our border colonists and of our traders. By the same treaties the rights of the Caffres were more respected than heretofore, and a more friendly intercourse maintained between their chiefs and our authorities.

This was really the beginning of a new era of African policy, calculated to elevate barbarous neighbours at the same time that it protected our own people. It so completely succeeded that it stopped another furious Caffre war universally declared to be imminent; and whilst it conciliated the natives, and satisfied their

friends the philanthropists, it was cordially accepted by the border colonists, excepting only individuals directly interested in a war expenditure, and the too numerous persons in the colony who had eagerly speculated upon sharing the lands of the conquered Caffres.

The form of this new system established in 1836-37 upon the frontier was what in Cape history are called the *Stockenström* treaties, from the above-named Sir Andries Stockenström, who from early youth had been employed in the civil and military service of the colony. This appointment was an homage done to the principle, so much discussed of late, of intrusting the nation's administration to its best men; but which, so far from being a novelty, has descended to us from the ancients in the proverbial injunction of Alexander—*Detur digniori.* Its observance is expressly directed by the statute of 12 Richard II., enacted five centuries ago. It is a principle more especially important in the relations of a civilised, powerful state like ours with barbarous tribes; and the philanthropists of 1836 deserve no small credit for having insisted upon it as they did at that time, and for having so readily found the fit man to carry out their admirable designs for South Africa.

Why, then, was this golden rule of the constitution broken in the Colonial Office by the speedy removal of Sir Andries Stockenström from his well-filled post?—and why were those admirable designs so soon afterwards set at nought by that office?

The reply to these questions involves matter of the greatest moment to our character, and it meets all the difficulties of African progress. *Treaties* with barbarous people are as old as the most ancient records of history. At the Cape, they had long been made with the Caffres, and they are, beyond all doubt, one of the first steps towards the civilisation of such a people. William Penn's *treaty* with the American Indians, and the unvarying respect of its conditions by his representatives and the Society of Friends, are just titles to the respect in which he and they are held by the whole civilised world. But exactly as treaties form guarantees in favour of the tribes, they impose restraints upon colonists who look with covetous eyes upon the lands of the natives so protected. These men, therefore, dislike treaties with the tribes, which are also disliked by a body among us at home, who hold it to be the will of Providence that civilised colonists should necessarily destroy the barbarians, their neighbours. Some of our ministers were of this opinion when Lord Glenelg proposed his just measures respecting the Caffre frontier to the cabinet. A warm debate arose there on the subject; and it was with no small difficulty that a majority was prevailed upon

to

to adopt the right course already approved in a committee of the House of Commons.

This difference of opinion in the cabinet upon so capital a point partook as much of the character of an intrigue, as of an error in judgment; and it soon had a fatal result with respect to Sir Andries Stockenström's proceedings, notwithstanding their complete success. Local opposition, equally the work of intriguers, was got up against Sir Andries and his measures. He consequently was removed, and those measures were paralysed.

Meanwhile the Aborigines' Committee persevered in its labours of a third session of parliament, a duration perhaps unprecedented, the magnitude and interest of the work to be accomplished fully warranting the pains bestowed upon that work.

The report of the Committee was at length prepared, and the draft of it confided to several experienced individuals not members of the House of Commons. They were exceedingly pleased with its provisions. It recommended periodical commissions of inquiry throughout the colonies, that could not have failed to enlighten parliament and the Government and the public, and also conciliate the colonists and the natives. For want of the authentic information to be collected by such commissions of inquiry, we are now exposed to surprises and errors of which the fatal results are at this moment before the world in regard to the Indian revolt. In Mr. Bright's speech respecting India last session, nothing was more remarkable than his suggestion of periodical inquiries by such commissions from home.

Treaties with the native authorities were also expressly provided for in the approved draft, the spirit of which recognised the advantage of intimate, well-guarded relations between us and the tribes, so as to secure mutual good-will. Nor had this draft a single objectionable clause.

What, then, must have been the regret and surprise of the persons invited to read that draft to find the actual report framed in a directly contrary spirit! The recommendation of commissions of inquiry was suppressed. Treaties were ostentatiously objected to, relations between coloured and barbarous tribes were condemned, and religious missionaries, whom all of us respect, in their proper places, were proposed to be invested with political function, and *to be educated* for politico-religious agents!

The substitution of this dangerous document for the excellent draft, is believed to have been the work of the Colonial Office, Sir Fowell Buxton having been ill and absent when the labours of his committee were wound up. The report, so altered, was published unusually late after the prorogation of parliament in 1837; and the disappointment of the philanthropists at its unexpected character

character was soon aggravated by the removal of Sir Andries Stockenström from his post. The connection of that removal with the corrupt character of the report is obvious, and both were fatal to African civilisation and to good Colonial government. The course pursued thenceforward by the Colonial Office, in regard to South Africa, betrayed the object of these sinister acts. How Sir Fowell Buxton was deceived, and prevailed upon to accept the miserable changeling for his own well-considered work, the original draft of the Aborigines' Committee's report, is one of the many secrets of the Colonial Office during the last thirty years, which it is vital to African civilisation to discover.

The recalled Lieutenant-Governor came at once to London, where his report of his own proceedings was so satisfactory that a baronetcy and a pension of seven hundred a year were given him in compensation for his removal.

The opponents, however, of this humane system, which had so eminently succeeded, were too strong for the more rational philanthropists. The Caffre treaties were gradually undermined. Parliament was for many years kept completely in the dark respecting the Cape. The Caffre chiefs in vain gave undeniable evidence of their excellent dispositions, and even of their power, in very difficult circumstances, to keep their people in order. On one occasion, when their frontier was stripped of our troops to settle difficulties provoked by gross impolicy beyond the Orange River, those chiefs observed their engagements with absolute fidelity.

During eight years, we persevered in thus abandoning our humane, well-understood course, and returned to what had produced the Caffre war of 1835. The result was the two more furious wars of 1846 and 1851, beyond all doubt attributable to that abandonment of such humane policy. After the outbreak of 1846, the Government reported the preceding eight years' transactions imperfectly to parliament; and the key to the greatest evils at this moment threatening the interior in the lawless progress of the two Anglo-Cape republics we have set up, lies hidden in the pigeon-holes of the Colonial Office. Governor after Governor had new schemes of managing Caffreland, over which they exercised the despotic rule of conquerors, and where they steadily reduced the chiefs to insignificance. At length, upon all sorts of pretexts, we have brought things in that unhappy region to extremities. Its chiefs are our prisoners in an island near Table Bay, and its people are either our labourers, or wanderers among the remoter tribes biding their day of vengeance. A volume might be filled with the details of a catastrophe disgraceful to us, the masters of South Africa, and fatal to the civilisation of its most interesting people, the Cape Caffres.

In the present year, another Caffre race, the Basootus, are fast

fast hurrying to the same end. Their chief, Moshesh, is still better disposed to moderate counsels than even the Tambookees—a fact the more worthy of notice, as his people are not only far more powerful than the other Caffre tribes, but he has proved the formidable character of his forces by at least a drawn battle with General Cathcart, whose indiscretion—extraordinary even for a South African Governor—forced the unwilling African into hostilities for which we were but ill prepared. The superior qualities of Moshesh may be accounted for. During thirty years he has had the benefit of the example and precepts of a body of French Protestant missionaries, of rare attainments, whom it is not disrespectful to our Moffatts and Livingstones of the present day, or to the very best of their predecessors, to designate as the equals of those eminent men. The conduct of these French missionaries in the midst of extreme difficulties, caused by the impolicy of the Governor of the Cape, and by the violent proceedings of the republicans of the interior, separated from our colony by that impolicy, has been marked by the greatest prudence. Hence, doubtless, the naturally moderate course of the chief who protects them has been much encouraged. But in a volume of travels in South Africa, published a few years ago by MM. Arbousset and Daumas, two of those French missionaries, may be read an account of the preceding chief, Motlume,* still more explanatory of a character so much entitled to our consideration. Motlume passed his life in 'doing good;' he was the general reconciler of dissensions among his people, and the protector and benefactor of orphans and widows; circumstances, be it said without irreverence, that bring that ignorant African prince within no remote resemblance to the holiest of Christian examples. Nor is it to be objected, that the worthy missionaries have here repeated a vague fiction. They expressly state the way in which they were enabled to report these interesting facts. Upon asking the chief Moshesh some details respecting the past history of his tribe, he sent them to its official 'historiographer,' whose especial duty it was to collect and preserve such memorials of the past, as the Bards, the Scalds, or the repeaters of the Homeric poems might have been referred to in order to satisfy a curious traveller in Britain, in Scandinavia, or in Greece. The identity of such intellectual occupations among the Africans with our own, is assuredly a strong corroboration of other evidences of their general identity with us. With what indignation, then, do we learn, that these Basootus, ready as they are to receive the best of missionaries, as well as to share their lands upon reasonable terms with us their Christian neighbours, and headed as they are by men of high intelligence

* A translation of this book was published in Aberdeen.

and

and of peaceful desires, should be unceasingly harassed by the white people from the Cape, whom our Government has actually refused to control! The Governors of the Cape have dealt with Moshesh and the Basootus as if they were outlaws. One of those Governors, Sir H. Smith, proclaimed their lands to be British, without any pretence of their being legally acquired. Another, General Cathcart, assumed illegal authority over them without even power to maintain it. And the present Governor, adopting the hostility of the Colonial Office to the conciliatory system suppressed upon the Caffre frontier, states that he has 'no desire to make TREATIES with native chiefs.'*

This avowal, taken along with this Governor's discouragement of the Caffre chiefs so early as on the *third* month of his arrival at the Cape, and with the terrible sufferings he has since inflicted upon them, reveals the scheme of coercive policy set up twenty years ago against the judicious and philanthropic plans so successfully carried out by Sir Andries Stockenström, with strong parliamentary approval. The case is even stronger, and ought to be probed to the bottom in all its bearings.

This Governor arrived at his post in December, 1854; and on the 22nd of that month writes home that he has framed a new plan of border administration of a most extraordinary character, to the execution of which he asks a contribution from home of 40,000*l.* annually for ten years, to which the Cape colony is to add 5,000*l.* a year, as they willingly might. With this ample draft upon Whitehall to set up with, the new Cape Governor proposes, with a *fortnight's* knowledge of South Africa, to set all right in that vast region of social volcanoes, into which Parliament had already thrown at least five millions sterling, not to this day fully audited. Before Parliament meets, namely, by a despatch dated the 3rd of February, 1855, our Secretary of State for the Colonies approves this hasty plan of the Cape Governor. If the papers containing the details are correct copies of those despatches from us to the colony, such quick work upon a grave subject would appear incredible. As it is, the only explanation admissible is, that the new plan professed to be sent from Cape Town so rapidly after the Governor's inauguration in his post was taken out with him from Downing Street. The honoured name of Lord John Russell is affixed to the hasty approval of this hastily-announced scheme; and it is due to his Lordship to pause until he shall throw some light upon this transaction. In some sense it has become matter of history. The present ministers have cut down the 40,000*l.* this session to 20,000*l.*, and it is understood that next year the whole subsidy will be struck off.

* Despatch of 27th September. Papers presented to Parliament in August, 1857.

The

The sums already given to the Governor of the Cape are not unimportant, and should be accounted for more carefully than has hitherto been found convenient. But it is the execution of the plans ending in the imprisonment of so many of the neighbouring chiefs, that call for the most rigorous scrutiny. That a colonial governor should, in his character of high commissioner of the interior adjacent to the colony, be able to bring the chiefs of that interior into the colonial prisons, and attack their people by a combination of colonial forces with the power and money intrusted to him by the British Parliament, is serious enough. But if, as is in the highest degree probable in this case, the colonial governor should turn out to be a mere instrument in the hands of those who, under the influence of false opinions, have perverted the best designs of philanthropy, and the most solemn acts of Parliament for twenty years together, the importance of the truth of the whole matter cannot be exaggerated. It is in this light a strong call is made for a solemn inquest as to Cape aborigines' affairs for the last four years.

There has been a war of aggression lately made upon Moshesh by our republicans of what is called the 'Free State,' which the Cape Governor, Sir Harry Smith, extended so summarily into that chief's territory. He has met their shameful advance with a dignity and a moderation worthy of all honour, and they have failed in their attempt under the most disgraceful circumstances. Nevertheless, sympathisers with them are not wanting from Cape Town to Natal, where, against all the evidence of the case, a body of men have boldly declared that the barbarous tribes of South Africa are forming a league for the indulgence of their hatred of civilisation!

Here, then, a stand must be made. Another league of older date is formed by the white men against the blacks, and for the nefarious purpose of getting the natives' lands after crushing them. We have succeeded in so mastering Caffreland and Tambookeeland, as the Dutch before us had mastered the Hottentots and seized their country. We are steadily pressing onwards upon other tribes to the east for the same object. A force of 1,200 white men was sent by the Free State against Moshesh, and five times that number from the older republic in the interior are ready to second that attack. And it is under such circumstances that our Governor at the Cape really takes part with the aggressors, by letting them get supplies of war at will, and by refusing such supplies to the natives, or even to treat with the latter upon a just footing. We enthusiastically support Dr. Livingstone in his heroic enterprises in the remote interior of Southern Africa, where the *chiefs* appreciate his sublime efforts for their improvement; and he wisely seeks to benefit their people by respecting them.

How

How grossly inconsistent is it, close at our own doors, to put forth our gigantic strength to destroy the very same class, eager as they are to adopt our civilisation and share its advantages! The pitiable story of some of those chiefs would be an apt topic for the ablest pens. Already, in the case of Macomo and his beautiful daughter, their misery has touched more than one feeling heart among our rude soldiery. Slaughter on the field of battle would be as the blessing of paradise to that unhappy man in his Cape dungeon, who thirty years ago told an English traveller that his only wish was to be able to write a book, and show the Christian world his country's wrongs. Parrot-like we repeat the indignant remonstrances which Tacitus put into the mouth of our own barbarous ancestor, when a prisoner in Rome, and forget that we are daily tolerating the same oppressions to be done upon black men as good as Galgacus or Caractacus.

The stand to be made in favour of African civilisation is simply to undo what is now doing ill, and to revive and extend whatever has been done well wherever we have power in Africa. For example, in the south, which, with the proper observance of peculiarities may stand for every other similar region:—

An end must be put to the present mystery in Cape affairs by having full accounts of them speedily laid before Parliament;

The imprisoned chiefs must be released, and their country restored to them;

Treaties must be made with all the tribes;

More and more white settlements must be made by compacts with the coloured people, and upon a just system of compensation and union;

The two interior republics on this side and beyond the Vaal River must be invited to reunite themselves to the crown;

And commissions of inquiry must be despatched on all of these objects, and on every proper means of aboriginal civilisation.

The foundation of white settlements, in harmony with the natives, has been assumed, without real grounds, to be a vain attempt to bring incompatible members of society together. On the contrary, millions of men, of every variety of refinement, do consort together in perfect peace in all regions, and have done so for ages. It is only, then, incumbent upon the Government to keep the peace among them, and to leave them at freedom to settle their differences according as they can, without concerning itself about their abstract aptitudes. The wants of the coloured people, and their eagerness to enjoy the several advantages of civilisation, will always dispose them to make reasonable cession of lands not needful for themselves; and the modern application of the practice of appropriating wild lands at a price, furnishes a convenient

convenient means of compensating them for such tracts as they will gladly alienate.

The reunion of the two Cape republics, now established in the interior, to the crown, is perhaps the most difficult object of South African policy; but that reunion is of extreme urgency in reference to the safety and civilisation of the native tribes. The easier task will be to effect a reunion with the Free State, or Orange River sovereignty, now at war with Moshesh. Its practicability is obvious in the loudly-declared wishes of many of its inhabitants, Cape-Dutch, Dutch, and English. The proclamation of its independence of the crown, without the authority of an Act of Parliament, is believed by good lawyers to have been as illegal as would be a ministerial cession of Yorkshire or the Isle of Wight to France. But there is no doubt of the impropriety of that severance of British territory and of the acquiescence in a second republic of British subjects adjacent to the Cape Colony.

As to the more remote republic of our fellow-subjects recognised by ministers, beyond the Vaal River, they must be dealt with more carefully. But so many powerful motives exist for their changing their present disturbed state, that trustworthy overtures to them will assuredly be received with satisfaction. The free constitution now set up in the Cape Colony, if properly explained to the republicans, will go far to reconcile them to us, and help the settlement of other grave points of difference with our Government.

The choice of the only person living fit to negociate this grave measure of civilisation in South Africa, Sir Andries Stockenström, to carry it out, will be a guarantee to its success.

The appointment of periodical commissions of inquiry will be the crowning step to secure its results and give it permanence. The uses of such commissions in all quarters will not be limited to the collection of correct intelligence and the suggestion of good measures, but they will conciliate all parties with whom the commissioners will regularly communicate.

Great names might be added to Mr. Pitt's and Mr. Burke's in the catalogue of those who have been the best friends to Africa. Some of the oldest of our contemporaries were witnesses to and sharers in the gigantic efforts of our fathers to win the prize of her freedom. The Broughams and the Lushingtons have not assuredly deserted the path worn bare by the Clarksons, the Granville Sharps, the Wilberforces, and the Buxtons, their friends of another generation. They will approve of even this feeble call for help where help is sorely needed; and they know well how to strengthen this feeble call so as to compel Ministers to be just where they are now unjust; to be awake where they are now

now asleep; merciful where they are cruel; and where they are now by their own gross ignorance exposed to deception, to be equal to their duties by acquiring the knowledge belonging to their eminent posts.

ART. VI.—1. *Permanent American Temperance Documents.* New York. American Temperance Union.
2. *The Maine Law.* Adopted by the Legislature of the State of Maine. 1851.
3. *Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Portland Riot.* Portland. 1855.
4. *Alliance Weekly News.* United Kingdom Alliance, Manchester. Tweedie, London.

'THE law,' said JUDGE PLATT of the United States, in 1833, 'which licenses the sale of ardent spirits is an impediment to the temperance reformation. Whenever public opinion and the moral sense of our community shall be so far corrected and matured, as to regard them in their true light, and when the public safety shall be thought to require it, dram-shops will be *indictable at common law as public nuisances.*'

On the 8th July, 1856, at Rockport, Massachusetts, some two hundred women assembled, and, proceeding to several places where intoxicating liquor was sold, entered by force, and destroyed the liquors they found. The owner at once set in motion the machinery of law to punish these daring violators of the sanctity of property. The defendants pleaded that their acts were justifiable, inasmuch as liquors kept for sale *were by statute of* 1855 *declared to be common nuisances*, and as such could be abated by the destruction of such liquors.

In charging the jury, CHIEF-JUSTICE SHAW said, 'Two acts of the year 1855 (ch. 215, § 37, and ch. 405, § 1) have been cited and relied on. By the first of these, all intoxicating liquors kept for sale, and the implements and vessels actually used, are declared common nuisances. By the latter, "all buildings, places, or tenements used as houses of ill fame, resorted to for prostitution, lewdness, or for illegal gaming, or used for the illegal sale or keeping of intoxicating liquors, are hereby declared common nuisances, and are to be regarded and treated as such." ' And carefully pointing out the high responsibility attached to the enjoyment of such a right, and the great caution required in its exercise, the learned judge proceeded:—'All persons have a right to abate a public nuisance. As in cases cited by the defendants, individuals may cut down a gate erected in a highway, or destroy a bridge

a bridge thrown over navigable waters, I am of opinion, *that if liquors are kept illegally for sale, they with the implements of trade having been declared by law a public nuisance, any person may destroy them.*'

The interval of twenty-two years occurring between these two remarkable legal dicta, is the period to which we invite the brief attention of our readers with reference to the temperance movement in America.

Some years before any general effort was made in the same direction in Great Britain, the attention of American philanthropists was forcibly called to the necessity of offering some check to the advance of popular intemperance. An annual temperance sermon had been preached at Boston, and even so far back as 1815, Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS, then pastor of a church at Andover, promulgated to his congregation the doctrine of abstinence. It was not, however, until March, 1826, that the American Temperance Society issued its manifesto. The executive committee consisted of Dr. LEONARD WOODS, Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS, and Messrs. TAPPAN, ODIORNE, and WILDER. The doctrine enforced, or, as an American would say, the 'platform' adopted by this society, was 'total abstinence from ardent spirits;' and for some years a marvellous success attended its operation. But at last, impelled by the same necessity which urged, at a later period, our British temperance reformers to the same conclusion, and finding that cider, wine, or beer would do and was doing the work of ardent spirits—drawing back their reclaimed ones, and striking down their young and promising coadjutors—the Society inscribed upon their banner the new motto of 'TOTAL ABSTINENCE FROM ALL THAT CAN INTOXICATE.' Notwithstanding the immense and immediate results attendant on this advance, it soon, however, became evident that there were difficulties to encounter, which early enthusiasm had not foreseen. Temptation presented to an inflamed appetite was stronger than moral precept. This temptation was sanctioned by law, and presented under the protection of a license from the state.

Thus, early in the history of the American temperance reform, the reports of the society abound in denunciation of the traffic, and in declarations of its immorality. Before long, men of practical sense perceived that the traffic would never be beaten down if it were assailed with no more powerful missiles than hard words. They saw, that there was a limit beyond which moral suasion *could not* operate, and, taking a wise and statesmanlike view of the nature and objects of law, they resolved to arm themselves with its power, and so push the attack with greater safety and success. Mustering a few regiments, the leaders gave the word of advance into the battle-field of politics.

In

In Great Britain, especially in England, the administration of the laws relating to the licensing of public-houses has been confided to magistrates appointed by the crown, and therefore altogether free from popular control. In America, the magistrates being elected by the people, some popular supervision has always been exercised over their decisions. In some states, still more direct reference to the will of the people has been made in the license laws. In Rhode Island, and Vermont, and subsequently in New York, a direct vote of the people of a district, and even of a state decided on the granting of licenses. Hence the first and obvious application of legal power to the suppression of intemperance in America was a vote for 'no license.' In 1832, this policy triumphed in some of the districts of Massachusetts and rapidly spread. In 1834, several counties of the state adopted it. In Suffolk, licenses were reduced from 613 to 314; in Hampshire, from 83 to 8; in Plymouth and Bristol, no licenses at all were given. Connecticut and Vermont both tested the people every year, the latter state especially giving repeated majorities against the granting of licenses,—in 1847, the vote being 13,707 *for* license, and 21,793 *against*. In New York itself, in 1845, the vote cast was—*pro*, 111,884; *contra*, 177,683, four-fifths of the cities and towns being *against* licenses. The results attendant on this policy were abundantly encouraging. Barnstaple and Duke Counties, in Massachusetts, at once freed themselves from public-houses, paupers, and criminals; and in one town, where to a population of 7000 there had been 469 paupers, 11 only, after four years of no license, remained chargeable to the commonwealth. In Ontario County, New York, the vote of 1845 found the inmates of the gaol 125. The operation of that vote, during 1846, reduced the number to 53. In Gennessee County, the result was even more favourable.

But although this guerilla warfare was in many cases successful, the leaders soon discovered it was exhausting. The recurrence, year by year, of a struggle so vital, and at the same time so unrelenting, disheartened the combatants, who felt as though their victory could never be secure. Side issues frequently introduced themselves to complicate the vote, and it was but rarely that the atmosphere of politics was sufficiently quiescent to allow the voice of the people to be distinctly heard on this question alone. Notwithstanding the blessed results in some districts, the small area affected deprived them of any startling effect, while the facilities for smuggling and evasion were of course considerable. Hence, very early in the 'no-license' agitation the temperance men of America sought to gain *additional* legal powers from the legislature. In 1838, for example, Tennessee enacted a law prohibiting *all* sale in quantities less than one

one quart; and Massachusetts adopted 15 gallons as the smallest measure. In 1839, Mississippi enacted a one-gallon law, while Illinois granted power to towns and counties to *suppress* the retail traffic on petition from a majority of adult male inhabitants. In the mean time, constant efforts were put forth to avoid the difficulties and disadvantages of these constant fluctuations, by procuring a final state enactment which should at once decide the policy of that government. It was sought to gather up and consolidate into one law, which should not be liable to change and agitation, the various expressions of popular sentiment which, in the shape of county or city laws, were floating about in almost every state in the union. MAINE was the first state to accomplish this; whence all laws prohibiting the traffic in strong drink have come to be designated 'Maine Laws.' Our space being necessarily limited, we propose, in our present article, to confine ourselves to an investigation of the fortunes of the Maine Law agitation in its parent state.

In February, 1837, a committee of the legislature of the state of Maine presented a report founded on numerous petitions, and framed a prohibitory bill. This bill was rejected by the legislature. The idea had not originated, however, with the members of the government, but with the people; and the people were determined to give their idea a practical embodiment. In 1840, they elected a legislature which passed the rejected law, but only to be vetoed by the governor. It was not until 1846 that the temperance men of Maine succeeded in placing *on their statute-book* a prohibitive law, and this in a very imperfect form. The opponents of the law, though not strong enough to prevent its enactment, were able to deface it. In its passage through the legislature, it had received many clippings and much pressure, so that on its emergence the original shape and structure could hardly be recognised.

Whatever may be said in defence of the principle involved in such legislation, its friends admit that a law intended to restrain a violent and often uncontrollable appetite must more than any other be liable to evasion. Especially is this the case with an appetite so *peculiar* as the drink appetite. Stimulation and not satiety is, in it, the consequence of indulgence. The presence of temptation rouses it to ceaseless activity. The ravenous and irresistible monster can never be lulled into inactivity, or quietened by gratification. Nothing but absolute starvation can destroy it. The mere interposition of *difficulty* can be but of very limited advantage. The appetite, excited by the presence of temptation, constantly overleaps the difficulty. Making no provision for such a state of things, the Maine Law of 1846 was undoubtedly a failure. It professed to prohibit, but the machinery

chinery it employed was radically defective. The old apparatus of heavy fines was supposed to possess sufficient terrors. The real source of the mischief—the drink—inflamed the desire of its victims, and they were content to render the trade so profitable that the payment of a fine upon detection was no great hardship upon the seller. The trade was carried on, secretly if possible, but still with its usual results. The snake was 'scotched, not killed.'

The temperance men of the state, however, speedily discovered their mistake, and set about devising some modification which should enable them to work their new machine without the unfortunate hitch. The people were by a large majority in favour of an efficient prohibition. Interested parties struggled with this public sentiment in vain. The elections of 1849 were decisive, and in 1851, the law which has been accepted as the 'pattern' law of prohibition was adopted by the state of Maine. The debates were excited and protracted. It was urged that the law was undesirable because it would be evaded; that evasion would generate contempt; that it could not prevent the offence it sought to prohibit and would therefore be useless. To this it was replied, that all laws are unfortunately evaded, this being rather the fault of the executive power than of the law; that there were laws against theft, and yet convictions for larceny; that in fact, unless there were a tendency to commit the offence, and therefore a tendency to endeavour to evade the law, the law itself would be needless. The opponents of the law took their stand on the principle of regulation, declaring that although unable to prevent, they might hope to restrain. Its supporters rested their arguments on the ultimate principle that the law of a state should seek to embody the public virtue of a state, and not to tamper with public vices; that regulation or license of the traffic in strong drink involved, in every case where license was granted, sanction and protection; that it was manifestly opposed to all principles of sound policy for the state to sanction or protect the demoralisation of the people and the impoverishment of the commonwealth. They claimed a trial of the law they proposed, asserting their conviction that it would be found as thoroughly effective as any of the other laws in the statute-book.

The majority in both houses indicated the prevalent feeling. The law was carried by a vote in the House of Representatives of eighty-six to forty, and in the senate by eighteen to ten.

It is not our intention, nor would the space at our disposal allow us to follow the progress of similar legislation in other states of the Union. Several adopted the policy of Maine *during the same year.* We append to this article a tabular account of the vicissitudes and present position of the law in all the states which have

have at any time adopted it. To this we ask the attention of any readers who may be interested in the inquiry, and for the present pursue our relation of the course of events in MAINE alone.

The Maine Law of 1851 differed greatly from that of 1846 in efficiency, but very slightly in form. It permitted the apparatus of the traffic to be received as evidence, just as the implements of the coiner or gambler are, and it conferred upon the officers charged with its enforcement the power to *destroy*, on proper investigation, *the liquor itself* wherever found illegally for sale. It is worthy of note that in every law which has been found efficient these apparently unimportant provisions have been included. The reason, if the previous argument has been clearly stated, will at once occur to the reader. The temptation being *destroyed*, the appetite is quiescent, and the *reason*, even of the most slavish inebriate, approves the effort making for his salvation. The law of 1851 was respected because decisive; obeyed because prompt and vigorous. Evasion, although in some cases successfully attempted, was not frequent, because the instrument left by the law of 1846 in the hands of the traffickers to provoke a desire to evade—the drink itself—was absolutely removed.

The Hon. Neal Dow, who had been the leader of the temperance party and framer of the new law, was, at the time of its passage, mayor of Portland. He at once proceeded to enforce its provisions. It was not unforeseen by the temperance men that the extreme tension of party feeling could not be altogether maintained; that reaction must be anticipated after so signal a success. They were anxious to maintain their law in its popularity by rendering its operation as mild and moderate as possible. Mr. Dow was a man of other mould. He, too, foresaw a coming relaxation in public enthusiasm, but he believed it better to exhibit to the world one year of efficient enforcement of the law than to secure a longer tenure of less energetic administration. 'Let us,' said he, 'show the people what *can* be done with the law. Let us write on the history of our city, in characters of living light, a lesson which may show what a year of prohibition really is.' This task he accomplished. The House of Correction at Portland, which contained during the year prior to the passage of the law of 1851, and under that of 1846, seventy-four drunken persons, speedily became too large for its occupants. The new law went into force under Mr. Dow's auspices in June 1851. From that period to the 16th of October the committals for drunkenness were eight. From October to January NONE.

On the 15th June, 1852, the house was reported EMPTY. Of course such a decrease of intemperance exhibited itself also in the criminal calendar. Drink is the great crime-producer. An agent which constantly disorganises the brain, destroying the physical

 organ

organ through which alone, by some mysterious working, *reason* exhibits itself—which depresses that reason and raises into activity *appetite* as the then governing power of the actions of the citizen—must always be an agent dangerous to the state and subversive of public order and government. Such an agent is alcohol, and such results are produced by the common trade in alcohol. Its suppression in Portland exhibited the natural consequence. Instead of 192 cases of petty larceny, Mr. Dow found himself compelled to adjudicate on thirty-one only during his year of office; and the reports of the police declared that 'there was little use for a body of police or night watchmen, because, with very few exceptions, there was good order everywhere in the streets.'

Throughout the state, although no other administration so vigorous as Mr. Dow's might be found, similar, if not so extensive triumphs were achieved. At BANGOR, such was the effect on the poverty of the community that the cultivation of the workhouse farm necessitated the employment of hired labourers, there being no paupers. At Augusta, the police, who, according to the statement of the mayor, were usually called out a hundred nights in the year, 'during the six first months of the operation of the law' had not been required once.

It was only to be expected that a strenuous resistance would be offered to Mr. Dow's re-election as mayor of Portland. The energy of the 'rum party,' bound up as it was with all the interests of selfishness and incitements of appetite, knew no abatement; while the lethargy consequent on the achievement of victory after a long struggle began to creep over the friends of temperance. Withal, however, the opposition could only succeed in substituting the name of Mr. Cahoon—a Maine Law man of more pliable material—for that of Mr. Dow. But even under his feebler administration the law continued to be productive of benefit, and rapidly established itself in the affections of the people. Of course evasions were not altogether unfrequent—the varying energies of the authorities of different districts enforcing the law with vigour, or suffering it to relapse into disuse. The constantly-changing circumstances of the population of all American cities, and the rapid influx of new inhabitants, tended to undermine the fabric which Mr. Dow had erected. In course of time, too, the courage which had been cowed, revived, and the traffickers associated themselves together for purposes of resistance. But through all, *the people* remained firm, public disorder in no case followed the enforcement of the law; it was not only submitted to, but respected and valued. The opponents of the law persistently originated reports of its failure; and at the very time of its most beneficent and *undoubted* results, the same rumour, almost in the same words, which has recently become famous, was industriously circulated.

circulated. A document is before us, dated Portland, October 1853, signed by Mr. Cahoon, mayor, and 435 of the leading citizens, expressly framed to contradict the assertion, 'that more was sold and drunk than ever,' and that 'there was more intemperance than at any previous time for twenty years.'

Thus, with alternating fortune, the temperance party stood by their strong position. With more or less efficiency, the law remained upon the statute-book. We shall have a word to say presently about the legal difficulties which in Maine, as well as in other states, obstructed its operation. It must now suffice to state, that at last, in 1855, a successful rally again placed Mr. Dow in office as mayor of Portland. It was during this, his second term of office, that one of those unforeseen disasters occurred which occasionally test the courage and calmness of public men. The law of which we have been speaking, while prohibiting the common sale of liquors, empowered the municipal authorities to establish city agents, paying them by salary, who should sell for medicinal, manufacturing, and other lawful purposes. In order to supply these agents, the authorities purchased a stock of liquors, which were deposited in the city hall. Mr. Dow's enemies, who had long endeavoured to weaken his influence, circulated a report that he had himself commenced business as a liquor-seller on a large scale, and was violating his own law by keeping liquors unlawfully in his possession. A warrant was at once obtained, and the liquors seized by the proper officer. A judicial investigation of course cleared Mr. Dow from every imputation; but before the trial, and ostensibly to secure the due administration of the law, a mob assembled, and ultimately proceeding to riot, sought to gain admission to the city hall and to obtain possession of the liquors there deposited. The danger became imminent, since, if they had succeeded in their attempt, the rioters would probably have rushed into frightful excesses. The mayor, Mr. Dow, as the chief officer of the city, at once took steps to restore public order. The riot act was read; the military called out; blank cartridges fired; but in vain. At last, with great reluctance, orders were given to fire with ball. Several of the mob were wounded: one man was killed. The judicial inquiry into these circumstances, and the verdict of the coroner's jury, a second time vindicated Mr. Dow; but all concerned regarded these sad events as most untoward and disastrous. Anything like a popular resistance to the law the Portland riot *was not;* but it is easy to conceive how potent a weapon it became in the hands of the opponents for the elections of 1855, just then imminent. It was in these elections that the friends of the Maine Law in Maine suffered their most serious reverse.

The American appetite for politics is very keen. The numerous

party names, and the constant and ever-new subdivisions of party, which perplex the European reader of the American press, indicate the analytical subtlety with which the Yankee mind pursues its favourite excitement. The unexpected hostilities or coalitions which are thus daily arising, render it almost, if not absolutely impossible, to predict the future of American politics for even a single year. We could not undertake, even were it needful, to explain to our readers the distinctions between 'hard shells' and 'softs,' 'straight,' and 'hunker whigs.' It must suffice for our present purpose to recall to remembrance the two great parties into which American politicians are divided, viz., Republican and Democrat. The Whigs, and after a meteoric course of success, the Knownothings, though still a numerous body, may be disregarded in the consideration of the circumstances we are about to describe. The distinctions between the Republicans and the Democrats are radical. At the last presidential election, our readers will remember, Colonel Fremont represented one of these parties while Mr. Buchanan was the nominee of the other. Irrespective of general policy, on the great American difficulty, the two parties hold opposite views. The Republican party is anti-slavery; the Democratic sympathises with the feelings of the southern states. As may be supposed, the majority of temperance men belong to the Republican party—slavery and rum are too intimately associated to be dissevered in politics. Rum figures largely in the slave traffic as a 'medium of exchange,' and avenges outraged humanity by binding the 'superior race' in a still more abject bondage than that of the chain and the lash. Hence, it being rarely possible to present to the people for their vote a temperance issue, uncomplicated with other party considerations, the temperance party in Maine and in other states has generally shared in the vicissitudes of the Republican party. Of course all Republicans are not temperance men; some are purely and selfishly politicians; and there have been instances in which, having used their votes, the Republican politicians have looked indifferently on the claims of the friends of sobriety. But this has always been disastrous to them. So important to the Republican party is its temperance strength, that any serious alienation, as in New York, has uniformly resulted in crushing defeat.

The elections of 1855, in Maine, were disastrous. The Nebraska question was in full discussion. The Republican party had to contend with all the difficulties of that excitement, as well as with a combined opposition from the opponents of the Maine Law, supported by unlimited funds from those interested in the strong drink trade in Boston and New York. The opportunity was too favourable to be missed. It was seized, and nothing was omitted which could secure a victory. To the House of Representatives

Representatives were elected 61 Republicans, 69 Democrats, and 21 Whigs.

In the contest for governor, the relative strength of the parties was more completely tested. Mr. Morrill (the previous governor, a Republican and thorough Maine-Law man,) obtained 51,000 votes; Mr. Wells (Democrat and anti-Maine Law) 48,000; and Mr. Reed (a Whig, and neutral on temperance) 11,000. Mr. Morrill's votes showed no diminution in republican strength. It was a larger vote than had ever been polled for a candidate for the governorship at any state election in Maine before. It was, as will be seen, a *numerical majority*, but according to the constitution of the state of Maine, this was insufficient. A *plurality* of votes was needful to render the popular decision available. The Whig candidate went to the poll in order to neutralise some republican support, and the *ruse* was successful. Mr. Morrill's votes did not equal those of Mr. Wells and Mr. Reed *together*. The election of governor was therefore remitted to the legislature for decision. A glance at the constitution of that body will prepare our readers to anticipate the selection of Mr. Wells.

The Democratic party now in power found themselves, however, in some difficulty as regarded the 'Maine Law.' Several of its successful candidates had declared that their object was not a repeal of that law, but at the most such a modification of it as should obviate its most stringent, and, as they said, its oppressive features. They thus lulled into apathy the alarm of some of the temperance men who were less earnest, or who were subject, as the Americans say, to 'democratic proclivities.' Six months elapsed before they sought to interfere with the law. At last Mr. Barnes, a Whig senator, introduced a bill which, repealing the Maine Law, substituted a system of license so stringent, that, with the efficient enforcement and popular respect universally accorded to law in this country, it would be thought almost, in practical effect, equivalent to prohibition.

The democratic conscience as regards the good faith of those we have alluded to, was appeased by the insertion of a clause that 'No person should keep a drinking-house or tippling-shop within the state.' But this clause was truly a 'dead letter.' The results of the change were immediate, and whatever may be the difficulty of obtaining full and reliable statistical information as to the facts of prohibition, on these the testimony is unanimous. Drunkenness again prevailed; crime rapidly increased; and all the evils attendant on a thriving trade in rum again desolated the state. Our space forbids us quoting testimony. But perhaps as decisive a proof as can be found, that the repeal of the law was neither in accordance with public sentiment in Maine nor justified by experience, was presented by the elections of the following year,

1856. After his term of office, Governor Wells was indignantly rejected by an adverse majority of no less than 20,000 votes. This defeat, which crushed out the democratic party in Maine, placed the whole power in the state in the hands of the friends of the Maine Law. But it was not immediately re-enacted.

The necessity for close party coherence in the struggle of that year, and the absorbing interests of the anti-slavery question, pending the presidential election upon which that vote would operate, undoubtedly overshadowed the temperance issue. It was said that a tacit understanding had been arrived at, that the Maine Law re-enactment should be held in abeyance. The temperance leaders at once repudiated any such understanding, but declared that rather than incur even an accusation of bad faith, they would postpone their intentions until the wishes of the people could be still further ascertained at another election. This forbearance was amply justified in the result. The majority of 1857 was even more triumphant than that of 1856. The governor, Mr. Morrill, was returned by a majority of 12,800; the members of the House of Representatives being 115 Republicans to 36 Democrats, while in the Senate only *one* Democrat obtained a seat.

At this election the re-enactment of the Maine Law was distinctly in issue. Many of those who had opposed it previously, now openly registered their votes in its favour, avowing that the terrible results of the license experiment had satisfied them that the safety of the state was involved in the final adoption of prohibition as the policy of Maine.

A committee was appointed at once, to draw up a draft of a law which should satisfy the demand of the people, and redeem the pledges of the legislature. This law was thoroughly discussed and adopted in April of the present year. The vote in the House of Representatives was 103 to 36, in the Senate *there was only one dissentient voice.* The Democrats seem to have voted to a man.

It will be seen, on comparison of these figures with those of the vote by which the original Maine Law was carried in 1851, as given at the commencement of this article, how steady, in the midst of all vicissitudes, had been the progress of the question towards a decisive settlement. The law, as carried, was declared to come into operation on the 15th July, 1858, provided it was accepted by the direct vote of the people. This direct issue was accordingly submitted to the citizens in June, and resulted in a vote of 28,864 for Prohibition, and 5,912 for license. THE MAINE LAW IS THEREFORE RE-ESTABLISHED IN MAINE BY THE DIRECT VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

It is true the number voting on this issue does not represent more than one-third of the entire number of voters. It is, however, much larger

larger than has ever, save in election contests, been polled before on any public question in Maine. The Democrats, anticipating an exposure of weakness, announced their intention to abstain from voting. The vote was taken in the midst of the field operations of the country population, who, thus relieved from the dread of defeat or even of opposition, felt no pressure of necessity to leave their occupations, and travel eight or ten miles to the nearest polling-booth. It is said, however, that had the entire votes of the state been taken, the relative proportions, as actually cast, would not have been materially altered. Since the vote, a sort of underground rumble has proceeded from democratic quarters, threatening terrible destruction at the elections of the present month. Whether the volcano is extinct, or whether an irruption will overwhelm the labours of the last few months, remains to be seen. We share in the confidence of the temperance men of Maine, so far as the social and political condition of America justifies any confidence at all in her social and political stability.

We have thus briefly recited our tale, thinking it may be useful in this country, plainly and simply to answer the question, 'WHAT IS the Maine Law agitation in America, and what has been done in its behalf?' Its history will not be found as fully recorded as could be wished in documents, but it is written in enduring characters upon political parties, and expresses a meaning of vital significance to the intelligent inquirer. Still, we do not recommend our readers to draw hasty conclusions from American experience. The causes which obstruct social reforms in America, and which especially operate as difficulties in the way of such legislation as we have been discussing, are peculiar, and have no representatives in the circumstances of our own country. American disaster, past or future, need not dismay British prohibitionists. America should be used more as an illustration of what may be accomplished under great disadvantage, than as a final authority for European politicians.

Take a few of the most prominent of these peculiar difficulties. Who has not heard of the British constitution? Who has seen a copy of it? The mystic growth of centuries has no palpable existence. In the United States it is far otherwise. Not more than one generation has passed away since the sovereignty of the people was appealed to, to ratify the conditions of the social compact under which the American Republic has grown up. Washington, and Jefferson, and Franklin are almost remembered by the present busy crowd which throngs Broadway, or the idlers who lounge at Saratoga. Not only are the terms of the federal union which binds together the various elements of that mighty power thoroughly understood and rigidly defined, but each state having for

for the regulation of its own internal affairs its own independent government, has limited by a written constitution the powers of each department of that government. Thus there are certain fundamental principles declared by the sovereignty of the people to be inviolable—the extent of the judicial authority is explicitly limited, and the power of the legislature strictly confined within certain bounds. The vehement outcry of 'unconstitutional' raised in America, therefore, by the opponents of any special legislation, is not without meaning. Re-echoed as it has been on this side the Atlantic, it is a mere 'cuckoo' cry. Here, the power of Parliament—of Crown, Lords, and Commons—is absolute. A law once passed by both houses, and having received the royal assent, becomes part and parcel of the 'Constitution,' and the only question for our courts of justice is, 'What is the law?' Our judges have great confidence reposed in their integrity, but they cannot over-ride, or repeal, or nullify an Act of Parliament. In America, the courts must not only decide as to the law applicable to any particular case, but may be called on to entertain the question, 'Is this law constitutional?' The supreme judicial authority of the state is thus practically invested with a repealing power, even after all constitutional forms of legislation have been complied with. As an illustration we may give the New York prohibitory law. That law, beneficently operative during the short period of its existence, was decided to be 'unconstitutional,' and therefore void, not on account of its object, but because in some of its provisions with regard to the confiscation of property, the legislature had exceeded the powers committed to it by the constitution of New York state. No such difficulty can arise here.

The separate existence of each state of the Union necessitates strict control of its relations to each other member of the federation. Thus, while internal government is the affair of each state, certain questions—as fiscal arrangements, exports, imports, foreign relations—are properly referred to the decision of the general congress of the states. With the exception of the 'Act for the Protection of the Indians,' congress has not prohibited the trade in strong drink. It allows its importation, and fixes the duties payable. Where a state has prohibited the trade so far as its own territory is concerned, a collision thus takes place between state law and congress law. This was a point early raised by the opponents of the temperance policy. Under the old 'no-license laws,' the difficulty was formidable. So far back as 1847 appeals were carried to the Supreme Court of the United States from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire (*vide* 5 Howard's Reports, 504). The remarks of the learned judges, although the immediate point under discussion is purely American, enunciate principles

principles of such general interest that we do not hesitate to make some brief extracts.

Chief Justice TANEY, in delivering judgment, said :—

'Although a state is bound to receive and permit the sale by the importer, of any article of merchandise which congress authorises to be imported, it is not bound to furnish *a market* for it, nor to abstain from the passage of any law which it may deem necessary or advisable to guard the health or morals of its citizens, although such law may discourage importation, or diminish the profits of the importer, or lessen the revenue of the government. And if any state deem the retail and internal traffic in ardent spirits injurious to citizens, and calculated to produce idleness, vice, or debauchery, I see nothing in the constitution of the United States to prevent it from regulating and restraining the traffic, or from prohibiting it altogether if it thinks proper.'

Mr. Justice MACLEAN concurred in the decision, and said :—

'If the foreign article be injurious to the health or the morals of the community, a state may, in the exercise of that great and comprehensive police power which lies at the foundation of its prosperity, prohibit the sale of it. The acknowledged police power of a state extends often to the destruction of property. A nuisance may be abated. Everything prejudicial to the health or morals of a city may be removed.'

Mr. Justice CATREN also agreed with the Chief Justice :—

'I admit, as inevitable, that if the state has the power of restraint by licenses to *any* extent, she has the discretionary power to judge of its limit, and may go to the length of *prohibiting it altogether.*'

Mr. Justice GRIER thus asserted both the right of prohibiting sale, and that of the seizure and destruction of property :—

'It is not necessary to array the appalling statistics of misery, pauperism, and crime, which have their origin in the use and abuse of ardent spirits. The police power, which is exclusively in the states, is *alone competent* to the correction of these great evils; and *all measures of restraint or prohibition necessary to effect that purpose are within the scope of that authority.* All the laws for the restraint or punishment of crime, or the preservation of the public peace, health, and morals, are, from their very nature, of primary importance, and lie at the foundation of social existence. They are for the protection of life and liberty, and *necessarily compel all laws on subjects of secondary importance, which relate only to property, convenience, or luxury, to recede when they come in contact* or collision. SALUS POPULI SUPREMA LEX. The exigencies of the social compact require that such laws be executed before and above all others. It is for this reason that quarantine laws, which protect public health, compel mere commercial regulations to submit to their control. They restrain the liberty of the passengers; they operate on the ship, which is the instrument of commerce, and its officers and crew, the agents of navigation. They *seize* the infected cargo and cast it overboard. All these things are done, not from any power which the state assumes to regulate commerce or interfere with the regulations of congress, but because police laws for the prevention of crime and protection of public welfare must, of necessity, have full and free operation, *according to the exigency that requires their interference.*'

This question could arise only in a federal union, and this, refined into innumerable subtletics, still perplexes and harasses the temperance reformers of America.

It is the proud boast of the British citizen that the judges of his country are incorruptible. They occupy a seat far above the turmoil of political strife; and though history records instances of degradation of the ermine, those times have long passed, and British

British law is administered with inflexible British justice. But it is one of the disadvantages of a democratic form of government—to a legal mind at all events—that the judges must be *elected* by the great sovereign people. In some of the states these judicial elections occur triennially; in some, we believe, as often as every year. Hence the judges too frequently resort to popular arts to secure votes; and where passion is strong, the unseemly spectacle is sometimes afforded of a judge seeking his own election as a violent political partisan, pledged *not* to enforce a law adopted by the state. It will easily be seen to what abuse this may tend, though it may be difficult to suggest a remedy.

Passing away, however, from these LEGAL points, difficulties of equal consideration present themselves in the social circumstances of the Americans. Europe has for many years drenched America with her surplus population, not always, it must be said, with her most industrious and thriving citizens. The United States census of 1850 intimates that the population of that republic had increased within sixty years, from 3,929,827, to 23,191,876, the preceding ten years showing more than *six millions* of this increase.

The rapidity with which population flows into the cities of the states is so startling, that the circumstances of a thriving community may be altered in a single year, and, without any change in the sentiments of the voters of one year, a decision arrived at be reversed in the next. The foreign population, with a few exceptions, is the source of the principal disorder in America. The Irish and German element, marshalled by fanaticism, led by priestcraft, or impelled by brutal passion, has become a recognised source of danger to the American commonwealth. The rapid development of the 'Knownothing' party was a result of political panic. The native American saw himself outvoted by a newly-arrived hodman, who, with hundreds of his fellows, was marching round to all the polling-booths and registering his vote at each. Droves of voters were conducted by some patriot to express their enlightened convictions on the future policy of the United States.

If the rolls of convictions under the Maine Law in that state, or any other, be consulted, the names of the offenders will be found to be almost exclusively Irish or German.

But to make matters worse, the municipal government of the cities, and especially of the great seaports, is to a large extent controlled by this population. The tide of immigration flowing through these ports leaves a sediment behind. Only the thrifty and the sober pass on into the west; the drunken and profligate settle down into the filth which stagnates in New York or Boston. The merchants are either too disgusted to interfere, or reside beyond the

the municipal boundary and cannot vote. Municipal anarchy is the result. In Boston and New York the Maine Law never was enforced by the municipal authorities, for the simple reason that they were elected to ignore it. It is clear, therefore, that American temperance reformers cannot have a fair chance so long as Europe overwhelms them with drunken emigrants.

But far above all these rises the huge obstruction of slavery, deadening the conscience and weakening the energy of the many, while it absorbs the undying philanthropy of the few. Not only must this vital question constantly override even the necessities of social reformation, but it benumbs the sense of rectitude and intensifies the selfishness of the whole people. With how mincing and tender a footstep is this great evil approached even among the citizens of the 'free states!' The chink of the immortal dollar is louder than the clang of the chain. The cord which binds the hands of the abolitionist senator is purchased on the Exchange at New York or Philadelphia. How can it be otherwise than that temperance should sometimes languish, and at times even seem to die, in such an atmosphere as this?

But we cannot boast much of our own superiority. The American palliates the crime of keeping in bondage his coloured brother, and urges the difficulties and dangers which must attend anything but a compromise with the wickedness. The Briton points proudly to the record on which is emblazoned, as the accomplished policy of his country, 'Total and unconditional emancipation;' but he shields with anxious devotion the vested interest of the brewer or the distiller, and declares the impossibility of attempting anything more than a regulation and restriction of the traffic which brutalises his fellow and stains his country with blood.

We cannot now pursue this subject further.

The following is a tabular statement of the progress and present position of the Maine Law agitation in all the states in which it has been at any time adopted.

PRESENT STATE OF NORTH AMERICA RELATIVE TO LEGISLATION AGAINST THE SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

UNITED STATES.

PROHIBITION *in full and satisfactory operation in the following of the United States.*

STATE.	Date of Law.	Area in Square Miles.	Population, 1850.	Representatives in Congress.	REMARKS.
Maine . . .	1851	35,000	583,169	6	First law, 1846; second, 1851; repealed, 1856; re-enacted, 1858.
Massachusetts .	1852	7,250	994,514	11	In this state, after much opposition, the law stands firm.
Rhode Island .	1852	1,200	147,545	2	Much obstructed at first; has since been improved, and is now in beneficent operation.
Vermont . .	1852	8,000	314,120	3	Adopted at the earliest date by unanimous acclamation. This law has always been effectively sustained.
Michigan . .	1853	56,243	397,564	4	The legal difficulties which at first obstructed this law have given way, the Supreme Court, with one dissentient voice, having pronounced the law constitutional. Not well enforced, however.
Connecticut . .	1854	4,750	370,792	4	After repeated efforts, this state rejoices in an effective administration of the law.
Delaware . .	1855	2,120	91,532	1	The first of the slave states to adopt prohibition.
Iowa . . .	1855	50,914	192,214	2	Ratified by a popular vote.
New Hampshire .	1855	9,280	317,976	3	Completing the list of New England states.

States in which PROHIBITION *is the law, but in which its operation has been impeded, or set on one side, by hostile legal decisions.*

STATE.	Date of Law.	Area in Square Miles.	Population, 1850.	Representatives in Congress.	REMARKS.
Indiana . . .	1855	33,809	988,416	11	Is practically useless, having been declared, in its present form, unconstitutional. The difficulty is, however, merely technical.
New York . .	1855	46,000	3,097,394	33	After six months of most beneficial operation the law has been decided to be unconstitutional. The points raised, of course, were purely technical and local; such as a collision between state and general law, the peculiar difficulty of a Federal Union, and the power given to the state constitution by the legislature as regards confiscation of property. The law will be amended, not repealed.
Minnesota (Territory).	1852	141,839	6,077	—	The Supreme Court decided that this law was unconstitutional, on the ground that it had been submitted to a direct vote of the people. The people, however, having sustained it by a large majority, the legislature has not repealed it.

In

In the following State PROHIBITION *has suffered temporary popular disaster.*

STATE.	Date of Law.	Area in Square Miles.	Population, 1850.	Representatives in Congress.	REMARKS.
Illinois . . .	1855	53,409	851,470	9	An ill-constructed law, since repealed, to be replaced by a better.

States and Territories in progress towards PROHIBITION, *or in which laws of partial* PROHIBITION *or severe restriction have been already adopted.*

STATE.	Date of Law.	Area in Square Miles.	Population, 1850.	Representatives in Congress.	REMARKS.
Ohio . . .	1854	39,964	1,980,329	21	A stringent law, prohibiting sale of all liquors, except wine and cider made from native produce.
Pennsylvania .	1855	46,000	2,311,786	25	Retail trade prohibited. Legal difficulties obstruct the full operation of the law.
Wisconsin . .	—	53,924	305,391	3	The elections of 1855 resulted in the choice of a governor favourable to prohibition, but the law was lost by a narrow majority.
Maryland . .	1855	11,124	583,034	6	Passed by the Representatives, but lost in the Senate (slave state).
New Jersey . .	—	8,320	489,555	5	The law recently lost by an even, or tie-vote. The council of Jersey city have carried out a sort of prohibitory ordinance among themselves by a vote of ten to one.
South Carolina .	1856	29,385	668,507	6	Slave state. Total prohibition on Sundays.
Tennessee . .	1856	45,600	1,002,717	10	Slave state. Prohibition of sales in quantities less than one quart.
Texas . . .	—	237,504	212,592	2	A law prohibiting retail sales was sustained by an overwhelming majority in 1854, and has since received extension.
Nebraska . .	—	335,882	—	—	Almost unanimous petitions, *all* the females joining.
Mosquito (Indian)	—	—	—	—	Total prohibition, as stipulated expressly in the treaty recently signed by Lord Clarendon and Mr. Dallas.

BRITISH AMERICA.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

A law of partial prohibition in 1853; repealed in 1854. Total prohibition adopted in 1855, and enforced in 1856. The hostility of the lieutenant-governor to the law enabled its enemies to repeal it. The province is now under most stringent license. Prohibition will shortly, in all probability, be re-enacted.

NOVA SCOTIA.

Narrow majorities in some technical point of order have delayed the measure in this province.

PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND.

Narrowly defeated in 1854.

CANADA.

Lost, in 1856, by 51 to 50. Many counties are under 'no-license' authorities, and are consequently without the sale of intoxicants.

ART. VII.—CASTE.

'Howe'er it be—it seems to me—
'Tis only noble to be good;
Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood.'
TENNYSON.

IF you search through the whole south of England, or indeed a much wider range, it would be very difficult to find a more pretty, compact, little, ancient city than C——, with its venerable market-cross in the centre, and diverging avenues, named so rightly after the points of the compass, and its four quadrangles made by the intersection of the streets. Its cathedral, where beauty atones for the absence of vastness, and the fine remains of old ramparts, planted with rows of trees seemingly as old, throw a look of verdant freshness on the time-stained buildings and quiet thoroughfares. Indeed, the fault strangers find with C—— is its quietude. Once a week, on market-days, the tradespeople seem to wake up to the propriety of airing their shops by setting open the doors, and slightly renovating the windows; and the young traders put on their smartest clothes and smiles, and talk of being busy. When the shortlived excitement of that time is over, they all seem to doze away until, in due order, market-day comes round again. The cathedral chimes echo musically through the tranquil streets, and even the little urchins, going to or from school, are far more staid than in other places: they hear their own voices so plainly, that in the shadow of the cathedral, and amid the cloistered arches, a sort of hush falls on them, and keeps them in check until they are past the old lime-tree avenue and in the breezy fields, and then it is noticeable that most of them look back with an air of defiance, and shout so lustily that many maiden ladies of our city, startled by the distant noise, are wont to speak most gloomily of the rising generation, and wonder what the world is coming to. There is, however, one characteristic of C——, even more marked than its quietude, and on which its inhabitants greatly pride themselves. It is a most select, exclusive city—none of your upsetting modern notions about 'universal brotherhood,' and 'nature's gentlemen,' and the 'nobility of worth or talent:' all these phrases and their signification are tabooed among the more ancient gentry of C——; and as to the newer residents of their class, they most likely have taken up their abode within its venerable walls because they like 'the tone of society' in the place, and the strictness with which social distinctions are preserved.

The three Misses Fitzflam were for years among the most energetic sticklers for a rigid exclusiveness, and in furtherance of this object they had constituted themselves the warders of the gentility of their native city. They watched over Miss Megrim's school, and ferreted out the pedigree of every new scholar who arrived there, jealously guarding against the introduction of such a contamination as a tradesman's daughter among the pupils; by which *surveillance* Miss Megrim was kept in trepidation and poverty, with the empty consolation of teaching only gentlemen's daughters, and the prospect of an almshouse or governess's retreat as the abode of her old age. The seven tall daughters of Dr. Rawney, the chief medical man in the town, would on no account associate with or meet the five Misses Tiffany, the merry group who surrounded the parlour fire of the rich retired draper. The Rawneys resented, as did the whole troop of half-pay officers and their families (C—— is rich in this class), the presumption of Tiffany in making a fortune, and then living in a handsome private house in the best street, under their very noses—'the upstart!' Even the religion—and very religious, indeed, the old city claimed to be—is tinctured with this feeling. The congregation at St. Blazy Church diminished rapidly when a new curate came with the vulgar name of 'Stubbs,' and was discovered to be the very studious and deserving son of a Southampton tailor. As to the dissenters, they were, one and all, either ignored as schismatics that had no right to intrude themselves into a cathedral city, or scorned as levellers and vulgarians.

But on one fine autumn morning, nearly a year ago, the whole city was alive with bustle and excitement. There was to be a public meeting on Indian affairs. In no part of the British dominions was there greater interest taken in, or sympathy felt for the sufferers in the fearful oriental tragedy

tragedy than in C——. Many of the resident gentry were widows and maiden ladies, deriving support from, or connected by relationship with India; and they were all hastening to the morning meeting, which was the genteel aristocratic gathering. In the evening, of course, plebeians would assemble, 'and indeed,' said Miss Penelope Fitzflam, with a condescending air, 'I hope they will gather in great force, poor things! only there's no need exactly, my dear, for our mixing with them;' and she drew up the skirts of her dress with a dainty air, stepped into her reserved seat, and soon after, with a flush of angry crimson rushing over her face, and kindling into a bright illumination on the tips of her cheek-bones and at the end of her nose, she pointed, quivering with rage, to 'those odious Tiffany girls! What assurance to come in the morning, and to the reserved seats, too! It was past bearing.'

Yes, there they were looking so modest and neat that foolish Mrs. Major St. Leger said, to the horror of the Fitzflams, 'What a pity they're a tradesman's daughters; they really look like us.'

'It's a very long day, my dear,' replied her gouty husband, drily, 'since you looked like them.'

One of the main topics of the meeting was the 'CASTE' prejudices of India. There was a missionary present who told of the absurd distinctions, and all the senseless and cruel details preserved by prejudice and folly in the East, under the name of religion. Nothing could exceed the interest with which these statements were listened to. The ladies, especially, were all ear, and testified, by gestures of surprise, indignation, or contempt, their detestation of this 'vile Hindoo nonsense of *caste*.' 'It must no longer be fostered or pandered to.' 'No, no! Away with such assumptions and arrogance!' was the thought in every mind, and the word on many lips. As the company retired, no one was more eloquent on the subject of this odious heathen prejudice than the Misses Fitzflam, as they contrived to surround themselves with their friends, and to stop the main entrance when the 'Tiffany girls' were coming up, and by a successful manœuvre compelled them, and a quiet-looking lady they had with them, to leave by the side entrance.

'I'll tell you what, ladies,' growled Major St. Leger, as he waited in the lobby for his carriage, 'there's as much "CASTE" in England as in India, only the difference lies in this: the Hindoo religion enjoins it, and the people are faithful to their creed; the Christian religion forbids it, and the people are faithless!'

'Dear me, what strange opinions!' said many voices, while a little titter went round, and a well-bred whisper circulated that 'the major's gout had made him testy.' Yet somehow the words struck home, and even the Misses Fitzflam felt uncomfortable, and resolved mentally not to oppose—as they had intended to do—the admission of the Misses Tiffany to a monthly working party for making winter clothing for the poor.

Among the gifts bestowed that day, with enthusiastic generosity, to aid the sufferers, was one most munificent in amount; the initials of the donor's name alone were given: F. L. S. Who could it be? Here was something for the gossips to sift out—a delightful little mystery to employ and perplex the idlers of our quiet city. After a long round of morning calls, and many discussions and conjectures as to the modest donor of the munificent gift, the three Misses Fitzflam spent the evening with the St. Legers. The major was amusing for his very waywardness, and, stiff-starched as two out of the three sisters were, they had sense enough to like the flavour of the racy speeches they professed to be amazed at. So it happened that, as they drew around the cheerful fire, their host sitting in his easy chair, Mrs. St. Leger and her guests, for want of other topics, fell to canvassing their neighbours, as is the wont, 'tis said, of ladies in provincial towns. The morning wonderment was renewed, and the mysterious initials were again scanned.

'Oh, it was Frederick Lord Sandown,' said one.

'No, it was surely Felicia Louisa Suffington,' said another.

'Stuff!' said Major St. Leger; 'he's over head and ears in debt; and the widow Felicia will give to sufferers, all and sundry, what she can very well spare—her words; and will keep what she very much loves—her money!'

'Oh, dear!' gasped Penelope Fitzflam, as if a shower-bath had descended upon her. 'You're so severe! so very, very

very severe, major! But who can it be, then, who gives away hundreds in our city, and puts only initials? Let me see,' she continued, in a musing tone. 'F. L. S. There's the Devereux's and De Gange's and—'

'Spare your guesses, Miss Pen.—I have it,' said the major; 'it's "Frances Lucy Staples," you may depend. I saw her full name to a cheque the other day, and made some other discoveries. Yes, yes; the little quiet body that you did not call upon because she was intimate with the Tiffanys, and who has never been invited to any of your fussy—pardon me—charity-gatherings I mean.'

'But, nevertheless, one would not be rude, you know, major,' said Miss Annabella Fitzflam, the youngest sister, with a wintry smile wandering over her hard face, and making it look yet more cold and worldly. 'If this lady is rich, and unfortunately has no acquaintances but these Tiffanys—who no doubt, have fastened themselves on her—we must cultivate her. I shall call upon her to-morrow. But what makes you think she has given this sum of money to the Indian Fund?'

'Oh, because I know she is generous, if not rich. There's no one else among us—poor, proud puppets that we are—could or would afford a quarter the sum.'

'But,' persisted Mrs. St. Leger, with true wifely curiosity, 'tell us how it is she is so rich. Who is she?'

'A lady, my dear, who condescended to live usefully. She may not be exactly rich, but she has money, and she made it. A retired shopkeeper.'

'Oh, horrid! A tradesman is bad enough—that is, except *us* a tradesman—but a tradeswoman! Really, major, your "lady" soared at first like a balloon in your description, but your conclusion is quite a collapse.' A little, dry, crackling sound, meant to be a laugh, followed this bit of Miss Penelope's oratory.

The major knit his brows, grasped his crutch-stick tight in his hands, and leaning forward on it, as he sat in his easy chair, answered:

'I repeat my words. Mrs. Staples, whose identity with a well-remembered friend of days long past I never discovered until I recently saw her Christian names, is, I repeat it, a lady who has lived usefully, I may add nobly—a great distinction—for one who has not had the joy or sorrow of near personal ties. Properly speaking, she is still *Miss* Staples, though her age sanctions the more matronly title usually given her. It may be, ladies, that, amid your studies in musty family records, and your careful adjustment of etiquette and conventionalism—the CASTE prejudices of the West, as arbitrary, and far more inconsistent, than those of the East—it may be that you have lost heart as well as head. If so, I keep my story to myself, if not'——

'Oh! pray, major,' exclaimed the usually quiet Mary Fitzflam, the second sister, 'tell us about her. If we are really so very wrong, set us right.'

'Ah! my dear major, do leave fault-finding, and tell us this story,' echoed Mrs. St. Leger.

'Well, it's soon told, ladies. Thirty years ago, or more, there was a rich old fool of a knight in Devonshire'——

The audience all laughed at this beginning, and Miss Penelope, who was not wanting in shrewdness, said, 'Happy Devonshire, if it is thirty years since they have had such a commodity as a rich old fool!'

'Oh! madam, spare your criticisms. The breed is not extinct in Devon, or elsewhere. This Sir John Polixphene's folly showed itself thus: being left a widower, he commenced a search after a second wife, and sought among ladies who were about the age of his first wife when he had married her forty years before. A rich young girl to whom he proposed laughed out so honestly at his preposterous offer, that for some time his folly was kept in check; but it broke forth again when he was visiting at the house of a medical gentleman in Exeter, whom I will call Dr. Hale. Now the doctor had a numerous young family—a little hundred, as we say—and he complained that, as if his burdens were not sufficiently great, an orphan sister of his wife's lived with them, who certainly did not add to the pressure. Poor thing! she had not an easy life, for she was the fag to the children, doing more than any nursemaid or governess, without wages, and yet was expected to keep up an appearance as a young lady, and not disgrace the family by appearing shabby, or libel it by looking melancholy. I don't say they were unkind. They were straitened in means, and had to make a smooth surface to the world, and very hard

hard work that was for all, but most for the sister, who was overworked, underfed, and yet regarded as a favoured dependent. An elder sister years before had lived with Mrs. Hale, but being well-educated and high-spirited she took flight to India, meaning to be a governess, or something of that kind; but the disgrace, as Dr. Hale called it, of such a step was prevented by her marrying a poor gentleman in the civil service there. Meanwhile the younger sister had grown up in bondage, and had no means, it seemed, of escape. She was flimsily taught, as girls mostly were then; and so a genteel drudge she was, and knew pretty well the meaning of the word torture.

'But imagine the sensation that was caused when old Sir John Polixphene looked in the face of this poor thing, and saw that it was very fair amid its pensiveness, and that her being grown out of her vamped-up frock was by no means a way to hide the graces of her form. But I'm not going to dwell on this ogreish love. The young girl shrank from him as a pure nature, revolted by hoary imbecility and folly, would and should. But the family, when they saw this monstrous infatuation of the old man's, were in ecstacies. Their little fag was instantly elevated into a person of consequence in the household, and "Don't tease darling Aunty so" was the new and strange command to the children, who had always considered "Little Aunty" as their lawful property, as much as the nursery kitten that they pulled and pinched—only Aunty had no talons.

'Shame, perhaps, kept Mrs. Hale from any explanation with her sister. She thought that the prospect of leaving a scene of toil, having a rich home, and being called "My lady," would overcome any natural repugnance the young girl might have to the man who could offer these advantages. So there came a day when, by the connivance of the doctor and his wife, Sir John found himself alone with the object of his monstrous passion. She had so carefully avoided him, that he eagerly seized the opportunity, and made his offer to the shocked and startled girl. Calmly and most decidedly she refused him, to the amazement of the suitor, who was by no means ignorant of the worldly value of his social status, and attributed the failure he had before met with to the fact of the lady having a fortune of her own. "Had she been poor," he argued, "she would have given a very different reply." But here was an incomprehensible young girl, the bond-slave in a family of tyrants young and old, who refused to escape to rank and freedom, and who kept saying nervously—"Sir! respect for you, as well as myself, prevents my for an instant listening to your offer." In an evil moment the infatuated old sinner alluded to her dependence, and then the young girl's timidity vanished, and she asked him—"Is it because I am poor, and, alas! friendless, that you have made this proposal? Do you force me to consider it not a folly, but an insult?" He saw in a moment, ladies, that it was no pretty, mealy-mouthed "*No*," that meant—"*Yes*," such as conventionalism, I am told, requires from female lips. He, Sir John Polixphene, with his houses and lands, his gifts and graces, was refused by this poor dependent, who dared to stigmatise the marriage he proposed as "a violation of the sanctities of nature." In a terrible rage—for nothing is so provoking as truth—the aged suitor hobbled away.

'If there was rage on his part, who shall describe the tempest that burst on the poor girl? Dr. Hale and his wife, disappointed, mortified beyond endurance, sent forth bitter, arrowy words that wounded their victim at every pore. Ah, ladies! the martyrdom of St. Sebastian is but a type of what society often inflicts. In vain the poor girl pleaded, "she could not love the man, and that marriage without love was deadly sin." They affected to be horrified at such sentiments—bold, unfeminine, immoral, indecent; but the long and short of it was, Dr. Hale would maintain such a rebellious, ungrateful creature no longer.

'Roused by the very imminence of her destitution, the young girl said, "Let me try to get my living; I want to be a burden to no one."

'"Yes, and degrade us! You know, you mean-spirited creature, that a woman loses caste when she descends from her station to business pursuits, for as to a profession, you can't even be a governess! What do you know properly pray?"

'To punish her, rather than to part with

with her altogether, the Hales dismissed her from their house to the dwelling of an old servant, who lived in a village some miles distant; and hoped that they might propitiate Sir John, and bring down the spirit of their relative: but they signally failed, for, in the quiet of the poor cottage, the persecuted girl recruited both mind and body. She took a calm view of her position; and feeling herself released from her sister's care by being sent from her dwelling, she resolved, as the old story-books say, to go forth and seek her fortune. She was a good needlewoman, and though then, as now, there were plenty of distressed seamstresses, still she resolved to try her skill; and hearing that the old servant with whom she was now living had a sister in Plymouth who kept an outfitting shop, she wrote to her, and asked to be allowed to make a trial as an assistant in her business. The plan was soon arranged; and just as Dr. and Mrs. Hale were intending to command her return (for she was sorely missed in their household), she had established herself at a little work-table in a garret under the friendly roof of her new acquaintance at Plymouth.

'It was a hard struggle for life for many a weary month; but she had tasted the sweets of the crust earned by honest, independent toil, and she persevered. One letter passed on each side between her and her relatives—a peremptory order to return, or to consider herself no longer a relation of theirs. A quiet refusal to comply with the first request, and a hope that she should never be unworthy of her name, comprised the whole correspondence. The Hales caused it to be believed in Exeter that their sister had gone to reside with a relative at a distance, and she was no longer spoken of among them. Henceforth they were dead to each other.

'Two years passed. At the expiration of that time the poor seamstress found herself able to remove her residence to a thriving country town some distance from Plymouth, where she hoped to have better health than had up to that time been her portion. She lived a very secluded life, known to very few; and, by toiling on, was just able to maintain herself, but yet happy in her lot.

'On reaching the town to which she removed, a change awaited her that developed her unselfish character, and led to better days. She had scarcely been settled in her lodgings three weeks, when an epidemic disorder broke out in the town, and carried sickness and death into many dwellings. Its progress was so rapid and fatal, that all who could left the place panic-stricken. Opposite to the young seamstress's lodging was the handsome shop of the principal bookseller and printer of the town. A father and son were the proprietors of the business; and the family, besides these, consisted of the son's wife and child, a young sister, two apprentices, and a servant. Into this abode the fever entered with fearful power: the servant and eldest apprentice died two days after the first attack; and then the other apprentice ran away; and the neighbours, in their dread, refused to enter the dwelling where both the partners in the business, father and son, were seized with the malady in its most malignant form. From her window the lonely needlewoman watched the pallid, delicate wife waiting on her husband and father-in-law, and saw that the child and the shop were left to the young sister Bertha, a girl of some fourteen years of age. Her resolution was taken to go over and offer assistance. When she named her determination to her landlady, she was told she must not return to those lodgings if she went to the fever-stricken house. However, she went, and was hailed as an angel of light by the poor worn-out young wife. A wonderful energy supported the visitor to that house of affliction. She it was who cut off all intercourse between the shop and the house, and restricted Bertha and the child to the front premises day and night. She it was who watched and waited on the sufferers, and on the dismal night that deprived the poor wife both of husband and father-in-law, she was the helper and the comforter, the nurse and friend.

'With these victims the fever departed; but scarcely had the grave closed over them when the child, who had been well through all the troubles, sickened and died of some infantine disease; and the poor widow, heart-broken at her sorrows, had but little strength for an expected trial that was to give a fatherless infant to her arms. In two months' time a new life came into

into that house of death; and through all these varied scenes of calamity, the young seamstress was a ministering angel, ever active, ready, cheerful. Her health returned as these demands were made on her energies. When not in the sick-room, she studied the details of the business; and the neighbours, when their fright was over, feeling ashamed of their desertion of the widow in her time of need, now vied with each other in promoting the business which, at first, had been threatened with ruin. The widow, as soon as she partially recovered, instructed her willing helper, who, aided by the young sister, contrived to take all severe toil from the bereaved; and if health and comfort could have come to the widow, the house of sorrow would have lost its gloom. But Mrs. Festonleigh never rallied. The second summer after the death of her husband she also departed, leaving her little girl Alice, the posthumous child, her sister Bertha, and the business in trust for them, to the friend who had come to her in her hour of need. So you see our seamstress had now her hands full—a family and a shop bequeathed to her. She was equal to it. She farmed off the printing business, taking a moderate profit from it, but not parting with it; and, having both taste and judgment, so increased the book and library department, that soon it was the best shop in the town. She fulfilled her trust; gave Alice a good education; and offered, when she came of age, to resign the business to her. But Alice had other prospects. She became the wife of the captain of a merchant ship, and would only take a very moderate dower from one whom she rightly regarded as a mother. Bertha, delicate from childhood, had died years before. And so there was no impediment to the prosperity of the subject of my narrative. Simple in her mode of living, regular in her business pursuits, she grew gradually but surely rich. All the investments of her savings were wisely made; but money, for its own sake, she did not value. There was not a charitable institution in the town, or at length in the county, that she did not benefit; and it came to pass that her Exeter relations found her out. They were somewhat scandalised at having a shopkeeping sister; but as she manifested no intention of visiting them, they had not the disgrace brought home to them; and in proportion to her firm refusals to come to them, were their entreaties that she would gratify their affectionate hearts by her presence. She did not comply: but there were other requests she was less resolute in refusing. Loans of money for the education of her nephews, or to replenish the wardrobes of her nieces, were often craved, and as often sent: as to whether they were ever repaid, I know not.

'To her sister who had married in India, and who came home a widow with a slender income and a broken constitution—to that dear sister she was a true friend. She took a charming cottage for her in a sheltered situation on the banks of the Tavey, and soothed her declining years with the tenderest love.

'A cottage on the banks of the Tavey!' Major St. Leger, 'why, are you speaking of any relation of your brother's wife all this time?' said Mrs. St. Leger, with surprise.

'Of course I am, my dear. Her sister Fanny, who so kindly paid for the education of our nephew George, and did a thousand acts of generosity during my brother's troubles. For we know,' he added, looking at his wife, 'that Indian life is not all splendour and prosperity. There, as elsewhere, those who do the most work are the worst paid.'

'Well! but how was it you did not know of her residence here?'

'Why, I have not so long been here, you know, and when I came from Rome, I purposed going down to the west; and then I heard from one of the young Hales that his aunt Fanny had retired from business, and was travelling for a time; and I find she took a young girl, who had been a schoolfellow of her ward Alice, with her to Germany—the eldest sister of the Tiffanys—and that began the friendship with them; and so for a time she has made her abode here, and tested the courtesy and hospitality of our venerable city.'

'Dear, goodness! It's very strange, I must say, for a gentleman's daughter to go into trade.'

'Oh! as to that, ladies, spare your wonder; some of our best nobility have had no higher origin. Here's a book,' he added, tapping a volume, with Mudie's label, that lay on the table, which says 'Cornwallis and Coventry

the Earls of Radnor, Essex, Dartmouth, Craven, Harwich, Tankerville, Pomfret, Darnley, Cowper, and Romney, are respectively descended from a city merchant, a London mercer, a silk manufacturer, a city alderman, a member of the Skinners' Company, a merchant tailor, a mercer, a Calais merchant; and good London citizens were the ancestors of the other noble families;* and very good ancestors too, better, to my mind, than the pretty Mistress Nelly, or the crafty Duchess of Portsmouth, or the imperious Castlemaine, and other ill-omened birds of that feather.'

'Well, major, but what became of the old lover with whom your story commenced?' said Mary Fitzflam.

'Oh! he went home and married his housemaid, a buxom lass of twenty, and a pretty piece of business he made of it.'

'But, my dear major,' interposed Miss Penelope Fitzflam, her eyes kindling with triumph, 'according to your theory, in thus acting he was only showing his superiority to "*caste* prejudices."'

'Pardon me, Miss Pen. I'm no leveller, and I have no sympathy with all the wild talk about equality that some people delight in.

'This miserable old man might have found companionship for his declining years among his many relatives, or he might have chosen suitably as to age and education, and married well and wisely. But early youth naturally shrank from him; and when he chose a wife without education or principle, I say he disgraced his family and stained his name. You ladies often quote Scripture; I do not. I abstain reverently from doing that which you as reverently, perhaps, feel constrained to do. But there's a pithy little sentence of four words — "Be not unequally yoked"—which I suppose is a divine command, is it not? Now youth and age, refinement and rudeness, education and ignorance, these are inequalities—they are not contrasts merely. Contrasts may harmonise, as discords in music. I have seen a few such marriages in my time, though hardly so outrageous as old Sir John Polixphene's, and they all turned out much the same. A low woman, unable to comprehend her position, intent on showing off the finery, for which she has sold herself, among her former companions—feeling a loathing and impatience towards the man who has bought her—what but misery and shame can, or ought to come, from such nuptials? I believe Sir John's lady was true to her early training and pursuits, and flourished her besom famously after she ceased to be accredited housemaid. None dared dispute her rule, least of all her husband. She embittered his life, shortened his days, spent his money, and ended by marrying an old flame—the coachman—who, it was said—I hope with truth—paid off Sir John's debts. No, no, ladies; to honour worth wherever it is found, to abjure the paltry pride whose root is in the charnel-house of antiquity, and to recognise the truth—

> "The rank is but the guinea stamp,
> The man's the gowd for a' that—"

that would do good in many a little pent-up circle—where there can be no growth for the virtues hemmed in by barriers that shut out both the light of reason and the air of freedom.'

The old major's eyes flashed as he spoke; and Mary Fitzflam—who was better than her name—shook his hand as he ceased, and said, 'Thank you, sir, for your narrative and your comments. I, for one, shall not forget your words. I hope the time may soon come when these caste prejudices among us may pass away, and Christian principles be as manifest in our social institutions as they are vaunted in our professions.'

Whether Miss Mary's hopes are yet realised in C——, the writer can scarcely say, but a better state of things prevails; and when a good action is done, the doer of it is not snubbed if he or she happen to belong to the class of workers; and the idlers are less assured of their gentility than they once were. Poor Miss Megrim ventures to introduce into her schoolroom now and then a particularly well-behaved daughter of the trading class, and is evidently not so much in awe of aristocratic peeping and prying, and thinks less dolefully of the almshouse that seems fading rather than looming in the distance.

Even in a cathedral city, ventilation of opinion is possible in this age of marvels.

* See 'The History and Antiquities of North Allerton, in the county of York,' by C. T. Davidson Ingledew, Esq. See also 'Athenæum,' August 14th, p. 195.

Meliora:

ART. I. — 1. *Reports of the House of Commons on Transportation.* 1837-50.
2. *Reports of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Britain.* V. Y.
3. *Memoranda on Intermediate Convict Prisons.* 1857.
4. *Captain Crofton's Notes on Colonel Jebb's Report.* 1858.

THE present age is specially marked by restlessness and progress. Nothing is allowed to stand still. Every habit, however honoured by the practice of past ages, is brought to examination and trial, and continued or rejected according as it agrees with, or is repugnant to, what are regarded as the fixed first principles which ought to regulate human conduct.

We take no gloomy view of our present state. Doubtless there are changes advocated which are not to be approved, steps eagerly counselled which lead wholly away from the right path; but still most of the social changes in progress are for good. There is much more of Christian love and sympathy betwixt the various classes of men than in former days, and there is much more acknowledgment of the supremacy of God's law, and of its applicability to the transactions of nations and of society, as well as of private individuals; and from these facts we think ourselves entitled to take courage, and hope that the wider diffusion and more effectual application of these simple but most powerful motives, are gradually, but surely, working out a better and a happier state of society than that which now exists in the world.

There is no department of social science to which these remarks are more applicable than to the development of what is termed 'prison discipline.' This is no place to discuss fully what constitutes crime. In the highest sense, every violation of God's law is crime; but from man's point of view, and in ordinary language, crime may be defined to be an act which is considered to be essentially wrong in itself, and which, at the same time, is felt to be injurious to society, and which is therefore punished that it may be prevented. In the ruder stages of society, characterised by violence in every direction, where *might* alone makes *right*, *vengeance* is the sole principle applied in the treatment of crime. This was the dominant feature of criminal law during the classical and feudal ages, slightly modified during the decline of the latter

by the romantic feelings of chivalry. This stern, almost merciless system, has given its own colour, more or less, to the criminal laws of modern Europe; for a principle, or a practice, once introduced, continues to operate long after the state of society in which it arose has passed away. The warlike spirit of the barons of the middle ages put to death fellow-creatures for offences against their horses, their armour, or their game; and the mercantile spirit of the eighteenth century hanged them for the most paltry offences against property. In each case the *principle* was to protect what was most valued, and the *practice* was to take the most effectual means to prevent the repetition of the crime. Both were developments of 'might making right,' going very far beyond what was just and equitable. With the gradual decay of the feudal system, the administration of criminal law was mollified; but it was not until the nations of Europe had become enlightened by the diffusion of scriptural truth and Bible principles, consequent on the great events of the sixteenth century—events whose beneficent influence extends far beyond the boundaries of the nations which have the name of Protestant—that any deliberate improvement took place in the treatment of criminals.

Criminal law and prison discipline ought to embrace two distinct objects—punishment of the offence, and reformation of the offender. These ought never to be disjoined; but whenever a system of criminal law gives an undue preponderance either to the one or the other, it must fail in accomplishing its end. There can be no question that, up to a recent date, our criminal laws erred grievously on the side of severity; at the present moment the tendency is in the opposite direction; and we have need to take care that we do not treat our criminals as objects of romantic interest, rather than as poor and miserable sinners. In a simple state of society, where the usual agencies for moral improvement are in vigorous operation, simple punishment may be found sufficient, both for the public good and for the good of the criminal. Corporeal suffering, sharp but transient, may be found to deter from repetition of offences; and if we may judge from the recorded experience of Judea, of Egypt, and of China, it need infer no permanent disgrace, nor prevent the immediate return of the criminal to his ordinary place and duties among his fellows. When, however, society becomes more complex, and when a distinctly-marked criminal class has come into existence, whatever may have been the cause, then this simple treatment becomes ineffectual or impracticable, and imprisonment as a punishment becomes common; and this furnishes the raw material on which the improvers of prison discipline have to operate. In countries under despotic government, where 'might makes right,' the treatment of prisoners depends on the caprice of the ruling power; and actions which

which in other lands would scarcely be felt to be offences, and still less crimes, are visited by punishments of the greatest severity. In free countries like our own, where *right* alone makes *might*, the reverse is apt to be the case; and there is at the present day no small risk that feelings of sympathy for offenders may be carried to such an extent as to lead us to forget both what is due to society and what is due to the best interests of criminals themselves. A remarkable instance of this is to be found in the endeavours now made to abolish the punishment of death even in cases of murder; and it appears in another form, in the prevalent opinion that the officials of a prison cannot be doing their duty unless the prisoners under their charge be increasing in weight from month to month.

The earlier criminal law of our own country was marked by extreme severity. Vengeance for the crime, the infliction of pain and suffering in order to deter from its repetition, were the only principles in operation. In the present day the physical circumstances of a prison are made as free from suffering, and even from discomfort, as combined skill and kindness can contrive consistently with the safe custody of the inmates; and every exertion is made to reclaim the criminal by moral and religious training, so that he may be returned to society a useful, self-supporting member.

There is no part of our social progress on which we look with more entire satisfaction than the change in our criminal laws, and our treatment of prisoners, even although we feel it to be chargeable with serious mistakes. It has advanced slowly, but steadily, in the right direction, and the alterations made during the last century are a most instructive subject of study.

The founder of modern prison discipline was John Howard, one of the noblest and most useful men whom the world has ever seen. His exertions were first and principally directed to the structure of prisons and the feeding and clothing of the inmates; and in truth, when he commenced his labours, such was the horrible state of the prisons of Britain (and of all Europe), that until their physical state was entirely changed, no moral improvement could be introduced. The fearful state of prisons arose partly from thoughtlessness, partly from a deliberate desire of making them really places of suffering, and this purpose they most amply fulfilled. Howard was at first regarded as an amiable gentleman, who troubled himself and his neighbours about a class of people who deserved no sympathy; but few reformers have been so thoroughly successful in the task prescribed to themselves. Before he died, the correctness of his principles was admitted, not only in his own country, but in almost every kingdom of Europe; and since his death they have spread more and more in actual practice; and the whole system of modern prison discipline is but

their full development. It is no wonder that Howard was successful. The basis of his whole work was Christian love, and this was guided and applied by vigorous common sense and indomitable perseverance. Doubtless his labours were made more acceptable by the terror excited in Britain by the occasional ravages of gaol fever. What abstract love of our fellow-men might have failed to do was accomplished by dread of this fell disease.

It is difficult now to realise the state of a large prison in Howard's early days. If human ingenuity had been taxed to the uttermost to devise the mode of gathering into a small space everything that was most vile and most mischievous, a prison in 1760 might well have been the result. It was so constructed and so managed as to be a perfect pandemonium, well entitled to have engraven on its portals the dread line of the Italian poet—

'Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'entrate.'

Men and women, boys and girls, the hardened criminal grown gray in a long career of iniquity, and the trembling little urchin convicted, or perhaps only accused of what scarcely deserved the name of a crime, were crowded together by day and by night. There was in many cases no distinction between tried and untried, there was little provision of food or clothing, and there was none of moral or religious instruction; and to complete the system, the income of the governors depended very much on the savings they could make from the payments they drew for feeding the prisoners, an irresistible temptation to keep them on short allowance; and when the period of sentence expired, there was no liberation until fees were paid, so heavy that many an unhappy being continued to pine in prison for years, perhaps for life, unless relieved by private charity. Imagination cannot picture a system more thoroughly opposed to the Christianity professed by the nation, and more calculated to debase and ruin all who came under its influence. It prevailed for many a year without control, and without even objection; and we doubt not, that, in the multitude and the hardihood of our confirmed professional criminals, we are at this day reaping the fruit of the evil seed sown by our forefathers. A great system of moral wrong, such as this treatment of prisoners, or, on a greater scale, such as the slavery of the western hemisphere, leaves its traces in society long after it has been abolished both by law and in practice, and its evils can only be eradicated by slow degrees.

Let us take a rapid survey of the changes which have been made in the management of prisons during the last hundred years.

The first thing accomplished was the improvement of the buildings; and in this matter we are inclined to think that we have gone far enough, perhaps too far. It is a marked feature, and a pleasant one, in John Bull's character, that once arouse him to

to the sense of having done a wrong, he is sure to go beyond all bounds in his endeavours to repair it. Thus it was with prison building. Satisfied that he had done very wrong in having dungeons of the worst description, he passed very quickly to the opposite extreme of thinking that he could not build them too good and too fine; and this notion probably reached its culminating point in the erection, some twenty years ago, of the great prison at York, where each cell cost no less than 1,200*l.*, and each prisoner sits at a house-rent of 60*l.* a year.

The glaring absurdity of this erection has given a check to the perpetration of such folly, and of late years the erection of prisons has been conducted on a scale rather more in conformity with the dictates of common sense. A prison ought to be a prison, and not a palace, even in its outward appearance. The past expenditure of money in architectural and engineering experiments on prisons is not, however, wholly to be regretted nor condemned. The result has been that we now know how a prison, whether large or small, ought to be constructed so as to provide at once for the safe custody of the inmates, and to give every facility for their physical, industrial, and religious training. The fault we are most inclined to find with modern prisons is that they are too large; and the great evil of this is the difficulty of finding men fit for the arduous duty of superintending them, and making their personal influence felt by every inmate, which is the great secret of success in all moral enterprises. Five hundred men will be found, each perfectly capable of managing a small school to perfection, for one who could bring Rugby to the state in which Arnold left it. His work was accomplished by making the workings of his own mind and heart be felt by every boy under his charge. It is the same in other things—in war—in politics: the number of men capable of influencing and moulding the minds of *multitudes* is very small; while those who can effectually guide a small number, and mould them to their will, are abundant—they are to be found everywhere in society. The conclusion is obvious: build no huge prisons on the speculation that possibly suitable persons to manage them may be found; but build them of moderate size, with the certainty that there will be no difficulty in finding abundance of good governors.

The next improvement adopted was the separation of male from female prisoners, of tried from untried, of juvenile delinquents from hoary offenders. It is clear that this is a first step in the reformation of prisoners, and equally clear that it could only be accomplished after the erection of suitable buildings.

The system of separation is now carried to the greatest possible extent in many of the ordinary prisons of Britain, where each prisoner has a separate cell, and no intercourse whatever is permitted

mitted betwixt one and another. The advantages of entire separation are very obvious. It puts an end to the corruption of any one prisoner by his intercourse with others, one of the worst results of imprisonment on the old plan. It was, however, much opposed, as being too severe, and calculated to have an injurious effect on criminals; various modifications were attempted, separate cells at night and working in association by day, or separation at night and at work, but association for instruction. All these proved instructive experiments, and doubtless there are advantages in association for work, and still greater in association for lessons; but the general result is very decidedly in favour of complete separation; for such is the ingenuity and cleverness of the criminal classes that it seems to defy the skill of the ablest governors to prevent mischief where intercourse in any shape or form is allowed. On this point the rules of the General Board of Directors of Prisons in Scotland are very stringent, and no evil but much good is found to result from their strict observance. There is an entire mistake very prevalent as to what the separate system really is. It is supposed to be *solitary* confinement; but it is nothing of the kind. The prisoner is effectually separated from all other prisoners, has no means of associating with them, but he is in perpetual association with all the officials of the prison. By associating with prisoners he may be expected to learn only evil; by associating with the prison officers he ought to learn only that which is good. The system of 'silent association,' tried in America, where the prisoners met for work and instruction, but were never allowed to speak to each other, or even to the officers, unless in reply to questions, never found much favour in this country. It was a prolonged slow torture rather than a punishment, and was incapable of being fully carried out unless by means of excessive severity. How strange that a system so tyrannical, forbidding for years the use of speech, one of God's greatest gifts to man, one of the powers which distinguish man from the brute creation, should have been devised and carried into operation and loudly praised by a people professing to recognise the rights of man more fully than any other nation upon earth!

The next step in advance was to attempt the instruction of prisoners. To us at the present day the employment of chaplains and teachers is so identified with the very existence of a prison that we can hardly think of a prison without them. A hundred years ago they were almost unknown, and there was no legal provision for their payment. If any persons in the community required such services, and had a right to them at the public cost on the ground of brotherly love, it was that class who had by their actions proved themselves to be either ignorant of, or wilful rebels against, the laws of God and man, and who, in consequence, were shut

shut up and secluded from the means of instruction of which all others in the country might avail themselves if they chose. None had so much need of every kind of instruction, and yet they alone were completely debarred from it so far as legal provision went, and the important work was left to the workings of occasional zeal and energy, and was too often discountenanced by prison officers. There was scarcely a prison in Britain where a chaplain or a teacher was employed by the public, and still fewer where such ministrations were acceptable to the officials. Gradually, however, sounder views took possession of the public mind, until the religious and moral and secular instruction of prisoners came to be enforced in every place; and now the chaplains and teachers are regarded, and justly so, as in many respects discharging more important duties than even the governor and warders. Along with all these improvements, the very important question of where prisoners were to be kept, and how they were to be disposed of, gradually became more and more important, and at the same time more difficult of solution. We have no very accurate statistical returns of prisoners a hundred years ago, but on the whole it is clear that the improvement of prisons was followed by a great increase of the number of prisoners. This was partly caused by improved police arrangements, by which more criminals were detected, partly by fewer deaths in prison, and partly by judges having no hesitation in sentencing to longer periods, when they knew that the offender would be duly cared for in every way, but principally by acts of parliament almost yearly adding to the number of offences to be thus punished. Whatever may have been the causes, the result was that the new prisons were soon completely filled, and hence came the system of transportation, which, from small beginnings, rose to be one of our great national institutions.

Britain has long been possessed of a boundless extent of unoccupied territories, many of them naturally fertile, and destined, no doubt, in after ages, to be the densely-peopled abodes of highly-civilised nations. In the latter part of the seventeenth century, and during more than the first half of the eighteenth, previous to the improvements in prison discipline, it had been the practice to sentence offenders, at first mostly for political or religious offences, to be banished to the plantations in North America. There some of them were apprenticed to settlers, being thereby reduced to a state very closely resembling that of slavery, either for life, or for a certain term of years; others were simply conveyed across the Atlantic, landed, and left to shift for themselves; and during the early part of last century this mode was adopted to get rid of many ordinary offenders of all kinds. The declaration of American independence put a sudden end to the practice, and it became necessary to find another outlet for our criminal population.

tion. Government fixed on the great continent whose coasts had then recently been explored by Captain Cook. The circumstances of New South Wales, however, were at the time widely different from those of the North American plantations. The land was wholly uncultivated, there were no colonists, and no demand for labour, and the only inhabitants of this vast territory were a few wandering tribes in the lowest state of civilisation. It was necessary to make entirely new arrangements, and it is very clear that in them there was little thought bestowed, either on the best interests of the criminals, or on those of the large portion of the earth's surface on which they were the first representatives of Anglo-Saxon energy and enterprise. Nothing, in fact, was contemplated but to deliver our own country from the presence of a troublesome portion of the community; and if they could only be removed out of sight, and effectually prevented from returning home, the desired object was attained. It never seems to have occurred to any one that the state could owe any *duty* to a criminal, or that any endeavour ought to be made to reclaim him. The first cargo of convicts landed at Botany Bay in 1788—a strange commencement of the great and wealthy colonies now so rapidly rising in importance. Along with the convicts a certain number of free settlers were sent out, tempted by various inducements, and especially by having convicts assigned to them as labourers, and there was an ample supply of soldiery and prison officers to keep the unruly convicts in some sort of order. After a few years' experience other penal settlements were formed in Van Diemen's Land, &c., and for about half a century we sent out, on an average, two thousand convicts every year; a vast relief, no doubt, to the mother-country. The whole arrangements, however, were nearly as bad as possible. There was little of *prison discipline* either on board ship during the long passage to the antipodes, or after landing in the colony, save the exercise of brute force; no chaplains, no teachers accompanied the convicts, and there was for many years no provision of religious instruction even for the voluntary colonists. The whole concern was placed, so far as statutory arrangements were concerned, beyond the pale of Christianity. Convicts were supposed to be too bad to be reclaimed, and the attempt was not made. Even the free settlers were at first, in many cases, not much more virtuous than the convicts; and altogether the records which have been preserved, though very imperfect, give a loathsome picture of the results of the first years of our penal colonies. Sin reigned triumphant, and almost unchecked.

The natural advantages of Australia, however, gradually attracted free settlers in greater numbers and of better character—the honest became the majority instead of the minority. Convict labour

labour then proved to be of great value to the rising colony; and for twenty or thirty years the system of transportation may be said to have flourished, the results of it for a time being advantageous both to the mother-country and to the colony, though the best interests of the unhappy convicts were still almost entirely overlooked.

One part of the system was thoroughly unjust—no provision was made for bringing back to England convicts whose period of sentence had expired. It was very costly, and England did not wish to see them again. Thus, a sentence of *seven years'* transportation became equivalent, in most cases, to a sentence for life. A few were able to pay or work their way home, but the greater part remained; and some of the most respectable inhabitants of the colony at the present day are the descendants of transported felons. Public attention, however, was gradually drawn to the fate of 'England's exiles,' and they were not overlooked during the progress of prison discipline at home. The passage out was more carefully regulated, chaplains were employed, and many excellent rules were laid down for the control and discipline of the convicts. But it is difficult even for the arm of Britain, powerful as it is, to make itself steadily felt at the opposite side of the globe; and therefore everything depended on the personal characters of those to whom the actual control was intrusted, and these, of course, varied from time to time, but still with steady progress, on the whole, in the way of improvement.

Meanwhile the colonies had, in other respects, been rapidly growing in population and importance. Free settlers of average character and respectability had been annually added to the inhabitants, till the convicts became only a small portion of the population, and eventually *free* labour became abundant. When this point was attained, it was only the natural course of things that the annual arrival of thousands of criminals should come to be regarded as a very doubtful benefit; and instead of the colonists flocking to the coast, as of old, to contend with each other for the possession of convict labour, they came at last to object to their being sent amongst them in any shape or under any condition. It is impossible within our limits to give any details of the gradual changes introduced into the management of the convicts when landed in Australia, or of the noble exertions of Sir Edward Parry, Captain Maconochie, and others to whom the command was from time to time intrusted. Suffice it to say, that had the system been commenced and carried out on such principles of common sense and Christian expediency, with regard alike to the good of the colonies and of the prisoners, it might have been proceeding, to the advantage of all parties, to this hour.

Every one who considers the subject must admit that there are

many and great difficulties to be encountered in any scheme for the treatment of criminals, whether at home or abroad. At the present day, it seems clear enough that the transports ought to have been *prepared* by careful previous training; that arrangements should have been made for carrying out, after a time, the wives and families of married men, the neglect of which caused a vast amount of sin and misery, both at home and in the colonies, and was often the means of inflicting far severer punishment on the innocent than on the guilty, besides entailing great expense on the parishes of the convicts. None ought to have been sent abroad for short periods, and every inducement held out to all to remain permanently after the period of sentence had expired; in short, every one who landed on the shores of Australia ought to have been led, if possible, to consider it as his home for life; and, at the same time, to have had the prospect clearly set before him of doing well in the world, if he chose. This is the only reasonable ground of hope for such persons, until higher and holier principles are implanted in their hearts. At this moment, the only colony willing to admit convicts is Western Australia—for the garrisons of Gibraltar and Bermuda cannot well be considered as colonies—and even Western Australia only requires a few years more of prosperity to arrive at the point when convict labour will cease to be desired.

The system of transportation had many advantages, especially to the mother-country; and it was a severe trial to the modern system of prison discipline when it was, almost at once and without warning, brought to a termination. The general principles, however, on which prison discipline ought to be conducted had made such sure and well-grounded progress, that when the emergency occurred, the remedy was at hand, and the plan of tickets-of-leave was introduced; but never, probably, was a scheme, marked by singular ability, suitableness, simplicity, and common sense, met by such an unreasoning torrent of abuse.

The outcry was opened by the powerful leaders (or misleaders) of public opinion, and the whole country speedily joined in the chorus. The alarm was so universal that many people seemed to expect to meet a ticket-of-leave man on every occasion of a twilight walk, whether in the metropolis or in a rural lane; or if that danger were happily escaped, then they reckoned on being, in all probability, murdered before breakfast. The columns of our newspapers teemed with articles and letters to this effect; and vehement were the denunciations of those who devised, or who ventured to advocate the scheme.

Yet all this clamour was owing to the haste at which the public arrived at conclusions, without taking time or trouble to ascertain whether they had any solid foundation. The sudden refusal of the

the colonies to receive more convicts produced a *glut* in our prisons, fresh prisoners were daily arriving, and the principal outlet was permanently closed. What could be done? It was manifestly unjust and cruel to inflict on any man a punishment more severe than that to which he had been sentenced; and to keep a man, condemned to seven, or ten, or twenty years' transportation, in prison in this country for the same period, would have been a far severer punishment, even had there been sufficient prison accommodation, and that, too, inflicted without the intervention of judge or jury. Fortunately for the country, when the difficulty occurred, our convict system was presided over by one peculiarly fitted to meet and overcome it. Colonel Jebb, the chairman of the General Board of Directors of Convict Prisons, had for many years devoted his whole energies to the cause of prison discipline; and no man, since the days of John Howard, has done so much for its improvement, to the advantage alike of criminals and of society. In his labours he was cordially supported by the other members of the Board, and still more efficiently by the governors and chaplains of the various convict and other large prisons in Britain. He has been the founder of a new school of prison discipline, in which he has trained many who are now carrying out his principles, more or less perfectly, in various important positions. The Irish Directors, Captain Crofton, Captain Whitty, Captain Knight, all studied under him, and acquired his system, which they carried over to Ireland with excellent effect, so far as they adhered strictly to the principles of their model. Colonel Jebb's new plan was that of 'release on order of license,' which was sanctioned by law in August 1853, by 16 and 17 Vict. cap. 99, and the first prisoners were released under it in October of the same year. It is impossible to ascertain how the name 'ticket-of-leave' originated; it does not occur in the statute, but it was speedily in every one's mouth, and to judge from the temporary literature of the day, the popular idea of it was, a 'ticket-of-leave to commit crimes.' In deciding on the demerits of this system, the public overlooked everything beyond the fact, that under it convicts were set at liberty. It was forgotten that these 'ticket-of-leave men' formed only a very small per centage of the criminals constantly at large, and living by their crimes. These amount, in Britain, to about 150,000; the number of licenses annually granted while the system was in operation was about 3000, or two per cent. on the whole number. It was also taken for granted, that these men were the worst and most desperate characters, all of them bloodthirsty ruffians, ready to perpetrate any atrocity. The very reverse was the case. Most of those thus liberated were rather past the prime of life, and had been greatly subdued by their time in prison, so that, in very many cases, their motives

motives to crime, and their taste for it, had greatly abated, if not altogether disappeared. There are exceptions, but the general rule is as now stated.

The public took no reckoning of the truly dangerous class of criminals—those in the vigour of youth, and full of uncontrolled lusts and passions; who, irritated by repeated short imprisonments, are daily set free from our smaller prisons and police offices, not ameliorated by lengthened prison discipline, but turned out without money, without character, and with scarcely a possibility of making a livelihood, except by crime—and they were fifty times more numerous than the holders of licenses. Further, it was carefully kept out of view that the very class of persons who held licenses had always been at large amongst us, without license, not indeed the whole, but the greater part of them. For many years, only a portion of those sentenced to transportation actually left the country, the rest were detained in prisons at home for a certain time, and then set at liberty: in addition to these, a portion of those actually transported returned home after the expiry of the sentences, and a small number contrived to escape and return to Britain. These last might not unreasonably be objects of dread, for they were generally active, resolute men, not ameliorated, but confirmed in every evil propensity by their residence in Australia, and the means they had adopted to escape. On the whole, the license-men made a very unimportant addition to our criminal population. But the greatest blunder which the public made was overlooking entirely, or not in the least appreciating, the system of training which each prisoner enjoyed, and the proof he gave of having profited by it, previous to obtaining his license. This formed the *essential part* of the system, yet it was never alluded to by its opponents, unless in the way of occasional ridicule. It would be a mistake to say that this was devised as a part of the license system; on the contrary, it formed part of the improved prison discipline: it had grown up before licenses were imagined;* but it was that which made licenses practicable, safe, and expedient, when the necessity for them arose. The license itself was a protection to the holder so long as he behaved well; it was conclusive against him if he behaved ill: it was preserved by the well-intended; it was destroyed by those who resolved to return to crime. Considering the circumstances under which it was established, the plan was eminently successful, and gave the most convincing proof of the soundness of the principles on which the whole system of prison discipline had been advancing; and on this account, and not merely as an ingenious mode of tiding over a temporary difficulty, we look back upon it with much interest.

* Licenses were first introduced in the penal settlements.

The

The license was granted only to men who had worked their way up in the prison scale of merits, by good behaviour, liable to be forfeited by misconduct at any stage of the progress; and with full consciousness of the difficulty of truly testing character within the walls of a prison. All this, however, the public forgot. The man had been a prisoner, his character had been at one period justly forfeited; and no regard was paid to the long and careful training through which he had passed; and no confidence was placed in his professed design to reform, and to live an honest life in future, if he only could by possibility obtain the means of so doing. This treatment was neither very just nor very generous; and yet, considering what liberated prisoners were in former years, and that up to the sudden adoption of the new plan those of our criminals who were considered to be the worst had been effectually removed from sight, and even from memory, it was by no means unnatural. If the public would only have had patience to ascertain results before deciding, the merits of the plan would have been satisfactorily established. Colonel Jebb, on announcing it, expressed his hope that not above 15 or 20 per cent. of those liberated on license would return to crime; and in his last report, 1856-57, the number of licensed men detected in crime was 18 per cent., or, out of 7335 licensed, 1319 forfeited their licenses, and the greater part of these not for serious but for trifling offences, such as vagrancy, poaching, or simple larceny, and comparatively few of outrages calculated to alarm society, 2 of murder, 4 of arson, 121 of robbery, and 210 of felonies. Of ordinary criminals liberated from the common prisons of England, 34 per cent. are recommitted, or nearly double the number of 'ticket-of-leave' men. The license system, however, was only temporary: it was intended to meet a special difficulty. It might, with certain modifications, have been continued, and it was not, properly speaking, a part of prison discipline; it was rather an experimental precaution taken to meet a sudden difficulty, and the outcry against it caused its speedy abandonment. We have been induced thus to dwell on it because the strong feeling which it excited has produced no small amount of groundless prejudice against the whole modern system of prison discipline. Fortunately, this feeling seems rather to have subsided since the obnoxious name of 'ticket-of-leave' has ceased to be employed.

Prisoners are now liberated after the very same process of moral training, but without any license, or any special superintendence; and the time of liberation depends wholly on the sentence passed by the judge, and is not modified by good conduct in prison, or by the opinion formed by prison officers of the man's fitness to return to the world; and this we cannot but think matter of regret. When the judge pronounces sentence, he can form no opinion as to

the future state of the prisoner at the end of three, four, or five years; and we deem it most desirable to entitle every prisoner, by uniform good prison conduct, to redeem a small portion of his time—say a fifth, or even a tenth part. We believe that nothing would contribute more to facilitate the duties of prison officers, or to establish good habits in prisoners, for liberty is what they desire above all things; and it is no small advantage, if, by any motive, prisoners can be induced to conform to strict rules for a length of time. It is the commencement of good habits, though, no doubt, under peculiar circumstances; and we must acknowledge our persuasion that the greater part of mankind are guided in their daily conduct far more by habits than by firm, solid principles. Hence the value to society of good habits in men and women; while to each individual, right principle is the only sure foundation both for time and for eternity—'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.'

A very important part of the system remains to be noticed, viz., 'intermediate prisons,' and to Colonel Jebb we believe we are mainly, if not wholly indebted for them. They sprang up as the natural, almost the necessary, result of his improved system of treating the inmates of convict prisons. All who had bestowed attention on the subject knew that, however carefully he might be trained, every prisoner was exposed to extreme danger after liberation. He had spent years of his life in a highly-artificial state, more like a machine than a man. Everything he had to do was fixed for him: he rose, dressed, worked, ate, drank, slept, according to rule, and, provided he conformed exactly to the fixed routine of prison regulations, of which he was perpetually reminded, he had no occasion to use a single mental faculty; and with many the powers of the mind fell into a state of abeyance, and the only mental exercise was during the brief periods allotted to religious service and lessons. A man who has been for years thus placed is not well calculated to meet and overcome the temptations of the world; and this feeling led to the establishment of what is now the termination of the English system of prison discipline, the INTERMEDIATE PRISON. The object proposed was gradually to prepare prisoners to return to society, just as a gardener prepares a tender plant for being exposed to the chills of our changeable climate by gradual exposure to its blasts. But the task is one of extreme difficulty. The man must be treated as a prisoner up to the last moment; he cannot be sent to associate with honest men outside the prison walls, because it would be an open breach of his sentence; nor can they be admitted inside for his benefit; and how can he be allowed to associate with his fellow-prisoners in such a manner as to be improved and not injured?

The first establishment formed for this purpose was the great prison at Portland, where the prisoners sleep in separate cells, but are

are associated at work during the day, in gangs, under very strict superintendence. Portland was built while the penal colonies were open, and the great object in view was to prepare the men for removal to Australia. Several other similar large establishments are now in full operation at Chatham, Portsmouth, Dartmoor, &c., and thither prisoners, after probation at Pentonville, Millbank, Wakefield, and other prisons, are sent to work out the full period of their penal servitude. The principle on which all are conducted is that of forming habits of steady, persevering industry in men to whom, as a class, it had previously been unknown; and in addition to the continuance of the moral and religious training given under the separate system during the earlier portion of their imprisonment, and thus forming characters which employers might willingly receive into their service. On the whole, this experiment has been successful, owing to the very careful superintendence exercised, the judicious rules laid down, and, above all, to the inestimable labours of the chaplains and teachers, both in the intermediate and in the preparatory prisons; for we have no faith in any reformation which is not built on the foundation of Bible Christianity. The men are mostly employed in out-door work, such as is calculated to fit them for industrious labour either at home or abroad.

One experiment tried at Portland, as a further step in preparation, signally failed, as might, indeed, have been anticipated—viz., associating a large number in one dormitory during night. It was offered as a reward to the best-conducted men; and the convincing proof of its failure is found in the fact, that the best men soon petitioned to be permitted again to occupy their solitary night cells, and thus escape the contamination to which they were exposed.

The various convict prisons in England are now in full operation, and each year's reports give valuable additions to our experience, though years must still elapse before much evidence can be obtained from the conduct of prisoners set at liberty after sentences of penal servitude.

Meanwhile a somewhat novel experiment has been commenced by Captain Crofton and the other directors of convict prisons in Ireland, too recent to enable any one to form a very decided opinion upon its merits. It has long been very generally admitted that what was now most wanted for convicts was some means of providing remunerative employment instantly on liberation. The chief peculiarity of Captain Crofton's plan consists in providing this previous to the expiry of the sentence, instead of after it. He admits them to a sort of half liberty. They go out of prison to work, under the careful superintendence of police and prison officers, as well as of their employers, and they return every night to dormi-

tories,

tories, where they sleep in gangs of fifty or more; and they are allowed to have a small portion of wages kept for them, ready for the time of their final liberation—not so much, however, as they can earn by work in prison in England.

They are thus gradually permitted to associate with other men, and their conduct is tested by their resistance of the various temptations to which they are exposed. Some of them go to work in numerous bodies, others singly, or in twos and threes, as employment can be procured. The work goes on as in a convict prison in England, with this essential difference, that it is done outside the prison.

Admitting at once the perfect accuracy of Captain Crofton's numerical returns, the question immediately occurs, Are there any peculiarities which make the results special, or may we confidently expect the same results whereon the same system is employed? It is very obvious that the full effect of any such experiments cannot appear until a much onger period shall have elapsed from their commencement. Each succeeding year must add to the percentage of those who return to crime. It was so in England in regard to the tickets-of-leave. The number of re-convictions necessarily increased year after year, as the lessons, and experience, and resolutions of the prison were forgotten, until it gradually rose to 18 or 20 per cent., at which it appears to have settled.

One natural question is whether Irish criminals, as a body, are different from those of England or Scotland—are they less debased, less steeped in crime, or are they more impressible, and more easily turned from criminal pursuits? In Britain they are, to some extent, a peculiar, marked, and separate class from the rest of society. We have many criminals who have never been convicted, who have thus never appeared in prison returns; but still, as a class, our criminals differ widely and unmistakeably from the rest of society, and they are repelled from it in a manner which it is difficult to blame, and yet impossible not to regret. Irish prisoners are, however, described as being very much the same with other people by Mr. Organ, the very active and energetic lecturer to the prisoners at Smithfield:—

'I have not been able to discover that the ordinary class of well-conducted convicts are in any respect of mind, morals, passion, or feeling, inferior to those of their class of life whom it was my duty to instruct before I became connected with the convict service.' *

The following are the results given by Captain Crofton in his 'Notes on Colonel Jebb's report,' p. 28:—

Discharged from intermediate prisons since January, 1856	. .	1,327
Of whom unconditionally	511	
„ on license	816	
		1,327

* Third Report of Irish Directors, p. 83.

Of

Of the 511, only 5 have returned to convict prisons, or 1 per cent. Of the 816, only 30 have been re-committed, or not quite 4 per cent., and 15 more have lost their licenses from failure to report themselves, drunkenness, &c., &c. This is a degree of success far surpassing what has been attained in England.

There are, however, various circumstances besides the alleged character of the convicts which make it unfair to compare the Irish with the English results, and which would lead to great disappointment were it attempted to import the whole Irish system into England, and set it to work along with our strict ideas of obedience to law in everything connected with prisoners. One peculiarity in the Irish system, if we are not mistaken, is that the convicts experimented on appear not to be average ordinary prisoners received at Smithfield, as they come from all parts of Ireland, but are specially selected for the purpose on account of their good conduct in the various probationary stages. All the others are liberated as their sentences expire, and we hear nothing of them. But we do not require to be told how 96 or 99 per cent. of such selected men will turn out on liberation; unquestionably they will do well, and after a similar selection there can be no doubt of results in England quite equal to those in Ireland. What we want to know is, the result of a system in preparing the whole body of convicts, good, bad, and indifferent, for liberation.

Again, the late lord-lieutenant of Ireland gave every aid in his power to Captain Crofton in carrying out his experiments, and much praise is due to Lord Carlisle for thus exercising his powers, and still more for the personal interest and trouble he took in the work; but it is clear that, with his viceregal powers, he could give an amount of aid which would not be tolerated on the part of any official on this side the channel. He could pardon, he could commute sentences; and taking it for granted at once that he did so most judiciously in every case, it is clear enough that, with such support, Irish directors can work their system so as to produce results which could never be attained in England. The numerical results are quite true, but they are *special* not *general*.

In England we cannot understand how a *prisoner* could be employed out of prison in the face of his sentence. If the governors of English prisons were relieved from their responsibility as regards safe custody, we have no doubt that scores, or even hundreds of men might be selected who, under the direction of a single warder or foreman, would execute work for the public, or for private individuals, and return most regularly to their quarters at night, and never commit any breach either of law or of regulations; but would public opinion in England tolerate this? It would be invaluable *after* the expiry of the sentence, when the man was no longer a prisoner; but during the professed con-

tinuation of *imprisonment* it seems a contradiction in terms. One part of the new Irish system seems to be a great mistake—the associated sleeping-ward for fifty or a hundred convicts. The experience of Portland, already alluded to, proved its evils there; and even without experience it appears far too dangerous an experiment to be tried in the present advanced state of our knowledge of the character of prisoners. The obvious intention is to take one step more to prepare the convict for society; but with whom does this plan bring him in contact during night? Not with such average characters as he may hope to meet in the world, but with convicts like himself. Many of them—the great majority—may be desirous to do well, but the presence of even two or four per cent. of evildoers endangers the whole; the oaths or filthy expressions used by one or two will pollute the minds of all present: they cannot escape, and why unnecessarily expose them? The associated room is a completely retrograde movement. An associated dormitory is an evil thing, even for men who have never been convicts, for men of more than average good character.

One objection to the whole plan is, that it is evidently intended to act by exposing the men *first to small temptations;* but the greatest knaves are the very men who would most successfully pass through such an ordeal. Many of them have great self-control when it suits their purpose, and would despise themselves if they yielded to petty temptations. Another circumstance seems to prevent the possibility of a fair comparison betwixt English and Irish convicts. It is much easier for an Irish than an English criminal to procure employment after liberation, for the fact of his having been in prison is not felt to be so damaging to his character in the one country as in the other. It is not very easy to explain this, but probably one great cause is that so many Irish have unhappily for many years past become inmates of prisons for agrarian offences, who are regarded by their countrymen more as martyrs than as criminals; and thus the stigma left by imprisonment in Ireland is less deep by far than in England or Scotland, and it therefore interposes little or no obstacle in the way of obtaining employment. A similar feeling formerly prevailed to some extent in Scotland in connection with convictions for illicit distillation—happily altered by a change in the law—and it exists in many parts of England, to a limited extent, in connection with convictions under the game laws.

There are two points in the Irish system which deserve all praise. The lectures delivered by Mr. Organ and others to the convicts are invaluable, not merely from the actual solid information they may convey, but as introducing new ideas, new subjects of thought into unfurnished minds, to say nothing of the pleasant variety of so spending a portion of a long winter evening. But the

the exertions made to procure situations for the prisoners after the expiry of their sentences are the most important part of the whole. We do not know that they exceed those of the English prisons; but alike in Ireland, in England, and in Scotland, this is the most essential of all things for the future well-being of the convicts. In carrying them out, not only the active exertions of the prison officials are necessary, but these must be met and effectually aided by enlightened co-operation on the part of the public; and we cannot but think that, in many ways, government might do much to aid the good work. It ought ever to be remembered that the employment of those who are or have been prisoners is no encroachment on the labour-market. They ought to have been all their lives honest, self-supporting; and supposing their moral diseases to have been cured, they only return, on liberation, to the place they ought always to have occupied, like convalescents returning to their ordinary work from an hospital.

There seem to be objections to the plan of mixing up *imprisonment* and half liberty. The question really is this:—Ought the convict to pass a period of half liberty before his liberation, or should it be after it? The latter seems preferable. Let the prisoner pass his time of sentence, which is now a period not merely of punishment, but also of careful moral training, as a prisoner; but instantly on liberation a place should be ready for him where work and wages wait him, and that not associated in large bodies of fifty or a hundred liberated convicts, but as much as possible mixed with ordinary working men, and at a distance from his old associates, but each still under superintendence—strict, but not conspicuous—which is perfectly attainable. One principal doubt, then—and it is only a doubt—on the whole matter of the Irish experiment is, whether this liberated work should go on during sentence, or after its expiry; and perhaps the doubt very much arises from old impressions of the meaning of the word *imprisonment*—we cannot separate it from *confinement*. This might be overcome by altering the form and words of sentence.

Captain Crofton is quite right in his endeavours to *individualise* prisoners; it is essential to success, and his collecting them into associated sleeping-rooms is a departure from it and a return to dealing with them in masses.

The chief difference betwixt the Irish and English systems as to procuring employment on liberation seems to be that in England the work is devolved on the chaplains, while in Ireland it is discharged by the governors and directors. This is a mere matter of detail, not affecting the principle. The individual correspondences published by Colonel Jebb in his Report for 1854-55 are in themselves deeply interesting, and also most instructive as proofs of what can be done by taking an interest in each individual case, and as show-

ing that, in general, the well-intended convicts will have no objection to be in quiet communication with police and prison authorities—that they look on them not as spies but as friends. The public look with anxiety for further reports from the Irish directors. The experiment is based on the progress already made in England, without which it would have been impossible; the half liberation and the evening lectures are new. The powers of the lord-lieutenant might be intrusted to an English secretary of state; to a small extent they are so at this moment, but not sufficiently to work out such a system.

One great practical difficulty is to keep liberated prisoners safe from the temptation of old associates, men who have long lived on crime, but, unfortunately for themselves and for the public, may never have been convicted, or, if convicted, have not been reformed by prison discipline. These men are one great cause of others relapsing into crime; but with our strong feelings of jealousy of any interference with the liberty of the subject, except in cases of actual crime, it seems vain to attempt to punish them. They wait at the prison doors for the liberation of a comrade, supply him with strong drink, and put him at once on the highway to crime, without, perhaps, directly inciting to it, and thus in half an hour undo all the good of months of prison discipline and of good resolutions. One evil, much felt by all who have studied the subject, might easily be remedied by law—viz., the great variety of sentences pronounced by different judges for precisely similar crimes, especially in the case of second, third, or fourth convictions. There is nothing to which criminals are more alive than certainty or uncertainty in the law, and nothing would tend more to deter from return to crime than the absolute certainty of incurring longer, severer punishment on occasion of each re-conviction.

We still need one kind of prison not yet provided—and that is for *incurables*, for those whose moral and mental perversity is so great that no human discipline can improve them, and who cannot be left at liberty with due regard to the safety of the persons and property of others. It is a most melancholy fact that there are such persons, and regard to their own good, as well as that of others, demands that they be permanently placed in circumstances where they can at least do no harm. Such a place must be something betwixt a lunatic asylum and a prison, partaking of the nature of both.

It is impossible not to regret the loss of transportation to a distant land for a large portion of our criminals. It was the best plan for all parties, and could be so regulated as to be unobjectionable. Surely the vast extent of unoccupied land in the British colonies might easily furnish one suitable locality after another for our convicts, for many years to come. The idea ought to be

to

to employ them as pioneers, to diminish, and at length to stop, the supply as the locality became independent, or indifferent to convict labour, but having new localities ready to receive it as the older were supplied. None ought to be sent abroad for short periods, and all ought to be encouraged to remain as free settlers after the expiry of their sentences. None ought to be sent out without having satisfactorily passed through the various probationary stages in prison, for it is folly to send a criminal direct from the dock to a colony, and expect him to do well without any preparation. After he arrives in the colony, all temptations, and especially strong drink, must be kept out of his way, and moral and religious instruction amply supplied; and if, with all these advantages, he still goes wrong, the country will have the satisfaction of knowing that it has fully done its duty towards him.

There are many important points in prison discipline to which no allusion has been made. Our limited space, already overpassed, forbids our entering on them; but we cannot review the progress which has been made without feeling much cause to be thankful to God for the position which this great *science* has now assumed. The principles on which it is based are unquestionably sound; improvements in practice may yet be introduced; but, even as it is, the results are very good—better than could have reasonably been anticipated. But, with all this, we cannot but feel that the best prison discipline is but a *secondary* good.

It is, after all, but curing an evil which, to a large extent, might and ought to be prevented. Firmly convinced of the corruption of human nature, we reject all visionary ideas of human perfectibility, and of bringing the world, by human laws and human agencies, to be a world without crime; but far below such ideal attainments we do look hopefully for a far less criminal state than that which now exists. To attain this, many Christian agencies are required, and none of any other description will be of any avail. Some of them are now in very active operation, others may yet be discovered or more efficiently applied; and of this we have not a doubt, that were every child born in Great Britain truly brought up in the 'nurture and admonition of the Lord,' and duly supplied with secular knowledge, and if the present licensed inducements to drunkenness and licentiousness were removed, a generation would not pass away ere many a large prison would be tenantless. Well-managed industrial or ragged schools are far more effective in the repression of crime than the castle at York or the prison of Portland, for they cut off the supply of criminals at the fountain-head.

ART. II.—1. *Les Lionnes pauvres.* By Emile Augier. Paris: Michel Levy.

2. *Fanny — Etude.* By Ernest Feydeau; with a Preface by Jules Janin. Paris: Amyot.

NOTHING is better worth studying than success. What succeeds means something, and the fact of its succeeding furnishes the clue to a particular state of the public mind. The large sale of works of the highest order in art—of books such as Grote's 'History of Greece,' or Ruskin's Æsthetical Dissertations, or Humboldt's 'Cosmos'—proves simply the degree of curiosity and of intellectual activity in the educated classes: it affords no proof of what the moral tendencies of a whole population are. It touches upon an educational, not upon a social fact. The finest work ever conceived upon a political, historical, scientific, or artistic subject, may be the produce of an age, the social and domestic morality whereof are of a very inferior order; but a popular novel or play that 'all the world' rushes to see or to buy, cannot be otherwise than the indication of the general moral tendencies of the population. The less such a production means as to literature the more it signifies as to morality. It would not be in everybody's hands if it did not reflect everybody's thoughts. It is not its merit but its success that should be studied.

We have before us two productions of the contemporary literature of France, which, if they mean anything, mean what it is impossible not to look upon as of the highest importance, and which, if they were unmeaning, could not have attained to the success they have achieved. All Paris has flocked to see 'Les Lionnes pauvres' at the Vaudeville, and Messrs. Ste.-Beuve, Jules Janin, and the journalists whose business it is in Paris to point out to the public all new literary productions of any value, with one accord affirm that 'Fanny' is in the hands of 'every woman' in France. Jules Janin opines that the more 'virtuous' (!) the woman the less harm she will see in the book, but that, virtuous or not, there is no woman throughout France who will not, or who, indeed, by this time has not read it.

'Fanny' is a tale in one very small volume, of which M. Janin has written the preface; 'Les Lionnes pauvres' is, as we have said above, a comedy in five acts, performed at the Vaudeville, and whose author is M. Emile Augier, the well-known dramatist, and recently-elected member of the *Académie Française.* We should wish, in a few words, to make our readers acquainted with the subjects of these two productions of the modern French muse.

'Fanny' is the history of a young man of twenty-four, who is in love with a woman of thirty-five. The lady's heart (if in all this there

there be a question of anything in the shape of 'heart') seems to be agreeably divided, however, between her lover and her husband; and the jealous tortures of the former are what furnish the chief matter for the seventy-four chapters of what the critic Ste.-Beuve does not scruple to denominate a 'poem.' 'A poem,' he exclaims, 'from its form, its language, and a certain tone that reigns throughout:' (*un certain souffle qui y règne d'un bout à l'autre*). There are details in this book that the English reader will easily understand we cannot possibly enter into, and which we firmly believe a French public only can consent to be made familiar with. But we might as well agree to ignore the present state of French civilisation altogether as shut our eyes to the existence of such works as this 'Fanny.' With the book itself, therefore—because it has had such a success, because it is in everybody's hands, because it is, as M. Janin apprises us, 'hidden under every toilet-table'—with the book itself we must, for all these reasons, have to do; and, in spite of the repugnance, of the disgust with which it inspires us, we must either, to a certain degree, initiate our readers into the hideous mysteries of its pages, or forego what we take to be a duty—that, namely, of watching the rise or fall of the public morals in other countries. Since the universal establishment of railroads and electric telegraphs, and since steam has set time and distance at nought, England no longer

> 'Coops from other lands her islanders.'

She is almost as much surrounded by the moral atmosphere of 'other lands' as by her own; consequently, there is as much need to analyse the vitiated state of that atmosphere as there was to inquire into the filthy condition of the Thames, when the whole legislature of Great Britain was made sick by its emanations.

The subject of the 'Lionnes pauvres' is, like that of 'Fanny,' a variety of adultery; this crime being, apparently, to the literature of fiction in France, what Montesquieu's 'special public virtue' is to each special form of government: that, without which it could not subsist. It has been said of Russia that its political form is 'despotism tempered by assassination;' it may, without too great severity, be said of France, that her social edifice is based upon money-matches mitigated by adultery.

The peculiar 'variety' of the crime made use of by M. Augier in his new comedy is that of pecuniary corruption. It is not the adultery which results from sentiment misguided and uncontrolled—the adultery of weakness, in short—no; it is the adultery of speculation. M. Augier, an observer somewhat of the Balzac school, a man whose opinion of his countrymen and women is ratified by his countrymen and women's approbation, *i. e.*, by popularity — M. Augier deliberately represents contemporary society in Paris (which city, we are told, embodies all France) and

and especially the female portion of society, as far more perverse than frail.

One word upon 'Les Lionnes.'

The term is a modern one, and does not date further back than ten or a dozen years. The first time it was applied in print we take to have been somewhere about the year 1842-3, in a three-volumed novel, entitled 'Les Lionnes de Paris,' written by the late Countess Merlin, and not by any means the best effort of the pen of that amiable and talented lady. Madame Merlin, however, amiable, talented, and popular as she was, very nearly compromised her social position by this work; for though it achieved no great success, its title remained as a stigma upon the class least likely to forgive such an attack; and the flashy, immoral set, of whom certain high-born ladies it would be but too easy to name were the leaders, admitted their right to the epithet of 'lionne' by their very anger at its having been applied to them. Little by little the word crept into general usage, and any woman who in any measure overstepped the boundaries whereby what is called 'good society' in France hedges itself in, was immediately pointed at by the 'over-righteous' as a 'lionne.' The only true translation of the term 'lionnerie' into English is to be found in the Americanism we have so triumphantly introduced into our fashionable vocabulary—'fast.' To be a 'lionne' is to be what we should now call 'very fast,' only there is a vast difference in the mode of execution on the two sides of the Channel. We will exemplify:—the heroine of that clever and much-read book 'Kate Coventry' is the very arch-type of all that is most irreclaimably 'fast;' the book is the record of how 'fast' an English girl may be without doing anything really blameable. Here we have the difference; Kate Coventry is a young girl, in French civilisation she could not be anything save a married woman. Imprudent in the one case, she would inevitably be guilty in the other. The difference between what is 'fast' in England and what is so in France lies simply in the introduction of the principle of wrong. The 'lionne' is of many kinds, but it is almost impossible to conciliate her existence with that of good reputation or good conduct.

Up to the close of Louis Philippe's reign, the 'lionne' was simply an ardent votary of what, in his defence of Madame Lafarge, M. Paillet denominated 'la famosité.' She sacrificed everything for notoriety, and the one thing she aspired to was to be talked about. Up to ten years ago, extravagance had not attained its present pitch; 'le luxe' had not been actually held up to the whole nation as a public and political virtue; and not only was it possible for a woman in society to mix in all the gatherings of the great world, dressed as fitted her husband's more or less well-known fortune,

fortune, but if she was suspected of employing any illicit resources in the payment of her own private bills, she was coldly looked upon, and, if convicted of the infamy, she was 'cut.' Up to the period of the Revolution of February there was a line drawn between the women whose fidelity to their lords was more than questionable, and those who in such infidelity found a pecuniary resource. Since 1848 things have changed altogether. Extravagance has been transformed into a positive duty; not to dress in a certain way has been made for Parisian women the equivalent of not to be; and provided they contrive now to frequent the haunts of 'the world' with due brilliancy of appearance, 'the world' tacitly consents not to examine whence these appearances proceed.

This alteration has not been effected suddenly, from the day to the morrow. No; like most of the changes of cureless disease, it has marched by gradual steps, securing by to-day's progress the conquest of yesterday, and arriving, by the very gentleness of its advance, at the perfection of unresisted evil. After the overthrow of every social distinction, after the comparative annihilation of society in February, 1848, the first attempt at a return to its pleasures and its conventionalities was made by the Prince-President, Louis Napoleon, a man who, from the combined circumstances of birth, education, political chances, and personal instincts, was devoid of any of the prejudices (!) which should influence the ruler of a state in favour of what, in this country, we somewhat exclusively term morality. The level to which the morals and manners of society sank in France during the five years of Louis Napoleon's unmarried life, the tone of the so-called 'court' at the Elysée—all this is, we imagine, but too notorious throughout the civilised world; and were it not so, any attempt to describe it minutely to the English reader must be forbidden us by the respect with which that same reader inspires us. Suffice it to say, that the first five years' possession of supreme power by the Prince-President had mainly helped to destroy social morality in France. It no longer became a question of why this or that person should be welcomed in the 'world,' but rather of why any one should be excluded.

And yet there remained a further downward step to take in all this degradation. We will not affirm that French society has taken it, but we will quote the words of M. Augier, in his recent piece: 'Men speculate on 'Change; women have another little traffic—it is in the air (!); and, after all, these turpitudes are now the secret of Polichinelle. On the one hand, is the greediness for what you don't possess; on the other, the rage to seem to possess more than you have. Pride, vanity, crinoline! parbleu! The whole thing is easy enough to explain.'

We are perfectly aware of how extremely difficult and delicate is the nature of the task we have undertaken to perform; but still we

doubt the expediency of, for that reason, leaving it altogether unperformed; and we ask any reflecting man whether such a condition of the public morals as stands revealed by the words we have just quoted, and by the fact of those words being nightly uttered to the applause of a theatreful of people; whether, we repeat, such a condition of the public morals in any one given country ought to be a matter of indifference to the philosophical student in any other?

We have said, and we repeat, that what, in the literature of fiction, does not correspond to any particular state of the public mind, and does not excite any popular emotion, does not succeed. What sells—what, to use a cant phrase, 'takes'—is what, with more or less acuteness of outline, or more or less force, reflects the image that is for the moment uppermost in the public idea. From 1830 onwards, you find, as the vital principle of French literature of fiction—adultery. Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, Madame Sand, Alfred de Musset, Balzac, all the writers of any mark own the one same impulse. They call this the 'reawakening of passion;' they say it is the assertion of its rights by the human heart, which had by the classical school been 'cabinn'd, cribb'd, confin'd,' and forced to express what it was not natural it should feel. Nothing of all this is true. It is *not* the breath of passion that animates the school of writers of the 'period of July:' it is the breath of wrong. Passion is not necessarily impure, nor is wrong poetical *per se;* yet here is the mistake made by the entire school of French writers of twenty or twenty-five years ago. The type of that time is *Antony*, in Alexandre Dumas' drama of that name. It was declared by the readers of what was then 'Young France' that all restraint was intolerable, and contrary to the dignity of the human race; and they rebelled against whatever served to define man's position with regard to his Creator or to his fellow-men. They rebelled against the restraint of religion, the restraint of the law, or the restraint of morality. Pascal's maxim duly remembered, 'Qui veut faire l'ange fait la bête,' it may be said that the theorists of 1830, aspiring to be more than men, in reality sank down to be far less.

Antony, the type, as we say, of the 'July period,' was the incarnation of revolt from cradle to grave. The public admired, and was called upon to admire him, because he was a pariah; because he had no parents, but was found somewhere by some one, and educated heaven knows how. The theory sought to be established was that of the necessary inferiority entailed upon whomsoever was in tranquil possession of a legitimate father and mother! Adèle d'Hervey, Antony's ladye-love, was, of course, a married woman, whose husband was guilty of the one sole crime of representing the 'odious restraint' imposed by society upon people

people who have imprudently consented to the matrimonial yoke. Adultery, as is self-evident, is the vital principle of this absurd, immoral, and abominably ill-written play of Dumas, the enthusiasm for which was long-enduring and universal. But, be it at the same time remarked, the sin of adultery suffices, in this case, as the medium of dramatic interest. It is bad enough, in all conscience, standing as it does alone; but at all events, if immorally, it is not *lightly* treated, and is regarded as an agent of perturbation, perfect in itself, and not needing any concomitant.

Now, matters are different, and France has gone considerably further. The mere plain sin no longer satisfies these over-refined gourmets, these epicures of vice, and they ask for more spice, more *montant*, in the unwholesome food that is prepared for their worn-out palates. Adultery is still admitted as the groundwork of their fictions, but even as a popular air affords the musician a pretext for the development of his skill in variations. Adultery is not to be dispensed with, but it is 'used up,' as is 'Ah! vous dirai-je, maman!' or any other old tune with which the public ear is satiated, and which can henceforth only be made interesting by its accessories.

We request our readers to reflect for one moment upon the moral health of a people where such a state of things exists.

Let us now see, in 'Fanny' and in 'Les Lionnes pauvres,' what are the 'accessories' which tend to ornament the eternal theme of adultery, and give it a new and pleasant air to the Parisian public.

The heroine of the 'Lionnes pauvres' is a certain Séraphine, who, from having been the ward of a respectable clerc de notaire, many years her senior, becomes his wife, and, penniless herself with expensive tastes, begins by imagining that her husband's four or five hundred a year (in English money) can, by dint of 'good management,' be made to furnish what she regards as the necessities of her toilet. Séraphine, or rather Madame Pommeau, as she becomes after her marriage, is not long in discovering her mistake; and the instant she has discovered, she sets to work to repair it. The whole affair is a perfectly methodical and business-like one, and from the first scene to the last not a sentence, not so much as a word, is wasted on sentiment. The adultery is there, as usual, seemingly inevitable; but you are not troubled with what brought it about. It *is*; and what the fact of its being is likely to yield—there is the interesting question. Why Madame Séraphine infringed the seventh commandment; what were the circumstances of that first sin; whether the 'strong necessity of loving,' to use Byron's phrase, had anything whatever to do in the matter; with all this you are not mixed up; you merely perceive that Madame Pommeau has arranged her household

concern-

concerns after such a fashion that she spends thirty thousand francs a year, having, in reality, ten or twelve thousand to spend, pays her debts, and passes in her husband's eyes for the very pattern of good housekeepers.

Madame Séraphine has a female friend, Thérèse, who is a model of every womanly virtue, who is handsome and charming, but who, instead of spending what she has not upon the adornment of her person, does not spend what she has, watches well over her child, and wears somewhat faded bonnets and gowns (very unlike a Parisian, however well-behaved she may be!) Naturally, Thérèse's husband, a thriving young avocat, is the first victim of Madame Pommeau; and though he does not by any means obey the dictates of an insensate passion with regard to Séraphine, yet his entire substance is being wasted, day by day, to keep up the outward seeming of the greedy 'lionne pauvre.' All his gains go to furnish the laces, and feathers, and other 'colifichets,' without which the object of his attentions could not exist; and meanwhile, in his own interior, the servants remain unpaid, and the tradespeople are taking to grumble about their bills. Between the two happily united families of Lecarnier and Pommeau you may observe the constant play of a certain part of the domestic machinery which in Paris clearly indicates what is the moral condition of a household. Madame Séraphine spends too much, and pretends it all costs nothing; Léon Lecarnier spends too little, and is perpetually complaining that that little even is too much. He is the provider, she the absorbent; that is seen at once, and explains the whole. Has Séraphine a dress with three lace flounces that are worth ten thousand francs, she accounts for them, in the first place, by reducing their price to fifteen hundred, which sum she pretends she has realised in selling the few old-fashioned trinkets her mother left her. On the other hand, when meat, bread, domestic labour, and other necessities of life ask for their equivalent from Léon by the voice of his wife, he is at considerable pains to prove to her that his gains as an avocat cannot possibly suffice for her expenditure, and he enjoins upon her to be more economical for the future (!).

This, be it remarked, is a true picture.

'I cannot think how you contrive matters,' says, in the opening scene, Thérèse to M. Pommeau; 'you have barely five hundred a year.' The innocent notary replies that, with such capital management (!) as his wife's, it is enough; and Madame Lecarnier musingly adds, 'We have the double, yet I cannot live as you do.'

Pommeau proceeds to recount by what 'prodigies of cleverness and talent for bargaining' his wife succeeds in forcing a small income to accomplish great things, and he concludes by this: 'If Séraphine

Séraphine was, as you are, a mother, she could not devote herself in this way to ——' Here Thérèse interrupts him: 'The evident state of the case,' she observes, 'is this: half her time is employed in bringing together and creating her apparent luxury, and the other half in enjoying it, and showing it off! What remains over for you?' 'Oh,' replies M. Pommeau, meekly, 'I am not *exigeant!*'

Let it be duly registered: here we have the avowable part of the whole. A wife, whose whole existence ought to be one hymn of gratitude to the husband who has rescued her from poverty, and who surrounds her with affection, passes the greater portion of every day in low, huckstering practices, whereby she insures to herself, at less than its value, the possession of some second-hand piece of finery, to the public display whereof she consecrates the rest of the twenty-four hours! This is avowable. Against this her husband has nothing to say. If this were really her manner of behaving, Madame Séraphine Pommeau might pass muster with the most exemplary of Parisian ladies, rejoice in the esteem of her curé, offer the pain béni* to her parish church, and rest upon the comfortable conviction of having secured a 'through ticket' to Paradise. The achievement of respectability, it will be perceived, is not a despairingly difficult one. But Madame Pommeau's ways are not these merely prudent and ingenious ones. She does not, by dint of driving Jew bargains, and disguising dishonesty under the name of sharpness, manage to conciliate virtue (God save the mark!) with the semblance of wealth; her morals are not guarded by a rapacity so studiedly, so unthinkingly praised. She is as degraded as she can be, yet she would hardly be much less so if she were to realise what the 'respectable' people about her conceive her to be when they speak her free from sin.

The medium of dramatic interest, therefore, in 'Les Lionnes pauvres' lies in the more or less success of Madame Séraphine's manœuvres to secure the sums of which she is in want in order to pay a certain marchande à la toilette who threatens scandal if she be not paid on a certain day. The marchande à la toilette plays, in the degenerate society of contemporary France, pretty nearly the part of Destiny in the Greek drama; and she is often the source of all the mischief that is hidden beneath the brilliant outside of a French family, and as often the intermediate cause of the sudden explosion whereby the honour of the said family is cast to the winds.

Well, Madame Séraphine Pommeau does business to a tole-

* It is customary for each respectable inhabitant of a parish to offer at least once in the year the bread which is handed round at high mass, and which is usually made to consist of two or three large *brioches*.

rably

rably large amount with Madame Charlot, the marchande à la toilette, and instead of gaining, rather loses by the association; but Léon Lecarnier has hitherto found means to make the situation of the would-be 'lionne' easy to her by furnishing her with the money she requires. A day comes, however, when Léon's overtaxed resources fail, and four hundred pounds that are to be handed over to Madame Charlot on Friday morning before twelve o'clock are not to be heard of on Thursday night! Léon, not knowing which way to turn, tries play, and loses. Séraphine, really alarmed, but betraying no emotion, signifies that she must have the cash. The dunned inamorato seeks to borrow from his friend Bordognon, who knows the bearings of the whole case, and who, meaning to profit by the knowledge for his own personal ends, refuses to lend; and the fatal Friday morning brings with it Madame Charlot, and no means at hand to meet her demands! A mistake prevents Bordognon's ten thousand francs from being placed in Séraphine's hands. The marchande à la toilette is inexorable, and shows her bill to M. Pommeau. M. Pommeau pays; and when his wife comes in, quietly tells her he will pay all her debts, but insists on her telling him what they are, and to what sum they amount. All Séraphine's incurable degradation is laid bare when she finds that her husband's plan is to pay back every farthing she has 'gained' (!), and work for his livelihood (consequently for hers). This she cannot for an instant contemplate, and she replies to M. Pommeau's exclamation of 'Ah! wretched woman, poverty is what you cannot meet!' by the naïve admission that 'poverty frightens her.'

The last words of the closing scene between the notary and his wife are worth quoting:—

POMMEAU. 'I raised her up from nothing, and the bread I can be content to eat is not good enough for her.'

SÉRAPHINE (*sharply*). 'And so, you taunt me with your benefactions, do you?'

POMMEAU. 'I reproach myself for having fancied you deserved them.'

SÉRAPHINE. 'When people have not got fortune sufficient, they should not marry.'

POMMEAU. 'Oh! monster of perversity!'

SÉRAPHINE. 'Why insult a woman? Kill her or quit her. *Will you tell me what has been my teaching in this world? What did my mother teach me? That to be happy you must be rich. What did society teach me? That to be respected you must be rich.* Pleasure and wealth are the gods proposed to our worship by every precept and every example; but when we adore them we are styled *monsters*. Well, *monster!* so be it! if I am one, abuse those whose fault that is. . . . .'

There is, alas! but too much truth in this cynical speech of Séraphine's. The idol deliberately set up by the world and by her own family—by her very mother even—(and be she a good or a bad, a moral or an immoral person), the idol set up to the worship of every Frenchwoman is—money! As a child, she hears those laughed at, and looked askance at, who have no money; as a girl

a girl, she never hears of the bare possibility of a marriage that has not money for its motive; as a young woman, she is actually brought to believe that her very charms are dependent upon gold, and that no beauty, however remarkable, will be remarked unless surrounded by all the proper accessories of beauty, namely, by luxury. She is forced to believe—society forces her to do so—that Venus herself, ill-dressed, would be no match for the most ordinary-looking little personage whose outward adornments should be the work of the few artists most in renown. And from this point she starts. When the end and aim of a woman's life is not marriage with the man she loves, her end and aim is then to please the men she does not marry. Let this be admitted, and you seize at once the raison d'être of the Parisian female. She lives to please; she cannot please unless she have money at her command; *ergo*, money is the one thing she must have at all and any cost. All the rest is a mere consequence, and an inevitable one. The day when Balzac dared to print that enormous piece of frivolity: 'Those only can be styled women who live upon a first-floor; those who lodge higher up may be housewives, they are not women!'—that day were sown broadcast among the 'menagères' of the upper stories the seeds of the 'Lionnes pauvres.'

The details of the way in which the system 'works' are thus given by M. Augier:—Léon has just observed to his friend, Bordognon, that 'he easily understands how a woman smuggles into her house a lover in disguise, but does not see how she is to introduce twenty thousand francs more than her income into her account-book' (which, by-the-by, is vastly hypocritical on M. Leon's part, seeing that he is the accomplice of Madame Pommeau in this very identical undertaking). Bordognon explains: 'I will give you the following fable,' says he, 'borrowed from the "Gazette des Tribunaux:"—Madame Z. extracts from Z., her legitimate lord and master, with Heaven knows what pains, a necklace of false diamonds, value one thousand francs. Five years after she dies. Z., when the proper time has been given to grief for this terrible loss, adverts to the advisability of selling his late wife's necklace: he rushes off to a jeweller, who, when he has well examined the ornament, offers without hesitation thirty thousand francs! Who is dumbfoundered at the affair is Z.! Now, what is to clear up the circumstances of the transmutation? Why, simply the daily visits of X. during the lifetime of the deceased, and the long purse of X., who is a stockbroker. This is the trick of the whole proceeding. What say you to it? is it not easy?'

Easy! we are disposed to say that it must only be *too* easy to those to whom education, inborn instincts of honesty and pride, and national and domestic traditions, do not make it impossible. The fact of such things as we have quoted being spoken night

after night upon the Paris stage, and not only listened to, but greeted by the laughter and by the applause of a crowded theatre—acknowledged, therefore, as true and 'well observed' by *the public*—this fact it is which obliges us to notice such a piece as the 'Lionnes pauvres,' and, under pain of ignoring what the civilisation of our nearest neighbours is gradually becoming, to enter into details which, repugnant though they may be, prove too clearly the degree of corruption to which that civilisation has attained.

'Fanny' has to do with vice of another order, and of which it is infinitely more difficult to speak than of the pecuniary dishonesty and rapacity of the 'Lionnes pauvres.' Even Madame Séraphine Pommeau, with her kind husband deceived, her best friend taken in, and her male acquaintances in general treated as the 'vilis atque misera contribuens plebs,' by which title the Hungarian nobility were wont to designate the tax-paying multitude—even Madame Séraphine Pommeau is easy to describe in comparison with the would-be sentimental Madame Fanny and her would-be enamoured swain, M. Roger. Still, here again so striking a feature of Gallic civilisation offers itself to our comments that it is impossible not to examine it. Perhaps, even of the two, 'Fanny' is less Parisian and more French than the 'Lionnes pauvres.' The latter in some degree presuppose the habits and tastes of a large city, and of Paris above all other cities in the world; whereas 'Fanny' can exist, and does exist, in the most isolated château of the remotest province in France. For the creation of Fanny and Roger, it is only requisite to bring into play the French mind, as modified to its present unhealthy state by a long train of exterior events productive of certain moral tendencies. Bring to bear upon that mind—never a self-reliant, and always an impressible one—the effect of the literature of the last twenty-five years, the coarseness of Victor Hugo; the carelessness for virtue of Lamartine, who, though never actively immoral, is never actively the reverse; the cynicism of Balzac; the profligacy of Dumas; the impossible apprehension of any difference between right and wrong of George Sand; the bad taste of many, the impiety of all;—and you will soon reach the mental condition necessary for conceiving such a work as 'Fanny,' which M. Ste.-Beuve calls a 'poem,' and of which M. Janin says that 'the heroine's history is familiar to so many women (!), and that the virtuous only amongst them (!) will confess to having read it.'

As with the 'Lionnes pauvres,' and with the other productions of the modern French literature of fiction, adultery is taken for granted in the book before us. Not an excuse is attempted in the erring fair one's behalf, not a trace of any struggle between passion and duty is to be perceived: the reader is not expected to be

be surprised because she is an adulteress; on the contrary, it is quite clear the extraordinary thing would be that she should not be so. She has her lover; so far all is *en règle*, and she would be happy and comfortable enough, and thoroughly undisturbed by any notion of remorse, were it not that her adorer chooses to indulge in the most absurd and inconceivable fits of jealousy against her husband, for which eccentricity she perpetually repeats to him that he is 'a child—nothing but a silly, fractious child!'

The adultery granted therefore, the 'circumstances' of it in 'Fanny' are the result of the juxtaposition of the lover to the husband and the children; and the tortures of Roger at the thought of his mistress's infidelity to him are the 'variations' invented wherewith to ornament what we have said is an old, worn-out, barrel-organ theme.

'Fanny' is an autobiography. The hero himself, who has fled from the face of his fellow-men, and lives shut up in a miserable, dilapidated abode on the sea-shore, recounts to us all his miseries, and lays bare all the wounds from which he has suffered so long, and appears likely to suffer until death; (wounds dealt upon bodies in so thoroughly unhealthy a state being usually 'envenom'd with irrevocable wrong,' and utterly incurable).

He lays but little stress upon the fact of his having wooed or won his ladye-love; it is so manifestly natural a thing that she, being the wife of another man, should become Roger's mistress, that Roger does not trouble the reader with the details of his courtship. 'I loved her long without venturing to avow my love,' he tells us at the opening of the narrative. 'At last she saw that I loved her, and tranquilly, like a person who merely gets up from where she was sitting in order to remove an obstacle from her path, she herself put aside all the hindrances between us. Oh! for that it was, that, above all things, I adored her.'

Well, we will not stop to dispute about the more or less womanly delicacy of this mature Juliet, who so quietly and comfortably 'removes all obstacles' from the path of sin, and has such a pleasant, easy way of welcoming adultery; the sin *is* committed; an illicit affection binds together the hero and heroine of the novel; and now begin the incidents which are so particularly characteristic of modern French civilisation. At first, Roger does not allow himself to be troubled by any exterior preoccupation.

'I was so happy!' he exclaims, 'though my happiness was soon to cease. With true refinement of feeling, Fanny had for some time avoided making the slightest allusion to her husband in my presence. With a slight effort of imagination I might have fancied her free, instead of being, as she was, forced to divide her affections. But one day—I do not remember how it happened—the name of one of her children found its way to her lips, and thenceforth she was for ever talking of them to me. . . . I affected to feel an interest in them that was far from being genuine, for I was jealous of whatever she cared for . . . . .

but little by little, by dint of thinking of the children, I got to thinking of the husband, and I soon thought of nothing else in the whole world save him.'

One of Fanny's children falls ill, and for five or six weeks she is confined to the house to attend upon the infant whose life is despaired of. At the end of that time, the child being cured, she reappears in her lover's dwelling; but she finds him so altered towards her, that she supposes his attachment is at an end. Following up, however, the plan he has been preparing in secret during the period of separation, he artfully asks Madame Fanny why 'he is not received at her house?' Now, the description of the way in which she responds to this question is so peculiarly illustrative of the morals and social habits of modern France, that we cannot refrain from transcribing it for our readers:—

'Fanny had no suspicion that I was disguising my real sentiment, for on hearing my question of "why I was not a visitor at her house?" she became effulgent with smiles, and, in the sudden outbreak of her enchantment, asked me "why I had never expressed such a wish before?" she having all along entertained that identical desire. A perfect torrent of plans and projects of future happiness now flowed forth from her lips. She was full of the delights of what was to be our every-day existence; I should see her children and love them! She was busy, too, with domestic details; with plans for arranging more elegantly than ever the one particular little salon in which only her very intimate friends ever penetrated! How overjoyed she was to think that nearly every day of her life she should unite around her *all* the objects of her special tenderness! It was so delightful to reflect that, in this new combination, she should not be forced to *separate me* from the other inmates of her heart! I was to occupy such a large portion of her time, of her habitual life, and I was to be associated so immediately to her pleasures and pains! . . It was altogether such a charming prospect! such a charming dream!'

Yes! a 'charming prospect,' in truth, and one that could be thought such only by a Frenchwoman of the present day. Observe the hopeless confusion that is morally presented by the picture. Here is a woman, who, were she the denizen of any other save the civilisation she belongs to, would be divided between love and duty, whereas Madame Fanny, in reality, appreciates properly neither the duty nor the love, but, in her impure and absurd desire to conciliate, cheats both. She does not perceive what are the respective characteristics of each; does not see that what is requisite for the one is out of the requirements of the other. No! she would be well content to make matters square and comfortable by attributing a small portion of the love to the representative of the duty, and by lending a part of the decorum of the duty to the champion of the love. She ignores all moral incompatibilities, because she has refused throughout her life any sacrifice. Her sentiments and her principles are equally weak and ill-defined, and she will not see that there are elements whose combination is impossible. She cannot understand that, for the sake of right and virtue and duty, she should have prevented Roger from ever winning the position he has won, but that, when he has won it, when

when she has fallen a victim to a passion which, if in every sense a reprehensible, we must suppose was, at all events, an overwhelming one—there is, or ought to be, one absolute impossibility for her, the putting face to face, namely, the man she has betrayed and the man for whom she has betrayed him. We all know that there are in the so-called world of fashion many so-called 'exigencies,' that sometimes render the avoidance of a false position impossible; nor do we mean to blink the knowledge. But we believe that by the men and women who, through their own weakness, have taken the one wrong step, the step downward, the false position, the bringing together familiarly of those who should never familiarly meet, is submitted to and not courted. Here, on the contrary, you have a woman who is false to every sentiment in turn; who is impressed by no truth and by no dignity; who does wrong because she has no principle; and who, when it is done, almost thinks she can convert wrong into right if she can only make it comfortable. We are not aware that this particular aspect of the moral confusion, that is to be found only in modern French society, has ever been so clearly painted as in the small volume before us.

'Fanny' is invaluable as a testimony of the degree of incapacity for distinguishing good from evil to which the public mind in France has attained. Its author *teaches nothing*, for he manifestly does not see the wrong committed by the beings he has created. He is their accomplice in impropriety. We use this word designedly, and not in the merely conventional sense our cant parlance attributes to it—we mean, that intense impropriety is the characteristic of the much-talked-of book we are now examining, because every individual in it is in an improper place, and acts from an improper motive. It is this which marks out 'Fanny' as so pre-eminently a work illustrative of the French manners and morals of the present day.

Human nature is the same, more or less, in all countries and all climes, but education is not the same, nor the public standard of excellence. An Englishman may do wrong—does do wrong far too often; but if he were tempted by that weakness which is man's inheritance of sin, into doing wrong fifty times in his life, that would never conduce, in the slightest degree, to make him think wrong right. In the French practice of morality, on the contrary, there is a vague notion that wrong may be right 'according to circumstances,' and that it is quite too harsh and too narrow-minded to say that there is such a thing as wrong-absolute.

What has struck none of those who in France have reviewed the extraordinary tale we are alluding to, is precisely the 'impropriety' which marks the characters and situations of the personages it represents. The husband, for instance; it is im-

possible to conceive of a man more thoroughly out of his own proper place. We must not look upon this individual as we should upon a husband moving and acting in our English centre of civilisation, and being the possible representative of the combined principles of love and duty; we must accept him for what a husband is in the continental system of marriage—for the impersonation of duty. Throughout the whole book he never once appears in this light. No one thinks of or adverts to him in what is his real form and shape; he forfeits all his attributes to assume those that belong to his inferiors. There is nothing dignified, nothing sacred about him, nothing that makes any offence against him fall back in tenfold shame on the offender. Roger does not hate in his mistress's husband the man whom *he* has wronged. No! on the contrary—by a perversion impossible out of the particular civilisation we are now considering—he hates the man who has wronged *him!* The author has plainly so little apprehension of what the relative weight and importance of the two personages are, that he lets the one slip down to the level of the other, without ever being struck by the fact that their equality is monstrous and impossible. Whatever may have been the cause, in the first instance, of the matrimonial tie, if, after it is made, one of the two persons making it be unfortunate enough to yield to the promptings of a headlong passion, it is self-evident that, from that hour, the other contracting party can represent but one principle only; the principle, namely, of duty as opposed to sentiment. This is exactly what is *not* the case in the book before us, and what is not the case in that moral chaos termed French society.

Fanny did not marry her husband for love, nor does she remain faithful to him from duty. She is described as madly adoring Roger, yet she cannot understand that he should be jealous of the one who has every right over her. She never once alludes to her husband as to her judge; as to the deponent in her hands of a sacred trust which she has betrayed; as to the confider to her care of an honour she has forgotten to guard; never in this work, so read, so admired, so 'well-observed' and true, according to the declaration of the most accredited French critics—never does it once happen that the husband is shown to us in his proper place. Roger is not jealous of him because he is Fanny's husband, but because he believes him to be something else!

But then comes the fearful question (which Roger never asks himself)—if Fanny could love him for whom she forfeits her honour moderately enough to allow of the feeling for her husband which Roger supposes, why, then, did she ever overstep the barrier of her duties? Where is her excuse? her only one? She has none. Here we touch upon the reason for which, above all others, 'Fanny' is a book that every psychologist should read attentively.

attentively. Fanny is the portrait of a whole class. Fanny herself is the type of the modern Frenchwoman; a charming creature in mere drawing-room life, in whom there is nothing profound or genuine, and who is incontestably the voluntary accomplice of her own mischievous deeds, because she is never led astray by passion.

It is eternally true that reaction is everywhere equal to action. Now, from a cruel and humbly-accepted expiation, you may infer a passionate love, as a really blind and self-immolating love leads almost invariably either to death or to a sincere and lasting repentance. The fruits prove the nature of the tree. The soul that bore the strong love will bear the strong remorse, and the strong honesty, which, recoiling from the idea of theft, yearns to pay as dearly as it can for what has been enjoyed. There was a time when the women of France were other than they are now, and when their honesty was ready to pay the price of happiness to which they had no right. The names of Madlle. de Lafayette, Madame de Longueville, Madame de la Vallière, and many, many others, are there to testify that this assertion is correct. Before the sin that is sincerely, honestly sought to be atoned for; before the punishment unrepiningly accepted for what we must then suppose was a really irresistible attraction, we may pity and deplore, we must pause ere we condemn; for we touch upon the limits of man's fallibility, and upon that delicate, scarcely-visible boundary line beyond which lies the measureless expanse of Divine mercy.

In all this there is truth; and where truth is, even though coupled with frailty, we should hesitate to judge. But the case we have to do with at present is just the opposite one. The one thing that marks the civilisation of France in our present day is absence of truth. Everything is a matter of seeming, of grimace. All is hollow in the morals of the French race, and hollowest of all is the feminine portion of that race. Strength is the root of all honesty, and the leading defect of the French race is its moral weakness. The author of 'Fanny' makes his heroine exclaim upon one occasion, 'I know, and I confess it, *nature has not given me any strength of soul!*' There lies the harm. There is nothing large or generous; no generous desire to expiate, but also no ungovernable impetus driving passionwards. Frenchwomen of this day cannot invoke the power of the Irresistible as an excuse, for the very reason that in their own narrowness of feeling lies their faculty of resistance. Passion is suffering; to love sincerely is to suffer; and to those who really suffer, forgiveness may be vouchsafed. But what shall be the measure of indulgence to those who, without suffering, sin?—to those who are dishonest at once both to duty and to love?

We will not answer this; but we refer those who may think us prejudiced in our opinions upon modern France, to the works of contemporary French literature, in which the 'ordinary run' (*i. e.*, the large majority) of French people profess to recognise the truest picture of French society. If any venture, for we cannot recommend them, to read 'Fanny' and 'Les Lionnes pauvres,' after the perusal, let them say whether the principal difficulty of the English critic be not that of choosing from among the details wherewith each page abounds those that he can offer to the English public as proofs of the degradation depicted.

ART. III.—*History of Friedrich the Second, called Frederick the Great.* By Thomas Carlyle. Vols. I. and II. London: Chapman and Hall. 1858.

THE appearance of a new work from the pen of Mr. Thomas Carlyle carries with it an interest which it has seldom been the lot of authorship to command. No sooner are the public cognisant of the fact than journalists and reviewers, at all points of the compass, are seen ready, pen in hand, to do their part for the benefit of their readers, by way of extracts, criticism, and judicious comment. The whetted appetite grows by what it feeds on. The demands of the impatient reading public must be supplied. Booksellers are courteous and accommodating; and a new edition is called for in a few weeks. Thus the author, who fought his way into general notice with slow enough advances, has at length gained a position to command an immediate audience in his own and other lands.

No modern author is now better known than Carlyle, yet few are more imperfectly understood. In politics he has been claimed by both Conservatives and Liberals, though most assuredly he is of no political party. His speculative views and opinions have been characterised as of German growth; yet no author of the present age is a more independent thinker, or draws less from foreign sources. His phraseology and diction, in which he is certainly the most original of writers, have been charged with Germanism, affectation, defection from the orthodox standards of her Majesty's English, and one knows not what; though his style and mode of expression are, to him, perfectly natural and unaffected. It is a curious fact, not known to most of his critics, that his style is, in reality, a hereditary and family style. This singular circumstance was observed long ago by the Rev. Edward Irving, who, on visiting Mr. Carlyle's family, and conversing with his father, remarked to his son: "I have often wondered how you had acquired that peculiar

peculiar, original, and forcible manner of expressing your ideas; but I have now discovered you inherit it from your father." Indeed, we have a strong persuasion that some acquaintance with Mr. Carlyle's parentage, juvenile training, and early history, is necessary to rightly understanding and appreciating his intellectual character, mental biases, and peculiar opinions. To these we purpose briefly to draw the attention of our readers. This we do the more willingly as we regard Mr. Carlyle as a noble example of what may be achieved by energy, perseverance, and talents rightly directed, in spite of the disadvantage of early position; exhibiting, at the same time, the importance of a virtuous example and education to youth. Every man, it is true, cannot be a Carlyle; but every man has talents of some description, which might be made available to society, and to the advancement in life of the individual possessor; and it will be his own fault and loss if they are not turned to right account.

Thomas Carlyle was born at Ecclefechan (*i. e.*, the Church of St. Fechan), in Dumfries-shire, in 1796. His family, it is said, can trace their descent from the rough old Border Barons, Lords of Torthorwald, of other days, who rejoiced, most of all, in a well-fought battle-field or border foray. His father, James Carlyle, was a creditable Annandale farmer, in comfortable rather than affluent circumstances, who owed his position in society to his own energy, judicious economy, and active exertion. Mentally considered, he was a very remarkable man, possessed of strong natural sense and very superior intelligence for his opportunities and station in society; and was much respected for his moral worth and inflexible honesty. He abounded in rich sarcastic wit; and the originality of his mind was strikingly apparent in the expression of his ideas, even in his ordinary style of conversation, which was unlike that of any other man's. Decision of character, firmness of purpose, and an unswerving love of truth and honesty characterised all his dealings and transactions in life. But while resolutely just and honest himself, and little disposed to palliate even his own faults, he had not much toleration for the faults and shortcomings of others. The sworn enemy he was of all scoundrelism, knavery, and rascality, whatever guise they might assume; a man who 'abhorred a liar as the gates of hell;' would have hurled a thunderbolt at the head of a traitor, and trampled a tyrant in the dust; a true 'village Hampden' he might be called, 'who never feared the face of man;' 'no fiercer enemy of unveracity—veritable as the old rocks—an unwedgable and gnarled block of manhood.' One might be almost tempted to believe that his eminent son had transferred the leading features of his father's character to his portrait of Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, so much similarity may be observed—no unassignable cause of Mr. Carlyle's marked

marked partiality for his hero. In intellectual power, however, the royal prototype falls considerably short; still more in qualities of heart. Of the two men, the Scottish yeoman, as it appears to us, was intrinsically much the nobler, and more kingly. Like Cincinnatus of old, he lived and laboured on his little farm with independent and honourable frugality, an example to his neighbourhood of every manly and Christian virtue; guiding his affairs with wisdom and prudence, and governing his family with parental kindness united to parental authority. A slight leaning he might sometimes indicate to the severer virtues, which are not the least needed in this foolish, frivolous, and losel world of ours. This worthy man gave to his country a numerous family, endowed with the same virtues and qualities which had enabled himself to accomplish the journey of life with a desirable measure of comfort and independence. On one son he bestowed an excellent medical education—Dr. John A. Carlyle—who is not only a skilful physician, but a man of high literary attainments, which is abundantly evinced in his translation of Dante. His eldest son, Thomas—a man of eminent learning and genius, and well known as a distinguished writer—is the author, among other productions, of the 'Life of Frederick the Great,' recently published—a work of which the value of the workmanship greatly exceeds that of the materials; and it may be left in doubt whether the author be not a man of higher mark than the hero he undertakes to celebrate. If the genius of Livy was 'equal to the majesty of the Roman empire,' the genius of Carlyle is assuredly not unequal to the majesty of Frederick II. of Prussia. Yet there are individuals still to be found who will confidently affirm that naturally, in mental capacity, Carlyle the son is inferior to Carlyle the father. He was an earnest Christian man withal, happy in his religion, and one who never entertained a doubt of its spiritual power and divine authority; a man who could accept of no apology for irreligion and immorality from any one, however eminent and high in rank, though ready to honour virtue in the meanest garb.

Mr. Carlyle's mother was also regarded as a very superior, sensible, and pious woman, altogether worthy of her excellent husband. Both were adherents of the dissenting Presbyterian Church founded by the Erskines, which was, at that period, perhaps the most rigid in discipline and strict in morals of any of the Calvinistic denominations, and still retained much of the stern old covenanting spirit. Under the watchful eye and careful religious training of such parents, young Carlyle passed his tender years. From them he received his first knowledge of right and wrong, his first notions of his 'being's use and end.' His earliest convictions in regard to all the relative and social duties of life were impressed upon his young susceptible mind by their precepts and

and example; and the impressions he then received have remained with him through life, legibly stamped on his character and writings. Whatever may be his own opinions on the evidences of Christianity, he has 'lived by the faith' of his venerated parents; the impress of their character left upon his mind has never been effaced. His highest wisdom, his noblest sentiments, his finest sense of honour, integrity, veracity, and every moral duty are, with him, all hereditary—the rich legacy left him by parental precept and example. Hence his wisdom is just the rare old Hebrew wisdom, issuing, as he might say, from the inmost heart of nature, shedding light and guidance on man's darkling path; though dressed up in a garb of philosophy, and embellished with flowers of rhetoric and flashes of oratory. His good father had not got quit of that old-fashioned notion that Solomon was, in reality, the wisest of men, with the exception of Him who 'spake as never man spake.' The Hebrew monarch was very much in the habit of looking into the 'inner facts of nature,' and of measuring men and their doings by 'the eternal laws of the universe,' or laws of the eternal Maker of the universe. In that old Hebrew wisdom, which we call 'the revealed will of God,' Mr. Carlyle was carefully instructed in his youthful years. He still acknowledges the precepts therein contained as the 'eternal laws of the universe,' the will and purpose of the divine Maker of the universe, divine laws, the violation of which must inflict on men and nations unspeakable misery and ruin, and in the keeping of which there is a great reward—guidance 'towards their true good in this life, the portal of infinite good in a life to come.' With a noble inspiration, caught from his father's faith and mother's piety, and the terrible earnestness and fervent spirit of an old Scottish Covenanter—the sword lying across the Bible—he follows in the steps of the royal Hebrew Preacher, who astonished the ancient world with his wisdom; or appropriates and enjoins apostolic precepts with the zeal and eloquence of the disciple of Gamaliel. 'Whatever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might,' says the Preacher. 'There where thou art, work, work,' says Carlyle; 'whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it,—with the hand of a man, not of a phantasm; be that thy unnoticed blessedness.' 'Do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God,' enjoins the prophet. 'Humbly and valiantly with God,' adds Carlyle; 'struggling to make the earth heavenly; instead of walking sumptuously and pridefully with Mammon, leaving the earth to grow hellish as it liked.' And so of other Christian duties: 'Labour not to be rich,' for that is mammon-worship;' 'The love of money is the root of all evil.' Carlyle approves of rigorous discipline and enforcement of duty. So it seems did Solomon: 'Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and deliver his soul from

from hell.' The apostle, too, expected every man to do his duty: 'He that will not work, neither shall he eat.'

Mr. Carlyle's partiality for heroes may, perhaps, also be traced to his early Bible training. What is the history of the Jewish people but a series of biographies of their great men or heroes, to whom the nation owed all its prosperity and greatness? And the hope of a still greater hero, a Messiah, has long bound them together as a distinct and united people.

But to return to Mr. Carlyle's youthful career. Having given early promise of superior ability, his parents resolved to give him the advantage of a liberal education, chiefly with the view of his entering the church. He was accordingly enrolled a pupil in Annan academy, which was then considered the best seminary in the district. At this school he continued a number of years, making remarkable progress in his studies. The ease and rapidity with which he mastered every subject to which his attention was directed astonished his teachers, and disheartened and perplexed his class-fellows. It is related that one clever, ambitious little fellow was often heard to say, in tears, 'I cannot learn with that Thomas Carlyle; things just stick to him.' When considered sufficiently advanced to enter the college classes, he was sent to the University of Edinburgh. Here he found a wider range for the exercise of his talents, competitors of a higher class, and a more extensive field for establishing his claims to superiority. As a student, he soon occupied a distinguished position; and though seldom or never seen at his books, in his classes he showed always a thorough acquaintance with the subjects of his studies. Among the professors whose prelections he attended was the eminent philosopher, Sir John Leslie, who could not fail soon to notice a student of such remarkable promise as young Carlyle. He accordingly obtained the cordial friendship and esteem of that professor, who, in his edition of Euclid's Elements, makes honourable mention of Mr. Carlyle as his 'ingenious young friend.' The chair of Moral Philosophy was at that time filled by Dr. Thomas Brown, whose lectures he also attended, and from which he must have received considerable benefit; but for Dr. Brown, as a metaphysician, we believe he entertains little respect. His estimate of Dr. Ritchie, Professor of Logic, is still lower: 'a man who "rayed out darkness" to the students for a quarter of a century.' Though few students have passed through their college curriculum with more *éclat*, or have carried with them a larger amount of the knowledge there attainable, than Mr. Carlyle, he is, nevertheless, known to entertain no very high idea of the excellence of the present system of teaching in our universities.

After passing through the usual course of literary studies, Mr. Carlyle entered the Divinity Hall, and for some time attended

attended lectures on theology. Here he delivered, at least, one discourse in presence of the professor and students; which, from the boldness of the views advanced, the originality and ability it displayed, at once startled and delighted his audience. The old professor, however, adhering resolutely to the maxim, that in theology 'new things are not true things,' got alarmed for the faith and doctrine of the church, as if he had caught some dim perception of a young incipient heresiarch of no common grasp. Perhaps no single discourse had so much discomposed the solemn monotony of that venerable place since the time when Will Nicol, the 'inkneed genius' and friend of Burns (also a wild Borderer) poured forth a torrent of Billingsgate, in elegant classical Latinity, to the dismay of the professor and amazement of the students. Mr. Carlyle's views, in regard to a profession, having, however, undergone a change, he applied himself for some time to the study of law, which, not being altogether to his taste, he afterwards relinquished.

Among the most distinguished of Mr. Carlyle's fellow-students was the Rev. Edward Irving. They were from the same locality, were acquainted at an early period of life; and from the similarity of their pursuits, and their mutual admiration of each other's talents, they became warmly attached and inseparable friends. Much of their time was spent together, while devoting themselves, with all the ardour of youthful enthusiasm, to literary and scientific studies. Mr. Irving, during the course of his attendance at the Divinity Hall, had accepted of the mastership of the grammar-school of Kirkaldy, the birthplace of Adam Smith, and where he wrote his great work on political economy. Here Mr. Irving induced his young friend, Mr. Carlyle, to join him, as one of the masters of the institution over which he presided. Accordingly the two young Titans entered upon the discharge of their duties with no lack of zeal and ability, and laboured together for a length of time as instructors of the youth of that corner of the kingdom of Fife. What distinguished man of genius has not been engaged, at some period of his career, in the same honourable vocation, not exempting John Milton in his 'garden-house,' and Samuel Johnson, who 'set up a school and called it an academy?' The good people of Kirkaldy still point out the old building—a low, dingy little den, now superseded by a more suitable edifice—where these two youthful sons of genius wrought at their daily task, on such raw intellectual material as the locality produced. Earnest true men, such as they, labouring to realise an important result, could not trifle with men or boys; the cane, consequently, fell often and heavily on defaulters. Maternal instincts were aroused, and the doating, fond, weak mothers got considerably alarmed for their beloved offspring. Indeed, it is said, not altogether

altogether without reason, that the little, dingy, intellectual workshop of the two zealous instructors of youth, did sometimes admit the application of the classical description given by Virgil of the Rhadamanthine house of correction:

> 'Hinc exaudiri gemitus et sæva sonare
> Verbera.'
>
> 'Hence wailings are heard and cruel lashings resound.'

For a time the school became almost deserted, the men and their mission were so ill understood. It is told that on one occasion a stalwart wright, discomposed by the proximity of the appalling din, entered with an axe on his shoulder—in the fashion of Vulcan when called to lay open the brain of Jupiter on the birth of Minerva—and offered his services to Mr. Irving, to cut off, at once and for ever, the noise and mischief with the head of the delinquent, and so save his castigator a world of trouble besides expense in canes. But in an educational institution, conducted by two such original men of genius, original traits and modes of procedure were to be expected.

Of Carlyle few reminiscences remain in this early scene of his labours. He must, we presume, have been distant and taciturn; and no one could then conjecture that he carried about with him, under the guise of a Scottish schoolmaster, a mission to the nations in general, to be uttered on the world-theatre, in the audience of men present and future. There, however, Irving pledged the young affections of his great, warm heart to a Kirkaldy-born damsel, who became the mother of his children; and at last mourned for the fallen giant and departed Christian, as his widow, the wife of his youth.

It affords a pleasing interest to reflect on the early companionship and conjoint labours of two such men of might as Irving and Carlyle; and one can well conceive the high enjoyment which two congenial minds like theirs, in all the warmth and buoyancy of youth, would find in each other's society. It must indeed have been a matter of no common interest to listen to their long conversations and discussions, ranging over all manner of subjects—Irving pouring forth a torrent of brilliant eloquence in support of his own views; and Carlyle, with ready and dexterous tongue-fence, upsetting his arguments, and plying him with his long thunder-sentences and keen satirical wit. We have heard a gentleman complain bitterly, who once spent an evening with the two friends in Kirkaldy, that they seemed entirely to forget that he was present in the same room with them, so completely did they get absorbed in their conversation; subject, foreign literature—Kant, Schiller, Goethe, Dante, or some others that he had forgotten. Indeed, one can easily believe, that when Irving and Carlyle were engaged in earnest conversation, they would have few unoccupied thoughts to

to bestow on any third party, in whatever proximity he might be placed to them. Carlyle soon made his escape from this field of labour; Irving not so soon: but their mutual esteem and friendship never suffered a diminution. And it does no small honour to Carlyle's goodness of heart, that, with a constancy of friendship and warmth of affections which belong to minds of a higher order, he retained for Mr. Irving, amid all the contumely and derision of the world, his kindness and esteem to the last. And when 'the strong man over-wearied as at night-fall, when it was yet but mid-season of day,' had sunk to his long repose, and the barriers of the tomb were shut alike to the offices of friendship and shafts of malignity, Carlyle forgot not their early attachment, but shortly after Mr. Irving's death, honoured his memory with one of the finest tributes that genius ever offered on the shrine of friendship.

Mr. Carlyle's father had done his part well and faithfully to his son, as he did to all mankind, according to his judgment and ability. He had a large family of sons and daughters; and he had no notion that any child of his should be idly dandled and supported when well able to walk alone. Then young men are all the better of learning betimes to stand on their own feet, and fight their own battle, that the manhood which is in them may get itself well developed, and attain the due dimensions of a hardy and vigorous growth. Thomas, we may well suppose, from the time of his leaving college, would be left very much to his own self-sustaining exertions. But a young man, with his high scholarship and talents, could not fail, if he chose to work, to command sufficient resources for his ordinary wants. With him the motto, which he early adopted and has always acted upon, was *Laborare est orare*—work is worship. He accordingly engaged for some time in teaching mathematics, and employed his leisure hours with his pen, in translating works from the French and German. He had also, about this time, under training as tutor, a young gentleman of large fortune, for whom parliamentary honours were anticipated. But we have never heard that he attained to any distinction as a politician. He seems to have chosen the 'second glorious part,' recommended by Mr. Carlyle, of keeping 'excellent silence;' and if posterity hear of him at all, it is likely to be in connexion with his eminent tutor.

While thus pursuing with light and buoyant step a useful, independent, and honourable career, Mr. Carlyle had the happiness to gain the hand and affections of a young lady of good family and fortune—a Scottish heiress, possessed of high mental accomplishments and personal attractions. With the quick discrimination of character which females of mind are allowed to possess, she saw in the young scholar, with nothing but his pen and mental attainments,

ments, something far higher and worthier than the mere holder of any breadth of lands, or amount of bank-shares could claim. Excellent lady! we esteem and honour her for her noble preference. She accordingly made him a Scottish laird; and he, in return, made her the companion for life, and sharer of the interests and hopes, the trials and triumphs of one of the most distinguished men of her age.

Mr. Carlyle having, by his 'Life of Schiller' and other writings, established his claim to a recognised status in the literary world, now devoted himself entirely to literature as a profession. He wrote for the 'Edinburgh Encyclopædia,' then in progress; became a contributor to the 'London Magazine,' the 'Foreign Quarterly Review,' 'Fraser's Magazine,' and the 'Edinburgh Review,' in which periodicals appeared that series of able and brilliant essays on English and German literature which were afterwards published in five volumes. As a German scholar and critic, Mr. Carlyle stands in the first rank among English writers. The influence of his works has greatly contributed to create a taste for the study of German literature in this country.

His 'History of the French Revolution,' one of the most remarkable productions of the present age, appeared in 1837; a work abounding in literary excellences of the highest merit. In graphic power of delineation, vivid descriptions, life-like portraits, originality of thought, and vigour of diction, it is admitted to hold the first place in modern literature. Afterwards appeared his 'Heroes and Hero-worship,' which, to the ordinary reader, is perhaps the most interesting production that has proceeded from his pen. Here you have him at home, in congenial society—the master-spirits of every age—yielding his whole soul to the inspiration of their thoughts and actions, and reflecting in the mirror of his own mind what he finds in them great, heroic, and ennobling. Next succeeded 'Sartor Resartus,' 'Past and Present,' 'Chartism,' 'Letters and Speeches of Cromwell,' 'Latter-day Pamphlets,' 'Life of John Sterling.' Though these works are not all of equal merit and value, and not wholly free from faults, more or less objectionable, yet they are all characterised by the original genius and peculiar excellences of the author, and abound in passages of great power and brilliancy. It would perhaps be difficult to point out anything of the same kind equal to his description of the battle of Dunbar since the age of Homer.

On Mr. Carlyle's first appearance in the lists of authorship, he was recognised, by the discerning few, as a man of remarkable power and originality; but his celebrity as a writer, for a time, progressed slowly, though surely. The novelty of his phraseology and peculiarity of his manner gave, in the opinion of some, an additional charm to his composition; by others, these qualities were

were repudiated as affectation and an innovating upon the established rules and conventionalities of critics and authors of acknowledged authority. However, as his object was not to write smooth sentences and nicely-rounded periods, but to communicate ideas, to convey his meaning to the reader in the most expressive and forcible diction he could make available, he held on his way, undisturbed by criticism, which at last fell silent on the subject. It was soon discovered that no author possesses a more unlimited command over the rich resources of the English tongue, or can wield them with more power and effect. Then the fire and brilliancy of his imagination; his jocose playfulness of humour, even in the gravest subjects; his power of illustrating ordinary topics in new and unexpected lights, take the reader by surprise, enchain his attention, amuse his imagination, and never suffer his interest to flag. His satire is keen, trenchant, and terrible; when he castigates, it is with the club of a Hercules; when in humour to praise, he dips his pen in the colours of the rainbow, and arrays his hero in a garb of celestial radiance, wholly indifferent to the possible suspicion of poetic exaggeration.

The influence of Mr. Carlyle's writings on public opinion and the literature of the country has been much greater than is generally understood; not much at all directly, but by its bearing on the minds of those who think and write for the masses, especially the conductors of the public press. The interest which has of late years been called forth among the higher ranks, in the social amelioration of the labouring classes, we have no hesitation in ascribing chiefly to the influence of his writings.

His sympathy with the industrious and productive classes is warm and sincere. Their horny hands and sweat-run brows he regards with not less respect than the wounds and scars of a brave soldier who has stood in many a well-fought field; and that, when faithful to their charge, they stand ennobled by the nobility of labour.

Mr. Carlyle is an earnestly religious man after his own fashion; a worshipper especially in the great temple of nature—'not with fear, but reverence'—reads there 'the laws of God, transcendent, everlasting, imperatively demanding obedience from all men; written on the azure of infinitude, in the inner heart of God's creation; certain as life, certain as death!' He would say, with the Psalmist, 'The heavens declare the glory of God'—'There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard.' He would say, with the Apostle, 'In Him we live and move and have our being.' The Saviour of the world he denominates 'the most godlike man that ever walked the earth, and still a God.' Christ the Messiah, he considers, at all rates, as the most godlike of heroes, and claiming a godlike worship. And the man who recognises

recognises the written laws of God as 'the eternal laws of the universe,' as proceeding from the Creator of the universe, and who inculcates all the Christian virtues, cannot be called an *un*-christian man; nay, one would rather say that he has made very hopeful advances towards a valuable and practical kind of Christianity. No one, however, knows better than Mr. Carlyle, that the great unthinking mass of men, who can look with 'brute unconscious gaze' on all the glories of nature, will never be able to read God's laws 'on the azure of infinitude, and inner heart of creation.' For their safe and sure guidance, there must be a 'revealed will of God,' a written creed and form of worship. And as appears to us, there is no hope of making the world better, but through the influence of Christianity bearing upon the minds and morals of men; and whatever weakens the obligations of religion, goes to dissolve the bonds of society, and promote the reign of anarchy and social chaos. The world will always be impious and godless enough of its own accord, without a measure of toleration granted. It was said long ago, by an old Roman, 'What will not that man do in the dark who fears only a witness and a judge?'—who fears no invisible pen recording his actions, no future bar of judgment, at which his present conduct must be tried? But besides the restraints which religion imposes upon vice and immorality, and the social duties which it enjoins, there is a 'joy in believing' the message it conveys, in which the greatest and wisest minds of the human family have rejoiced with confidence and hope. From an orthodox point of view, Mr. Carlyle appears a great, fiery, stormy giant, blazing with meteoric splendour, and purblind by the flashes of his own eloquence, groping about at the foot of Mount Sinai for the broken fragments of the tables of the law; and in their dilapidated and fragmentary state, reading them as he best can, and with loud emphasis calling on heaven and earth to witness, that these are God's divine laws—'the eternal laws of the universe'—'whose body nature is, and God the soul'—that 'the soul of the universe is just'—and 'in the centre of the world-whirlwind, verily now, as in the oldest days, dwells and speaks a God.'

When Mr. Carlyle pours forth a torrent of blighting and withering eloquence against the prevailing vices of the age—'mammon-worship, scoundrelism, shams, simulacra, and all manner of lies,' in nowise sparing lordly and royal sinners, and professed spiritual teachers unspiritual in their mode of teaching and manner of life, his readers can listen to him with satisfaction and participate in his virtuous indignation. Also few can be blind to the deadening effects of meaningless forms and empty rituals, and the imperative importance of earnest spiritual teaching; but when, in his indignant scorn of all forms and formularies, 'articles and creeds,'

credos,' he lays about him 'like desperate Bentley with his slashing hook,' one is forcibly reminded of the farmer, who, in order to destroy the rats which infested his barn, fell upon the plan of setting fire to the building; a plan which succeeded to admiration, in as far as concerned the rats, but he discovered too late he had also destroyed the grain on which himself and family subsisted. There is some reason for apprehension that Mr. Carlyle may burn up the wheat along with the chaff, and so leave no form of spiritual food on which men can find nourishment.

The first two volumes of Mr. Carlyle's long-expected work on the life of Frederick the Great of Prussia have at last been issued, and eagerly received by the reading public. The work exhibits all the characteristics of his former writings; the peculiarities of his forcible and original style; his graphic power of resuscitating into vivid actuality, personages and events long neglected or forgotten; an increasing flow of wit and humour investing with interest the humblest characters and most unpromising subjects. At the touch of his magic pen, the ancient knights, burggrafs, markgraves, and kaisers, start into life, in their steel harness and buff jerkins, and speak and act again their parts on the world's stage, with their human sympathies, passions, and ambitions. The work is, indeed, a great historical epic, a kind of narrative prose poem, more interesting than any Waverley Novel, and as much more profitable as truth is preferable to fiction. Much practical wisdom and many sage reflections you meet with in the author's teachings from examples of the past; or he laughs with you at human follies—a terrible grim laugh—especially at the foolish vices of lordly and royal delinquents; or he enlists your feelings and sympathies for the woes of suffering humanity. The amount of historical information given in the work, in regard to the condition and progress of the peoples of Germany, is remarkable, considering the length of time over which the narrative extends; reaching as far back as the commencement of the Christian era, or when authentic history begins. The author has given, with considerable fulness of detail, the formation of the different German electorates, the histories of the houses of Hapsburg and Hohenzollern, and the progress of Prussia, from small beginnings to the magnitude of a kingdom. We can only find room for the following extract:—

HISTORICAL MEANING OF THE REFORMATION.

'The Reformation was the great event of that sixteenth century; according as a man did something in that, or did nothing and obstructed doing, has he much claim to memory, or no claim, in this age of ours. The more it becomes apparent that the Reformation was the event then transacting itself, was the thing that Germany and Europe either did or refused to do, the more does the historical significance of men attach itself to the phases of that transaction. Accordingly we notice henceforth that the memorable points of Brandenburg history, what of it sticks naturally to the memory of a reader or student, connect themselves of their

own accord, almost all, with the history of the Reformation. That has proved to be the law of nature in regard to them, softly establishing itself; and it is ours to follow that law. Brandenburg, not at first unanimously, by no means too inconsiderately, but with overwhelming unanimity when the matter became clear, was lucky enough to adopt the Reformation; and stands by it ever since in its ever-widening scope, amid such difficulties as there might be. Brandenburg had felt somehow that it could do no other. And ever onwards through the times even of our little Fritz and farther, if we will understand the word "Reformation," Brandenburg so feels; being at this day, to an honourable degree, incapable of believing incredibilities, of adopting solemn shams, or pretending to live on spiritual moonshine. Which has been of unaccountable advantage to Brandenburg; how could it fail? This was what we must call obeying the audible voice of heaven. To which same "voice," at that time, all that did not give ear—what has become of them since; have they not signally had the penalties to pay? "Penalties:" quarrel not with the old phraseology, good reader; attend rather to the thing it means. The word was heard of old, with a right solemn meaning attached to it, from theological pulpits and such places; and may still be heard there with a half-meaning, or with no meaning, though it has rather become obsolete to modern ears. But the thing should not have fallen obsolete. the thing is a grand and solemn truth, expressive of a silent law of heaven, which continues for ever valid. The most untheological of men may still assert the thing; and invite all men to notice it, as a silent monition and prophecy in this universe; to take it, with more of awe than they are wont, as a correct reading of the will of the Eternal in respect of such matters; and in their modern sphere, to bear the same well in mind. For it is perfectly certain, and may be seen with eyes in any quarter of Europe at this day. Protestant or not Protestant? The question meant everywhere "Is there anything of nobleness in you, O nation, or is there nothing? Are there, in this nation, enough of heroic men to venture forward, and to battle for God's truth *versus* the devil's falsehood, at the peril of life and more? Men who prefer death, and all else, to living under falsehood—who, once for all, will not live under falsehood; but having drawn the sword against it (the time being come for that rare and important step), throw away the scabbard, and can say, in pious clearness, with their whole soul: 'Come on, then! Life under falsehood is not good for me; and we will try it out now. Let it be to the death between us, then!' Once risen into this divine white-heat of temper, were it only for a season, and not again, the nation is thenceforth considerable through all its remaining history. What immensities of dross and crypto-poisonous matter will it not burn out of itself in that high temperature in the course of a few years! Witness Cromwell and his Puritans—making England habitable even under the Charles-Second terms for a couple of centuries more. Nations are benefited, I believe, for ages, by being thrown once into divine white-heat in this manner. And no nation that has not had such divine paroxysms at any time is apt to come to much. That was now, in this epoch, the English of "adopting Protestantism;" and we need not wonder at the results which it has had, and which the want of it has had. For the want of it is literally the want of loyalty to the Maker of this universe. He who wants that, what else has he, or can he have? If you do not, you man or you nation, love the truth enough, but try to make a chapman-bargain with truth, instead of giving yourself wholly, soul and body and life to her, truth will not live with you, truth will depart from you; and only logic, 'wit' (for example, London wit), sophistry, virtue, the æsthethic arts, and perhaps (for a short while) book-keeping by double entry, will abide with you. You will follow falsity, and think it truth, you unfortunate man or nation. You will right surely, you for one, stumble to the devil; and are every day and hour, little as you imagine it, making progress thither. Austria, Spain, Italy, France, Poland—the offer of the Reformation was made everywhere; and it is curious to see what has become of the nations that would not hear it. In all countries were some that accepted; but in many there were not enough, and the rest, slowly or swiftly, with fatal, difficult industry, contrived to burn them out. Austria was once full of Protestants; but the hide-bound Flemish-Spanish Kaiser element presiding over it obstinately for two centuries, kept saying, "No; we, with our dull, obstinate Cimbyrgis under-lip and lazy eyes, with our ponderous Austrian depth of habituality and indolence of intellect, we prefer steady darkness to uncertain

uncertain new light!"—and all men may see where Austria now is. Spain still more; poor Spain going about, at this time, making its "*pronunciamentos*;" all the factious attorneys in its little towns assembling to *pronounce* virtually this, "The Old *is* a lie, then;—good heavens, after we so long tried hard, harder than any nation, to think it a truth!—and if it be not rights of man, Red Republic, and progress of the species, we know not now what to believe or to do; and are as a people stumbling on steep places in the darkness of midnight!" They refused truth when she came; and now truth knows nothing of them. All stars and heavenly lights have become veiled to such men; they must now follow terrestrial *ignes fatui*, and think them stars. That is the doom passed upon them. Italy, too, had its Protestants; but Italy killed them—managed to extinguish Protestantism. Italy put up silently with practical lies of all kinds, and, shrugging its shoulders, preferred going into dilettantism and the fine arts. The Italians, instead of the sacred service of fact and performance, did music, painting, and the like; till even that has become impossible for them; and no noble nation, sunk from virtue to *virtù*, ever offered such a spectacle before. He that will prefer dilettantism in this world for his outfit, shall have it; but all the gods will depart from him; and manful veracity, earnestness of purpose, devout depth of soul, shall no more be his. He can, if he like, make himself a soprano, and sing for hire;—and probably that is the real goal for him. But the sharpest-cut example is France; to which we constantly return for illustration. France, with its keen intellect, saw the truth and saw the falsity in those Protestant times; and, with its ardour of generous impulse, was prone enough to adopt the former. France was within a hair's-breadth of becoming actually Protestant. But France saw good to massacre Protestantism, and end it in the night of St. Bartholomew, 1572. The celestial Apparitor of Heaven's Chancery, so we may speak, the Genius of Fact and Veracity, had left his writ of summons; Writ was read;—and replied to in this manner. The Genius of Fact and Veracity accordingly withdrew; was staved-off, got kept away, for two hundred years. But the Writ of Summons had been served; Heaven's Messenger could not stay away for ever. No; he returned duly; with accounts run up, on compound interest, to the actual hour, in 1792;—and then, at last, there had to be a "Protestantism;" and we know of what kind that was! Nations did not so understand it, nor did Brandenburg more than the others; but the question of questions for them at that time, decisive of their history for half a thousand years to come, was, Will you obey the heavenly voice, or will you not?'

ART. IV.—1. *Publications of the Cotton Supply Association:—The Cotton Supply Reporter* (August to December, 1858). *The Cultivation of the Orleans Staple Cotton*, &c., 2nd Edition. *Lord Stanley's Speech*, 1857, &c.

2. *How are Increased Supplies of Cotton to be obtained?* By J. B. Smith, Esq., M.P. 1857.

3. *Cotton, its Cultivation, Manufacture, and Uses.* By H. Ashworth. 1858.

4. *Letters from the Slave States.* By James Sterling.

5. *The London Cotton Plant.*

6. *How to Abolish Slavery in America*, &c. By a Slave-driver. 1858.

7. *The British Quarterly Review—The Cotton Dearth.* Oct. 1857.

8. *The Encyclopædia Britannica—Cotton.*

INDIA, from time immemorial, has been famed for its cotton. There the plant is indigenous, and the climate invites its cool

clothing. The name *calico** reminds us of the country where it was manufactured in every village. There muslins were wrought of such exquisite texture as to appear to the common eye as gossamer, and to the poet as 'webs of woven wind.' The perfect fabric was a strange contrast to the rude implements with which it was made. The hands of the artisan were wonderfully dextrous, as were his father's before him; but his mind was inert, and his condition was unimproved. Whilst in India the cotton manufacture was marked by no progress, in England it has called forth unprecedented enterprise and invention, and has peacefully produced a social revolution. It has filled the dreariest districts with life and intelligence. Our native iron and coal are exhumed that we may dress this softest and fairest of strangers, which fills our ports with merchandise.

Lewis Roberts, in his 'Treasure of Traffic' (1641), tells us that the people of Manchester manufactured and exported the cotton which London merchants brought from Smyrna and Cyprus. The weaver bought linen yarn from Ireland; the cotton wool for the weft was carded and spun by the female part of his family, and the cloth was wove by himself and his sons.† The inventions of Hargreaves, Arkwright, and others in the middle of the last century, followed by that of the steam-engine, produced a wonderful change. In 1750 the inhabitants of Lancashire numbered 297,400; in 1851, 2,031,236; and whilst they have increased sevenfold it has not been at the expense of the rest of England: the population, which it had taken thousands of years, since England was first colonised, to reach, has been doubled in the last half century.

We must refer to Mr. Ashworth's pamphlet for an interesting summary of the growth and present importance of our cotton manufactures. Suffice it to say, that whilst only one to two million pounds of raw cotton were annually consumed previous to 1764, 920,000,000 lbs. were consumed in 1856. In that year the value of cotton manufactured was 61,484,000*l.*, of which goods amounting to 38,284,000*l.* were exported to about seventy countries. If we deduct the cost of the raw material, 37,426,000*l.* was left to circulate among our industrious classes. The cheapness‡ of the fabrics they have helped to produce removes one of the social barriers. Our artisans know that the wealthiest millowners have sprung, and may yet spring, from their ranks. They have obtained an increasing regard from the organs of the public, and a more potent voice in the legislature. Parliament has inter-

* From Calicut, a port of Malabar. † 'Encyclopædia Britannica.'

‡ A wedding-dress of calico, known to have been purchased near the end of the last century at 6*s.* per yard, in 1856 would cost 2½*d.*; and a square yard of cotton lace has been reduced from 5*l.* to 6*d.*—Ashworth, pp. 17, 23.

fered

fered to protect them from the abuses of the truck system, to limit their hours of labour, and to give the humblest factory child the rudiments of a good education. There is a growing feeling that the interests of the employer and his workpeople are best promoted by mutual consideration; and that all which is done to raise the moral, intellectual, and social condition of the operatives must tend to the good of the community. Labour is respected; and those whom we delight to honour tell us truly that they, too, belong to the *working* classes.

As long as this spirit of improvement continues we may hope that the rapid rise of our cotton manufacture will be followed by no permanent decline; but the last two years have excited fears which have never, indeed, been entirely dormant. Can we go on building mills and increasing machinery at our present rate? Shall we get cotton enough to spin, and customers enough to buy our fabrics?

Other countries are now applying themselves to this manufacture. 'Fifteen years ago our machinery consumed two-thirds of the cotton raised, and now it is only half.'* But there are multitudes in distant lands who only wait the opportunity to become our customers, and our home market might be, and ought to be, doubled. Some of the most important manufactures of this country have grown up side by side with that of cotton, and they thrive by each other's success; but we need scarcely remind our readers that there is *one* manufacture which neutralises the benefits which would result from the rest: it diminishes industry, hinders education, and debases our operatives. Our people spend more than twice as much on intoxicating liquor as on cotton goods,† whilst a much smaller amount goes into the hands of the workman who makes it. Those who prefer its treacherous heat to clothing, instead of buying new garments, pawn those which they ought not to spare.

The supply of cotton wool is a matter of the first importance. In vain should we have a demand for goods if we had not the raw material. The reduction in its price has vastly increased its consumption; and when the price rises it causes a loss to the maker or purchaser. In 1844 and 1845 cotton was about 4*d.* a pound; in 1846 and 1847 it rose to about 7*d.* and 9*d.* It became apparent that a cotton famine would be followed by disastrous consequences. In 1848 Mr. Bright moved for a Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the growth of cotton in India; and since that time thoughtful persons have given the subject constant attention, though in the years in which cotton was low it was treated

* Ashworth, p. 25.

† The cotton goods retained for home use in 1856 were valued at 23,200,000*l.*

with

with indifference by the majority of manufacturers. They have built mills and furnished them with machinery, but have cared neither to take trouble nor embark capital to secure the supplies, without which they would be useless. The comparative scarcity* of the last two years has awakened their alarm. A Cotton Supply Association has been formed, the expenditure of which last year was 4,124*l.* (2,620*l.* for cotton seed); and large subscriptions, some of which amount to 100*l.* a year, have been pledged for five years. The rooms of the association are in Newall's-buildings, Manchester, where the visitor may see specimens of cotton from every region of its growth, the gins which are most approved for clearing it from the seed, the cotton cloth which is used as money in Africa, &c. The 'Cotton Supply Reporter,' published once a fortnight, is the organ of the association, and contains, with other interesting matter, the replies sent to the inquiries which were forwarded through the Foreign-office to her Majesty's consuls in all parts of the world where the cotton plant might be reasonably expected to grow. Among the subscribers of large sums to this association we find Dr. Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, and others who have no pecuniary interest in its success; but they know that it may be the means of procuring the freedom and promoting the civilisation of millions of our fellow creatures; and it is chiefly on this account that we bring the subject before the readers of 'Meliora.'

We are now dependent on the United States for cotton: their market rules the price. Two hundred years ago our imports were from the Levant. Till near the close of the last century the material for the coarser fabrics was procured chiefly from the West Indies. Old men remember when none came from North America. In 1784, the year after the peace with England, eight bales were consigned to the late Mr. W. Rathbone, of Liverpool (father of the philanthropic merchant who now bears the name). The custom-house officers seized this cotton, on the plea that the Shipping Act was violated, since it could not have been grown in the States! When it was released it lay for many months unsold, as the spinners doubted whether it could be profitably worked.† In 1795 an immense stimulus was given to its cultivation in America. Mr. Eli Whitney, of Massachusetts, invented the cotton-gin, by which the operation of cleaning the wool from the seed was easily and successfully accomplished. In 1806 Liverpool received from the United States 125,000 bales, 47 per cent. of all imported there. The per-centage of American cotton rose, in 1846, to 88; in 1856 the proportion lessened; but we then received 1,758,000

* Last 'March there was at one time only sufficient cotton in Liverpool for thirty days' consumption.'—Report of the Cotton Supply Association, p. 3.

† 'Encyclopædia Britannica.'

bales,

bales, or 71 per cent., of our whole consumption.* It is unwise to rely so much on one field, however large, as it may be subject to many casualties. It is impolitic to allow Lancashire to be dependent on a foreign country: it will prove to be unjust, when we bear in mind that we are thus helping to keep two million slaves in bondage.

Some are only too ready to tell us that England has no business with American slavery; but Southerners remind the traveller that England has so much business with it, that he has no business to denounce it! 'Why blame us,' they say, 'for the system which your ancestors planted, and which you support? Your Government vetoed the laws which some of our States made against slavery, and more recently against the slave-trade.† Your emigrants are they who turn the scale at elections in favour of pro-slavery candidates; and, above all, by giving us almost a monopoly of your cotton supply, you have made slavery most lucrative to us, and essential to your own prosperity.' We do not suppose that the profits on slavery are its only charm. Southern slaveholders are not so calculating as New-England traders. They cling to that which feeds their political ambition, as well as their lust for arbitrary power, and too frequently their more licentious lusts. Yet when slavery clearly entails a loss, it cannot long exist whilst freedom is flourishing in its immediate neighbourhood. In the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, the northern States, one after another, manumitted their slaves; and the revolutionary leaders, who set a term to the foreign slave-trade, hoped that slavery would not survive it long. Few can doubt that the demand for American cotton indefinitely postponed the hour of freedom. During the last three years the profits of the planter, from the increase in price, have been excessive. Since the foreign slave-trade is prohibited, the supply of slaves is limited, and their value rises proportionally. This might seem a security for their good treatment; but when masters are grasping, they will be tempted to overwork those for whose labour they pay so dearly. The great evil, however, is this: it is, in every way, more difficult for the slave to procure his freedom. It is, of course, three times harder for him to purchase it, now that his price is often 300*l.* than when it was 100*l.* The price is raised, not only of the two million slaves in the cotton States, but of the million and a half further north, who are driven in great numbers to the southern market, with brutal disregard to all domestic ties.‡ Those who

* 'British Quarterly,' pp. 437, 438.

† *Vide* The original draught of the Declaration of Independence, &c.

‡ When we were visiting the southern States, we travelled in the same steamer with a large drove of slaves, and saw—what no one who is acquainted with America will deny.

wish to purchase or hire slaves have an obvious interest in keeping their number as great as possible. The laws to hinder emancipation are more rigorous than ever. The free negroes are made the subjects of a relentless persecution; even in the free States the Supreme Courts pronounce that they have no legal rights. Slaveholders, who used to apologise for their system, now extol it: many openly agitate for the enslavement of those free negroes who refuse to leave their native State, and for the reopening of the slave-trade. 'It is absurd,' they say, 'that our laws should declare it piracy, punishable with death, to transport heathen slaves across the sea, whilst we are constantly selling our Christian servants from State to State. Why should that which is all right by land be felony by water?'* They impudently assert that, since the stability of England depends on the supply of cotton, we cannot interfere with what may be needed for that purpose. We appear, then, in this position: we do not merely avail ourselves of slave labour, but, by giving something like a monopoly to it, we rivet the bonds of the slave; we enrich those who keep him a slave; we tempt them to kidnap more slaves.

When Lord Mansfield declared slavery too odious to exist in England, he merely invested public opinion with the mantle of the law; but there were in his time—there are now—some who wish to weaken our instinctive abhorrence. It is mournful to see how soon many of our emigrants and travellers become infected with the southern baseness; and the cowardly silence or special pleading of those whose commercial interests unite them to slavery warns all who would keep their native nobleness to make no compact with oppressors. 'The London Cotton Plant' is apparently supported by Southerners, with the intention of inducing good-will towards slavery. The following extract may show our readers what credit they may give to its statements:—

'We have lived on both sides the Atlantic, and among the southern people of the United States, and have had a much better opportunity' [than Mrs. (!) Sutherland or Mrs. Stowe] 'of judging which is the greatest or most positive slavery of the two countries. We have come deliberately to the conclusion that the "native-born peasant," the servant (!) of the southern States, is by far happier, better off, and less degraded than his "white brothers or sisters" of England.'—*The Cotton Plant*, p. 218.

It is *our* deliberate conclusion, that it would be only just that such writers, who are slaves in soul, should be elevated to the condition which they extol; and we cordially agree that he who is enslaved by force is 'less degraded' than his 'white brothers' who come to England to praise his chains. All that we have said of the improvement in the condition of the English cotton operative is reversed in the case of the slave. The 'chattel' has no

* Compare 'The Cotton Plant,' p. 219.

hope

hope of rising to the condition of a master—or even of a man. The more skill he displays, the harder is his yoke. His master (who may be also his father) boasts of his own freedom and enlightenment, but makes it a crime for any one to help him either to education or to freedom. He is called a Christian, but marriage is not legalized. Of course there are kind and good-natured planters; but if we are to judge of a 'peculiar institution' by the crimes which it justifies, and the just actions which it criminates, we may say that no civilised—certainly no Christian—country sanctions so abominable a peculiarity.

Now, since the slave is robbed of the labour which gives the chief value to the raw cotton we procure, if we benefit by the robbery, we are partners in it; if we do not benefit, yet promote it, we are still partners, though we lose our share of the spoil; and we have to remember, that it is not of his labour alone that the slave is robbed, but that, to rob him in more security, he is also robbed of all the rights of humanity. The difference between the slaveholder and the thief is, that the thief robs a man of *something* that he has, the slaveholder robs him of *all* that he has—if possible, of all that he *is*. Another difference, not in this country, but in America, is, that the robber of dry goods breaks the laws, but the robber of negroes makes the laws.

When we abolished the slave-trade we did all that we could to induce other nations to follow our example. Indeed, it was for the interest of our planters, who had maintained that iniquity, that their rivals should get compulsory labour on no cheaper terms than themselves. Our armed squadron, maintained at great expense, has been a testimony of our sincerity; but the slave-trade is sure to continue whilst slavery is profitable. To have been consistent, when we refused to avail ourselves any longer of the services of slaves in our own islands, we ought to have decreed that no stolen goods should enter our ports. It may be said that the experiment was tried and failed: there were differential duties to protect our colonial produce, against which the common sense of the nation rebelled. And why?—because they seemed designed to increase the profits, not of the emancipated slaves, but of their former owners, whom we had already paid off. A differential duty is a compromise; it permits the slaveholder to trade with us, if he will pay a heavy fine for his license. But what just government would sell a man a license to trade in stolen goods? And if they are not stolen, why not let him trade on equal terms? 'Protection to native industry' has come to imply a premium on native incapacity; but there is a protection which every one has a right to demand—against fraud and violence. Our objection to slavery was, not only that it was un-English, but inhuman, and an offence against the law of God. If, when we passed our Emancipation

Act,

Act, and fixed a time for slavery to cease, we had added, that trade in slave produce was to cease at the same time, we have no doubt that what our wisest manufacturers desire should be done now, would have been done then. English skill and capital would have been drawn to the vast regions in our own dominions which only need their presence to yield superabundant stores; and, as we may afterwards show, this country would have been the pecuniary gainer. Even if the balance were against us, is it a new or strange thing for our nation to make sacrifices for freedom and justice? Are we not roused to costly wars on far slighter grounds? If we have lately spent 70,000,000*l.* and 40,000 lives, rather than that a Mahommedan slaveholding country should be oppressed, would it be quite absurd to sink the same money, without the loss of a life, to make a passive, but no less effectual, resistance to the enslavement of the millions who bear the name of our Saviour, and utter it in our mother tongue? 'Impossible!' say some; 'such a law would only be made to be broken.' Can they show us any law that is not broken? Would they choose to be smugglers? If not, why insinuate that the majority of our merchants are not as loyal and honourable as themselves? But we have not carried out our professed principles, and have exposed ourselves to taunts from the Southerners, such as these:—

After stating instances in which England has refused to interfere in behalf of the oppressed in Europe, the writer continues—'Why England should love the negro more than the Pole, or the Hungarian, or the Christian in Turkey, or the Italian, is a question we will not attempt to answer. We do not care to answer it, because we believe that in this free-negro question Great Britain is influenced, as any other nation would be influenced, by what she conceives are her highest colonial, domestic, commercial, manufacturing, and political interests. If not, the free importation of "slave"-grown produce into the United Kingdom would be prohibited. For, in the language of Lord Grey, when speaking upon this very subject, the receiver of stolen goods, knowing or believing them to be stolen, is guilty of theft. The nation which brands as piracy, and denounces as infamy, robbery, and murder, the very labour, the direct and increased produce of which is encouraged by the revenue and tariff system of the country, is certainly guilty of participating in the infamy; with this material difference—that the people who possess servants, and do not conceive it wrong to grow cotton and sugar by coerced negro labour, are clear of the moral crime committed by those abolitionists who daily consume "slave-grown" produce. And it is here that the "moral alliance" with Africa is broken. As between free-negroism and free-trade, the great interest of England is on the side of the latter, and so she sacrifices her "moral alliance" to the necessities of her industry and commerce. As she allied with Russia against France and with France against Russia—as she first instituted the "Institution" of negro servitude and then denounced it—as she goes about over the world proclaiming free-negroism, but yet admitting duty-free the produce of every "slave" country, so in regard to the whole African policy, it has its motive, its selfish impulse, and its personal end. The question embraces these elements upon the well-known principle that every man buys in the cheapest and sells in the dearest market. And no people understand this truism better than the clear-headed Saxons who inhabit these isles. And in no manner do they exemplify their faith and practice more than in this very matter of the negro. For while England sells her "free-negro" principles in the highest and most remunerative "moral" marts throughout Christendom, she

she buys the produce of "slavery" in the cheapest markets, and no questions asked.'*

Many abolitionists in this country resolve to use only the produce of free labour; but as long as slave-grown cotton is what is mainly imported, we can have little security for its presence, even in those goods which are nominally free. When the cotton-broker who has given the preference to American cotton, said to be collected by one or two bales at a time, from plantations widely separated, where free labour only was used, finds a greater family resemblance in colour, cleanliness, length, and clearness of fibre, than usually occurs in the same number of bales, even from the same plantation, can he help suspecting deception? When the manufacturer finds an acquaintance asking him for the use of his stamp, may he not question whether the abolitionists always get the goods they ask for?

The chief responsibility rests with our manufacturers and merchants. Too many, however, forget their manhood, when under the influence of commerce; and only believe in the freedom of men, so far as it is reconcileable with the freedom of trade. Free trade is excellent, but parodies of it are absurd and dangerous. Only those trades should be free which are lawful. Since freedom promotes growth, no trade should be free which it is the interest of society to repress. No one recommends free trade in diseased meats. No one who abhors intemperance would invite every one to sell intoxicating drinks without let or hindrance. No honest man would knowingly purchase from another what did not belong to him, however cheap the price and excellent the quality. Free trade does not mean trade with those who make free with what belongs to others, nor freedom to sell our consciences by trading with freebooters, pirates, or receivers of stolen goods. But we are told, that if we refuse to deal with a man because he is in some way immoral, we shall cease to deal at all. No doubt; but it does not follow that we are therefore justified in dealing with him in that very particular which, in our judgment, is immoral. A teetotaller may pay for board and lodging at a publican's, but will not buy his gin; the law allows it, but his own rule of right forbids it. The slaveholder's law (made by slaveholders) permits him to rob his slave; but as long as we reverence our own law and the law written in our hearts, which declare such practice a crime, we cannot deal with him in that which he has extorted from his slave. No trader who has any claim to morality can ignore morality in his trade transactions. We do not wish to write with self-righteous severity. We are using slave produce ourselves, because we do not know how to avoid it; but at the

* 'The London Cotton Plant,' p. 201.

same time we are doing what we can to direct attention to a better market; and this is what we ask from our mercantile friends to whom the 'dollar' is not 'almighty.'

We are reminded * that

'Of course it is easy for philanthropists to talk of what is our duty in these matters, and to assume that everything else ought to give way to the paramount necessity of uprooting slavery. But it is not so easy to comply with their exhortations. If we were to enter into a compact to take no more slave-grown cotton, we should soon have a revolution.'

We do not believe it, though the most beneficial changes may be attended with suffering. If science is inexorable, so is conscience. When a machine is invented, the manufacturer does not set it aside because many of his artisans will be deprived of their usual employment. The Lancashire mobs broke in pieces the spinning-jennies and carding machines; and Hargreaves and Arkwright were driven from the county. The mobs were not wise in their narrow self-regard. As improved machinery brings prosperity out of temporary distress, so must improved morality. If our capitalists were resolved to leave slave-grown cotton alone, we may show that they would ultimately be gainers. It must not, however, be assumed that our cotton business is now such an unmixed blessing that every change must be an injury. Any one who goes from our magnificent mills and warehouses to the crowded haunts of our artisans, may doubt whether a dense population is the criterion of happiness, and whether the squalid and care-worn persons he meets—many of whom have been often nearly desperate for want of employment—might not have been happier, if, when they left their rural homes, they had migrated to our colonies. Productiveness is no sure sign of prosperity. It has been thought enough to import plenty of cotton-wool, and to export plenty of fabrics. Our merchants have blindly got most of their cotton from those who did not pay their labourers, and sent many of their goods to those who did not pay *them*. Our losses last year showed that it is wise to know something about those with whom we deal. Even if our manufacturers had been honestly paid, they would have been losers by the present system. When they had cheap cotton and large profits, they built new mills. Cotton became scarce, and its price rose; but in consequence of the increased competition, the price of the goods did not rise in proportion. In 1856, 920,000,000 lbs. of cotton were consumed. An advance of a farthing a pound on this quantity amounts to nearly a million sterling; and as the increase of price last year was about threepence a pound, between eleven and twelve millions sterling went from the pocket of the manufacturer. Deducting the profit of the broker, and the proportion that went to

* 'Manchester Guardian', Oct. 20, 1858.

other

other markets, we may reckon the increased gains of the slave-holder at seven or eight millions sterling. We, who would not permit our West India planters to keep slaves, and gave twenty millions for their freedom, have since been giving a far larger sum to the American planter, which has proved a premium on slavery!

We need not continue in this position. Any amount of cotton may be grown on free soil; nor need the crop in the United States diminish if slavery were abolished. Sufficient wages will procure more work than the lash, even for the most noxious employments. In the last century, salt works and coal mines in Scotland were worked by slaves; and when their emancipation was proposed, their owners declared that they should be ruined, for they could never procure toil of that description without compulsion.* Experience showed their error. Planters in the United States have found it cheapest to employ Irish navigators in draining and other works of an unhealthy character.† But to raise cotton is not unhealthy. The plant does not require a tropical heat, like the sugar-cane, nor swampy lowlands, like the rice; nor is this statement weakened by allowing that whites might suffer on some plantations, where it is at present grown. Mr. Stirling tells us that in Alabama the small farmers, who are too poor to own slaves, produce, with the help of their families, two, three, or five bales per annum. In Texas it is raised by the free labour of Germans, and the quality is confessedly superior to that produced by slave labour.

We cannot state too emphatically that it is not to slavery, but to her partnership with freedom, that the South is indebted for the place her cotton holds in our markets. Cheap cotton does not imply ill-paid labour. Whilst the price of cotton has fallen 500 per cent. in the last sixty years, the price of labour has probably risen 300 per cent. in the slave states. The planter there competes successfully with the East Indian, though, in addition to the food and clothing which the Negro and Hindoo receive alike, he has paid 1,000 dollars to the slave-dealer. The Southern planter surpasses the Hindoo, as the English millowner does, through machinery and superior intelligence and energy. This he chiefly derives from the free North and free England. The cotton gin, which cleans the cotton wool with such a vast saving of manual toil, was the invention of Whitney, a Northerner; the railroads and steamboats, which bring it to the market so cheaply and speedily, are the inventions of freemen, made by free labour. Slavery is stagnant by nature. The contrast between the North and South, great as it is, would be greater still, were it not for the continual infusion into the slave states of talent and capital from the North. There

* Wilberforce's Appeal, p. 52.

† 'The Cultivation of the Orleans Staple Cotton,' p. 15.

can

can be little doubt that the slave states would share more of the prosperity and progress of the North if they also were free. The tide of immigration would no longer be checked; the 'mean whites' would be stimulated to industry, nor is it to be supposed that the negroes would lapse into indolence. They are the minority, not the large majority, as in the West Indies, and they would have to exert themselves to compete with the emigrants. Indeed, our own free negroes work with cheerful alacrity for the sum which the planter now gives, when he has to hire slaves. Some Americans have already, as a business speculation, given wages to negroes, and permitted them to purchase their freedom; and it has paid well. Our West Indian experience proves that there is no danger of violence to life or property from emancipation; and whilst the cotton crop would ultimately improve through it, the injury which it might probably cause for a time would be far less than is threatened by the outbreaks which menace the present iniquitous system. Unnatural crime is a volcano. 'I tremble for my country,' said President Jefferson, 'when I remember that God is just, and that his justice may not sleep for ever.' Any loss to ourselves is questionable; the gain is more certain in the improved condition of millions, who might prove our customers. The South, when it has abolished slavery, will no longer be inclined to pay the hush-money of a heavy tariff to the manufacturers of the North. A real free trade may result from freedom. We need scarcely confute the fallacy that slavery is a great peacemaker. On the contrary, the slave power is notoriously aggressive: it invaded Mexico; it threatens Cuba; it covets our West Indies: in many ways it provokes collision.

We have dwelt at some length on the effect of our dealings with the Southern States upon the labouring population there; because the Association, whose publications we recommend to our readers, treats the question as a commercial one. The inquiries directed to our consuls (to which we alluded) have met with a very encouraging response. Cotton plants of various kinds, yielding wool of every quality, thrive, or can be made to thrive, in numerous regions on both hemispheres. There is no lack of suitable soil or climate. Since all the cotton we receive from America can be grown on fewer acres than are contained in Yorkshire, it is not land that we want; nor is it men to labour; but the enterprise, skill, and capital which shall make land and labour productive. We send millions of pounds to America, and make the slave's bondage heavier; we might send them the money instead, where it would greatly elevate the condition of the cultivator.

Brazil, which furnishes 5 per cent. of our present supply; Egypt, which furnishes 4½ per cent., are, it is true, slave States. Brazil, however, has abolished its slave-trade, through British influence. Other

Other countries might be named which may send us cotton, when enterprise is protected by good government. Most can be done —where it is our duty to do most—in those regions which are under our protection or dominion.

The opponents of slavery naturally look to Africa. An African institution was formed by Mr. Wilberforce and his friends, after the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807, which offered prizes of fifty guineas to the largest importers of West-African produce, specifying a quantity not less than a ton of cotton wool. This enterprise, and another which followed negro emancipation in 1833, did not meet with the success they deserved. Not one-tenth of the energy was shown in procuring the produce of Africa that our merchants had displayed in robbing her of her sons. Eight years ago, however, Mr. Thomas Clegg of Manchester, in his desire to check the slave-trade, availed himself of the help of the missionaries to send to African chiefs cotton seed, and instructions for its use. He since had three African youths at his own mill, to teach them the best process of cleaning cotton, and three more are about to come, to be instructed as mechanics, &c. Two young men have just gone out, to whom the Association presented eight cotton gins. They will push the trade in the interior. The first year he received only about 235 lbs.; but, with the help of our consul at Lagos, Mr. Campbell, the quantity has steadily increased. In 1858 he received 1,112 bales; other houses, 95: total, 1,207 bales, at 120 lbs. each, equal to 146,047 lbs. There are besides 610 bales on the way. This immense increase in so short a time is most encouraging. Progress is likely to be rapid now, as eight presses have been sent out lately, capable of turning out ten bales daily. Consul Campbell will also push the trade vigorously. The Association aids him with 500*l.* for machinery. The enthusiasm which has greeted Dr. Livingstone's efforts to open out the cotton resources of Africa, renders any allusion to his great work unnecessary. We have the mortification of knowing, that if this country had devoted the money, the time, the ships, the courage and enterprise, and the men which have been employed in the warlike prevention of the slave-trade, to stimulate the civilisation of Africa, the number of abductions would have diminished, and we should have benefited the Africans and ourselves, instead of paying a bounty to slaveholding cotton growers. Our eagerness for a supply, however, must not blind us to the danger of rushing into the evils we would avoid. Consul Campbell tells us that the African's capital is invested in domestic slaves for labour;* and we learn from Commodore Wise that the president of Liberia proposes

* He notices, however, that the Pagan is not so severe a master as the Christian! 'Cotton Supply Reporter,' p. 54.

to cultivate cotton by domestic slaves, hired from the native chiefs. There is much reason to fear that Liberia, colonised by slaveholders, inherits the spirit of its founders.* Late accounts show that the encouragement recently given to the slave-trade by European powers has had a disastrous effect on the growth of cotton and other articles of commerce.

It will be some time before civilisation will have made such progress in Africa that we can rely on it for any considerable proportion of our supply. In 1806 the West Indies contributed about 30 per cent. of the cotton which came to Liverpool; they now send but ½ per cent. The remedy is thought to lie in the transportation of negroes or coolies; but the greatest abuses may follow, when persons of a class which has been subjected to slavery are carried into regions recently tainted with slavery. If we look at the immense cotton fields where population now seems superabundant, we see that the want is, not so much of the rank and file, as of the captains of industry, who shall enable them to work more efficiently and profitably.

This is remarkably the case with India. Its exports of cotton to us have increased, it is true, from 7,787 bales in 1806 to about 463,000 bales in 1856; from 3 per cent. to 19 per cent. of our whole imports. In 1818 it furnished 247,659 bales (40,000 more than the United States), but in 1822 it only sent 19,263 bales. On looking over the table of imports for a series of years, we are struck by the fluctuations. They partly arise from the fact, that, owing to the facilities which their free neighbours have imparted to the slave states, American cotton, in proportion to its quality, has been the cheapest in our market; and it is only in dear years that large importations from India have been profitable. No considerable amount of land is cultivated there on our account, and any unusual export is attended with distress to the native manufacturers, who are deprived of their usual supply. The slaveholder whom we rebuke points scornfully to the condition of that vast empire. From the evidence of Mr. Mangles, chairman of the directors of the East India Company, we learn that, whilst it professed to be the steward of the country for the development of its resources, out of 300,000,000*l.* which it had received from 1834 to 1848, only 1,400,000*l.*—little more than 1*d.* a pound—had been spent on roads, works of irrigation, &c., which are absolutely essential for its fertility and trade. It is questionable which has caused most destruction—what has been done with that immense revenue, or what has been left undone. 'Meliora' has spoken with no uncertain voice on the opium curse.† Whilst we were enjoying

* See the 'Edinburgh Review,' for October—'Slavery and the Slave Trade,' and 'The London Cotton Plant,' p. 227.

† 'The East India Company and the Opium Trade.'—'Meliora,' pp. 28—46.

peace

peace at home, war was continually raging there. Meanwhile ancient reservoirs of immense cost are in ruins, regions which were once luxuriant have been suffered to lie waste, and famine has been as fatal as the sword. We hope that after the tempest which has filled us with horror, a brighter era has dawned. The people of India are now our fellow-subjects. The war system has not produced the happiest results; but something may be hoped from commerce cherished by good government. Ceylon has been better ruled than India, and the result has been remarkably encouraging. Lord Stanley, the Secretary for India, has shown, by his speeches before the Cotton Supply Association, and on other occasions, that he knows what is wanted; and we hope he will be able to cope with the difficulties which retard its accomplishment. If half the 25,000,000*l.* of English capital which is now invested in American railways—if the 10,000,000*l.* which is annually lost to this country from our dependence on American cotton—were directed to the improvement of India, the mutual benefit would be great indeed. An Englishman at home can scarcely realise the immense waste which arises from neglect in India. When the vast area now lying useless is cultivated; when the fields which now yield only 40 lbs. of clean cotton, far too dry and crisp, produce, through irrigation, 200 or 300 lbs. as fine and long and silky as any in the world; when the bales that are now conveyed for hundreds of miles on the backs of bullocks are borne to the port on steam-boats and railroads, our cotton lords will no longer be the servants of the slaveholder. Public works are not all that India wants. From the slovenly and adulterated state in which Indian cotton comes into our market, it is usually worth 25 per cent. less than American. The carelessness and dishonesty of the natives must be remedied by intercourse with men of probity and business habits. As we improve the men we deal with, we shall improve their dealings; and as their moral and physical condition is raised, the market for our manufactures will expand beyond calculation.*

We have scarcely done more than introduce this subject to the notice of our readers. We think that they can scarcely peruse the works to which we refer them without being astonished at the apathy which has prevailed. An enlightened self-interest imperatively calls on cotton manufacturers to obtain new fields, without which they are at the mercy of a foreign nation, and free trade is a shadow. But we do not suppose that selfishness is the only motive by which British traders are influenced. If our people sacrifice millions every year on the indulgence of their passions, we believe there are those who would sacrifice no less to the claims of justice and benevolence.

* In the first half of 1858, 386,478,095 yards of calico were exported to India.

This we know, that those who labour for us are, in one sense, *our* labourers. There is a link between those who grow our cotton, those who manufacture it, and those who consume it. Distance cannot break this link, nor the ocean dissolve it. Our love for America—for, next to our own land, no other is so dear—kindles our desire to see it free from its curse; our pity for the slave calls on us to remember his bonds as bound with him, and not to be partners in oppressing him; our interest in the millions of India prompts us to the enterprises which may turn those who are dissatisfied, listless, and half-starved, into willing, skilful, intelligent, and active labourers. A more earnest regard for the destitute and oppressed abroad, will remove many of the causes of distress at home. Social science and enlightened philanthropy must widen and clear the gaze of commercial wisdom. A warm heart and a courageous spirit must sustain the perseverance which is needed for success.

ART. V.—*The Times*, November 6th, 1858. Article on the Speech of Mr. Hutt, M.P., before the Gateshead Temperance Union.

THE modern gods are very human; at once inconstant, cruel, and indolent. They would fain strangle every demigod in the cradle, out of sheer jealousy, or even mere aversion to contribute a salute of thunder to his honour. Frustrated in this, however, they will, with a flunkeyism excessively terrene, laud and glorify the genius which they have failed to destroy, adore the fate which is stronger than themselves, and bow their heads to all the favourites of fortune who have achieved success. Hence it comes to pass, that the Jupiter Tonans of the diurnal press, who, in perfect keeping with his treatment of all infant questions, has so frequently fulminated his ridicule and hurled his bolts against the Temperance Society, is now pleased to patronise its friends and even to expound its philosophy! No event can be more significant of the vast social influence attained by these organisations; but the immediate occasion of this alteration of tone and treatment—the proximate impulse to the patronage and eulogy of mere moral suasion—is the formidable attitude which prohibition has recently assumed in the political sphere. Our political Jove, from the pinnacle of his Olympus, clearly discerns 'the signs of the times,' foresees a coming tempest in which his thunder will have to play a distinguished part. Politicians and statesmen cannot much longer ignore the subject, or safely postpone its discussion; vague generalities, and effete worn-out remedies have ceased to content the popular mind; and that evil which is the acknowledged source of three-fourths of our social vices and crimes, is not only a topic of permanent

permanent importance, but one which is every day absorbing a greater space in the public eye. We seize this opportunity for submitting to our readers some reflections grounded upon an historic survey of the temperance enterprise, and upon an analysis of the causes of the vice which it aims gradually to check, and finally to eradicate.

The temperance reformation, like all other movements originating with the people, sprang out of the pressure of circumstances; for opinion, or mere theory, apart from urgent wants, never yet generated great changes among the masses. Experience, in its bitter form of suffering, is the sole mother of their wisdom. Neither political nor social revolutions have any other source; and it is the instinct of common sense that points out the cure to which misery first prompts. The working classes had long been crushed and despoiled by intemperance—had long felt the tyranny of custom and of the public-house—until at last they grew desperate with despair. Sick of suffering, they were prepared both for a revolt and a remedy. The pulpit and the press had proclaimed 'moderation' and 'temperance' to little purpose; the machinery of seduction and temptation set at nought the verbal barriers of exhortation; and in spite of the protest—chiefly valuable as initiating a truer principle of action—intemperance held riot and carnival amongst the people, subverting their hopes of domestic happiness, and rendering their social elevation utterly impossible. The original prescription of the British and Foreign Temperance Society, copied from the social doctors of America, singularly absurd in itself, was still more absurd when applied to Great Britain. The first pledge was that of total abstinence from distilled spirits, united with the use of undistilled alcohol in cider, beer, and wine! In a country where the two latter agents of inebriation were but sparely used, this prescription was at least practically equivalent to what is now designated 'teetotalism,' and for a time, therefore—until those tolerated agents began to occupy the place and do the work of the proscribed 'ardent spirit'—was productive of immense benefit. But the application of such a pledge to the very different circumstances of this country was a practical blunder. Not only did it conflict with science, and involve a verbal distinction where there was no vital difference, it had the fatal defect of leaving untouched that form of alcoholic agency which was the fountain of three-fourths of British intemperance. Drunkenness did not sensibly abate, while pauperism and crime increased, until the evil became intolerable. The politicians and the press grasped at a legislative panacea which had no remedial relation to the evil, but was, in fact, a part of the cause; and under the influence of a theory, the Beer Bill was passed by parliament, with the most glowing vaticinations of future sobriety. 'Free trade' in beer was at once to secure the

purchaser a pure article, and to wean him from more obnoxious beverages. The cure for the nation's madness was a little of the hair of the dog by which it was bitten; the same delusion which has since been reproduced in the cry of 'light wines' for 'heavy wet.' But the vivid anticipations of the authors of that luckless measure were doomed to disappointment. Never were fine promises followed by such shabby performances. The act made matters worse instead of better. While the old evils were aggravated, some fresh ones were engendered, and a new army of interests created, implacably hostile to temperance and progress.* At this juncture the Preston movement commenced, headed by Teare, Livesey, Grubb, Swindlehurst, and Anderton—the first apostles of the new system. Hope revived amongst the people, and in the north of England, especially in the centres of manufactures and popular intelligence, there was kindled up an enthusiasm of an extraordinary description. The exigency of the case had at last suggested the antidote, which was sharp, radical, and decisive. To use the blunt provincialism of 'Dicky Turner'—one of the famous seven of Preston who had proved the inefficiency of the former scheme for liberating the people from so desperate a thraldom—it was altogether 'botheration,' and to effect their redemption they must 'teetotally' abstain. The philosophy of the movement came later. One or two leaders had clear and just conceptions of the subject from the beginning; but as a national idea and method it was gradually developed into its present shape out of the necessities of the time.

It was a providential circumstance, that the inauguration of temperance amongst the people was contemporaneous with the close of an era of debauch amongst the aristocracy. The improvement so visible in the higher strata of society during the last twenty years, and the striking difference of tone which prevails in regard to the excesses of the table, is falsely imputed to any sudden progress of knowledge, which does not, indeed, exist. It is mainly the work of fashion, founded on the accident of the royal succession. We are old enough to recollect the court of William, the fourth of that name, not to speak of the last of the Georges, and we need not further allude to the manners, sobriety, and morals of that period. 'Like priest, like people; like king, like courtier;' are proverbs that were verified to the letter. But these monarchs

* It has done even more and worse. This measure has thrown back efficient reform for many years. In 1830, people, press, and parliament, acknowledged the necessity for some stringent and sweeping legislative interference with the traffic—of which the passing of the Beer Bill is the historical witness—whereas now, after a lapse of a quarter of a century, with a singular obliviousness of our former position, the general press, the magistracy, the Home Government, and the Church, can muster up courage to propose nothing better than a mere negation—the abolition of the exploded nostrum of the Beer-house Act!

were

were childless, and the crown descended upon a purer brow, the sceptre passed to a fairer hand—the noble lady who happily still presides, in all queenly virtues and honour, over the destinies of Britain. With her came simpler manners, and purer laws of fashion; and the tide of intemperance received a check in high quarters.

Voluntary associations for promoting sobriety, and for spreading a knowledge of the evils of strong drink, were formed in every part of the realm, and the new doctrine rapidly gained converts amongst the peasantry and artisans of England. Many happy personal reformations were effected, and some remarkable local ones. Attention was directed to the duty of magistrates in respect to licences, and the question, so to speak, underwent a revision and discussion in the public mind. Unfortunately, however, the striking reforms achieved in a district did not prove lasting and general. A certain intensity of effort occasioned a certain sympathy, which was epidemical, and then came a reaction. The enthusiasm of benevolence passed away; the disciples were left subject to the old circumstances and temptations, before the perpetual influence of which, resolves and pledges offered but an ineffectual resistance. Noble fruits were undoubtedly realised here and there, triumphs which will for ever adorn and honour the movement and the men of that time. The truth must not be concealed, however; the issue was nationally disappointing, the result was not one in which the earnest reformer could satisfactorily rest; the temperance reformation was yet a thing of the future. In spite of thirty years of earnest and enthusiastic labour—in spite of the advocacy of an original band of temperance advocates, simple, earnest, and even eloquent men, perambulating the entire kingdom—in spite of the circulation of tracts, periodicals, and books by millions—in spite of hundreds of local societies, of many county associations, and of two or three national leagues—intemperance is still the characteristic vice of Britain, and the source of three-fourths of our madness, pauperism, and crime. The splendid successes of Father Mathew have left but a remnant of good behind them, and the distilleries of Ireland are in 'full blast' once more. In a London temperance paper of the date of January 9, 1858, we find this naïve confession:—'The great evil of our age (is) still rampant and destructive, in spite of all we are doing or have done. We speak advisedly. We do so with sorrow and with shame; we never saw so much drunkenness in London; we were never so convinced of the unfitness of large masses of our countrymen for the enjoyment of rational recreation as during the late Christmas.' Tall and imposing as the tree appears, is there not something at the root? Is there not some fatal flaw in the machinery, or workings, of these organisations? Professor Laycock has put to their

their conductors a most pertinent question:—'To do justice to the labours of temperance societies, I will say no more than this, that they are multifarious and incessant. The practical question is—Are they sufficient to attain the object aimed at? Are voluntary associations, however powerful, equal to the mighty undertaking? I think not.' Without derogation to the merits of these associations, we must concur with the professor. It is a conclusion forced upon us by history, and it is one which we must arrive at equally from a knowledge of the causes of our national vice.

That drunkenness springs from drinking is a truism, but it is not true that gluttony arises from eating. There is a contrast in the cases which is obvious to the most unreflective mind, and the peculiarity lies at the basis of the question. Food satisfies, intoxicating drink stimulates. It is the creator of its own appetite, which grows with the element whereon it feeds. This is a law common to all narcotic stimulants. Literary history is full of examples of this law in the case of opium, as well as of alcohol. Tobacco affords a trite illustration. We know of more than one instance of intellectual men, where the passion engendered by the use of this agent has induced absolute idiotcy; and there are thousands of persons who, at first, could take up or lay down their pipe at will, that are now the veriest slaves of the narcotic weed. The doctrine of habit by no means explains these cases; but only the peculiar properties of the agent habitually employed. The 'Times' overlooks this peculiarity, and hence exaggerates the difficulty of the antidote. 'What,' it inquires, 'will the crusade against bad smells, foul air, bad water, nuisances, and unwholesomenesses of all kinds, do, if we are to let this monster evil, drunkenness, alone? Stenches, damps, and exhalations, crowded lodging-houses, and clogged-up drains are not pleasant things; but they are, after all, easier things to deal with than the human will.' This is a great misconception; for in treating drunkenness and its causes, we have not to deal with any natural stubbornness or perversity of human nature, or of the will, but simply with an abnormal, self-gendered craving, dependent upon a physical agent at once for its creation and its continuance; and as we have intimated, in the great majority of cases, the unhappy slaves of this appetite are willing to be emancipated from its debasing bondage. A recent canvass for the Permissive Bill of the United Kingdom Alliance has elicited the encouraging fact, that the lower we go into the social strata, the more eager and uniform is the desire expressed for its protection. The real difficulties of this case are therefore institutional, and the solution of the problem can be reached only by touching the outward temptations and incitements to drunkenness. The 'Times' rightly indicated the reason why the greatest of all our social evils should have had so little said concerning it at the

the late sociological conference at Liverpool. 'It is not a very agreeable subject,' since it calls for practical self-denial, as well as oratory. The world is pretty well disgusted with mere palaver; and unless people are prepared to do something, it is better to be silent. But the 'Times' errs egregiously when it adds, that 'another reason, perhaps, why drunkenness and its cure were not introduced [prominently at least] into the discussion, was, that there is so little to be said about it.' The higher literature of temperance societies and of the United Kingdom Alliance readily refutes the assertion; and we must fall back upon the alternative that there is, in certain quarters, as there has been in the 'Times' itself, an indisposition to meddle with the question in a thoroughly earnest and exhaustive manner. It asserts in this connexion, that the one thing 'almost universally agreed' upon, is 'the absurdity of legislating on the subject.' This appears to us an entire misrepresentation of the tendency and actual condition of public opinion. In the best-educated states of the best-educated country in the world, the temperance reformation has actually culminated in legislation, and we perceive no signs of any disposition in the people to alter their policy in this respect. In our own country, legislation against the causes of drunkenness was never tried but once, and then only for a few months, and in the most bungling fashion. We have hitherto legislated against the stream, not the fountain—against effects, not causes—and have therefore of course failed to realise satisfactory results.* The solitary and partial exception is the legislation of 1735, when the Lords called for prohibition of the traffic in gin, and the Commons conceded a prohibitive-license fee! Botched as the measure was, and preceded by no popular demand or preparation such as now manifests itself even at vast political gatherings of the people, it failed by no defect inherent in itself. It was altogether an executive blunder, as we shall prove by reviving the knowledge of a fact which the historians have passed unnoted. The presentments of the grand juries of London, Middlesex, and the Tower Hamlets, for the January sessions of 1735-36, now lie before us, containing this emphatic testimony:—'That our lower kind of people are enfeebled and disabled, having neither the *will* nor the *power* to labour for an honest livelihood, which is a principal reason of the great increase of the poor. . . . . Most of the murders and robberies lately committed have been laid and concerted at gin-shops, and [the perpetrators] being *fired* with these hot spirits, they are ready prepared to execute the most bold and daring attempts. . . . . We, the grand jury, do present all such brandy-shops, where spirituous liquors are *sold and vended by retail*, as

* The objection, however, is confuted by the fact, that they who make it, dare not recommend the abolition of restrictive laws against the traffic.

PUBLIC NUISANCES . . . . They are a high grievance, and of the greatest ill-consequence to *all* our fellow subjects. . . . . The number of *Sellers* will soon be near equal to the *Drinkers* of this General Poison.' Law, clearly, has done something since then to check, if not satisfactorily to reduce to a minimum, the flowings of this vice. But the 'Justices' Report' furnishes the most illuminating evidence as to the cause of failure. 'It is scarce possible for persons in low life to go anywhere, without being *drawn in* to taste, and *by degrees to like*, this pernicious liquor. ALEHOUSE-KEEPERS, *etc., are most commonly the persons appointed to execute the said Laws, and bring offenders to Justice.*' Bad as things were, the justices were not shut up in that helpless social-fatalism which seems to paralyse the thoughts and efforts of our modern magistrates, for they conclude with a happy prediction which we hope to see realised in the present generation. 'This evil must, we think, some time or other find a Remedy. We submit to the consideration of the Sessions, how far it is in their power, and by what means, to *suppress* this great and dangerous evil [of the traffic]; or whether any, and what application to our Superiours may be proper, *in order to a more effectual remedy.*'

'Setting legislation aside,' argues the 'Times,' 'what do we know about the cure of drunkenness? All we know can be said in two words. (1.) We know that a man can cure himself if he will exert his will. (2.) There are two, and we believe only two, great known aids to the drunkard's will—abstinence and sympathy.'* The strong-minded Dr. Samuel Johnson long ago pointed out the way in which a man given to drink could cure himself—namely, by abstinence. 'This,' said he, 'is easy to me; but moderation in its use, impossible.' Why is the latter so difficult, if not impossible? Because the use of the drink is the introduction of an enemy into the citadel, which augments the force of impulse, creates or revives the craving which is ungovernable, and paralyses the will itself. The first object is to induce the exertion of the will in the slave, so that he shall adopt means of deliverance, for he cannot liberate himself by mere volition. He has already, in most cases, a desire for his ancient freedom; all discrowned as he is, he looks with regret upon his lost dominion. What hinders aspiration? Despair, founded on the failure of many efforts, and on the dissolution of troops of strong resolves before the forces of social temptation. Sympathy, therefore, and encouragement, are his first needs, not his second; for hope must precede any attempt to abstain from the agent of inebriation. Such efforts, however intense, are transient. The

* The 'Times' lays stress on 'limited periods of abstinence;' whereas, in fact, ninety-nine out of every hundred reformed drunkards did *not* sign for limited periods, but for life; so that the 'Times' is philosophising against the facts!

enfeebled

enfeebled slave cannot keep up the mental strain; and his safety can only be found in an alteration of his environment. Without this he will, in the long run, and in the majority of instances, furnish another sad illustration of the overwhelming influence of

> 'Circumstance, that unspiritual god and miscreator,
> Whose touch turns hope to dust.'

The temperance movement has had its share of ups and downs, of triumphs and reverses. As the 'Times' wisely says, 'They have in their day, and at intervals, done a good deal; they are not doing so much now. There is a fashion in these things. This machinery for acting on the human imagination is not always to be got up at the exact moment you want it; it depends on the turns of enthusiasm, on individual impulses, on the unknown succession of ideas in human society.' Unless we are prodigiously mistaken, the succession of ideas may now be certainly predicted. The leaders of this movement have inaugurated the ideas, and the people are rapidly accepting them. The science of the reformation is completed, and the true business is the promulgation of the remedy. Men begin to drink, either because they believe strong drink to be good or because it is the custom and fashion to drink; and drinking begets the inclination and craving which is the parent of all drunkenness. False notions, therefore, must be displaced by true ones; bad customs by good ones. The machinery for this already exists in the temperance societies, which, by press and platform, diffuse information, and by associative protest weaken the tyranny of custom. As Bacon profoundly remarks, 'There is no trusting to the force of nature, nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by custom.' He adds, 'Custom, copulate and collegiate, is far greater. The great multiplication of Virtues upon human nature RESTETH UPON SOCIETIES WELL ORDAINED.' The traffic in strong drink is at once the feeder of appetite, the purveyor of custom, the false instructor of the people, and the seducer of virtue, the temptation to vice, the foe of temperance, the implacable enemy of knowledge, and the chartered fountain of disorder and crime. With a traffic in strong drink in its midst, no society can be 'well ordained,' for the central element of misrule is there. It is an institution, 'copulate and collegiate,' active and multiform, always antagonistic to the true ends of civil society, and, of necessity, ever defeating the best-meant efforts of the patriot and philanthropist. But this institution originates in the political mind, and is sustained chiefly by legislation. As it is the politician who votes it into being, or sustains it by his suffrage, so must it be the politician who votes it out of existence. Moral suasion can enlighten the voter, but the actual votes alone can influence the parliament and

secure the Permissive Bill, which will enable the people to protect themselves from the snare, the burden, and the curse of the traffic in strong drink. Let the temperance man as citizen—the philanthropist as citizen—the Christian as citizen—see to the efficient discharge of their grave responsibilities in this matter. The time is critical, and the golden moment should not be lost.

Art. VI.—Our Friends in Council.

*** *This space in the Review is open to our Friends in Council. Brief papers on questions of Social Science and Reform will be inserted. We do not endorse the opinions of our Correspondents.*—Ed.

1. Unprotected Females.

In looking over the columns of advertisements in the 'Times' newspaper day by day, the most unobservant must sometimes be struck by the numerous appeals made by females of all ages and degrees of cultivation, from the decayed gentlewoman to the servant-of-all-work. Some offer their services for board and lodging only; while others of higher pretensions proffer musical lessons, &c., for sixpence an hour. The average of these advertisements for one month, taken by the writer, was from forty to sixty daily. Such an exhibition argues an amount of distress among the female community that is absolutely startling to those who take it for granted that the majority of females are provided for, either by marriage or otherwise, by thoughtful parents or considerate relatives. A reference to the census would dispel such an illusion. Few persons, however, refer to this matter-of-fact production merely to obtain materials for reflection; although few compositions are more pregnant with deep meaning, or more suggestive of subjects of the most vital interest.

From the census (of 1851) we learn that there were 1,407,225 unmarried women between the ages of 20 and 40, and that 720,000 of them were dependent on their industry. 55,433 were employed as day-workers—that is, going daily in the morning to work at some place away from their homes, and returning at night. There were 395,969 unmarried women above 40 years of age, and about 10,000 widows, numbers of these with children dependent upon their exertions; and 117,815 were dependent upon public charity, and resident in, or receiving aid from our workhouses and charitable institutions; while 11,776 belonged to our nomade population—that is, the homeless and destitute, those who sleep in barns and tents, or under bridges, &c. The last fact we glean from the census is sufficiently startling: there were 80,000 prostitutes. The majority of these working and dependent women, with their unhappy, abandoned sisters, are found in the metropolis, London being a magnet to which all classes of the community direct their attention, more especially those who are called upon to earn their daily bread. There are hundreds, nay, thousands, who form the most extravagant notions of the resources of our vast city, deeming them to be unlimited. The fact is, London is so overstocked with adventurers and necessitous persons of all kinds, that no town in the world contains so much vice, misery, and wretchedness as this splendid emporium of wealth and luxury. In this vast amount of sin and misery the working female portion of society is a painfully prominent feature. In London the females are in the proportion of 113 to 100 males; consequently numbers are without male relatives or protectors. Many causes may be assigned for this state of things by those who study the science of statistics. We will only mention two of them, but they are the chief. It is too much the fashion to 'lecture' and 'address' the humbler classes upon the vices of extravagance and want of prudence, &c. The majority of our humble working

working population are patient and hardworking, thrifty and prudent. Witness the number of sick-clubs and benefit societies supported by them. The persons who require 'lectures' on extravagance and want of forethought are those who belong to what we must call the humbler gradations of the middling class. Time was when the words 'middling class' conveyed to the understanding a definite idea that there was a class that divided the upper and lower portions of society; but in these days, when such a miserable pride prevails in those classes whose incomes just keep them from poverty, it becomes difficult to say who does, or who does not, belong to the middling class. Of course the rich banker's wife, whose town house is in Russell Square, and whose husband has a 'villa' in one of the suburbs, and whose wealth enables her to load her dinner-table with plate, and welcome those who honour her with their company, only on account of the luxurious style of living to be met with there, belongs to the middling class. A clerk with 300*l.* a year would be most indignant if classed with any other rank than the one just named. We must therefore designate the class we now address as the 'genteel' classes—we mean those whose annual incomes range from 200*l.* or 300*l.* to 500*l.* or 1,000*l.* These classes of the community are perpetually endeavouring to identify themselves with the ranks just above them. To do this, all sorts of contrivances, many painful private sacrifices are made by the heads of families who have become affected with the absurd mania of vying with those who are better off than themselves. And when every unworthy, mean art has been practised, much private privation undergone, and the desired end is attained, and the man with 500*l.* a year gains an *entrée* to the better-appointed house of his neighbour of 1,000*l.* a year, he deceives no one, but probably excites the secret contempt of the very individual to whose level he thinks he has raised himself by spasmodic, anxious efforts. It is well when this false, miserable pride leads to nothing more serious than the loss of dignity which it necessarily involves. It is well for his family if he does not bring them to beggary, and himself into prison. There are thousands at this very time who are striving in this miserable race. These are the classes who fling on the world so many destitute women and children, so many 'old maids' and poor teachers, dressmakers, &c. It is the distressed females belonging to the genteel classes whose advertisements in the papers create surprise and pain in the minds of those who look beyond their own circle. When parents are straining every nerve, and practising the most pinching private economy to 'keep up appearances,' of course no thought is given as to the future provision of the girls, or it is assumed that they will marry well, they hope in 'good society.' Now as 43 out of 100 women never marry, this becomes a vague speculation; while the folly of teaching the poor girls to depend upon a contingency which may not happen cannot be too strongly deprecated. Thus it happens that hundreds of girls and women who have been (we cannot say educated, but) reared in the most useless way it is possible to conceive, are yearly flung upon society to (in the expressive language of the 'Times') 'stitch, starve, die—or do worse.' Unfortunately the so-called education of a young woman of the ordinary ranks of life, such as placemen, respectable tradesmen, clerks, &c., is supposed to be completed when she can play an 'air' or so decently on the piano, dance a quadrille, crochet collars or anti-macassars, and work a d'oyley or slipper in Berlin wool. If, in addition to these 'accomplishments,' she can add a sum in simple addition, or has any recollection of the multiplication table, she is fortunate. And it will ever be thus, while so many men are content to marry empty-headed women, fit only for household pets, and without the slightest notion of their responsibilities either to God or man. As the supply of an article generally meets the demand, so young girls would be more rationally trained, if it was found that by being so they went off better in the matrimonial market.

It is believed, rather too hastily, that the ranks of abandoned women are recruited wholly from the lower orders. But it is a fact well known to those benevolent individuals who take note of this part of our social system, that numbers of this wretched class have been the offspring of most respectable parents. Many a young girl falls a prey to the tempter by means of the very advertisement she inserts to obtain employment. We will suppose the case

of

of a man with 300*l.* or 400*l.* a year and a large family, and who is infected with the prevailing insane desire to appear as if in possession of twice that income. Of course every pound is spent that can possibly be spared from necessary household expenses (and in numberless cases more than can be spared) to obtain those outward appliances which place himself and family apparently on a par with Mr. Johnson, or Mr. White, or Mr. Any-one-else, with a few hundreds more per annum. Of course, a parent whose whole thoughts and energies are engaged in appearing what he is not, is not likely to train his family in a sensible, useful way. The sons imbibe their father's ideas, and will not marry unless they can meet a girl with money. They consequently become, in too many cases, dissipated members of society. The girls are secluded as much as possible from all useful knowledge, their minds contracted into as narrow a circle as circumstances will allow, and for fear of vulgar associations they are not allowed to acquire a practical knowledge of domestic duties. They are taught, however, to lay themselves out for husbands, and altogether rendered as weakminded and useless as it is possible to conceive. If these girls get married, they are lucky; and as long as their fathers live to provide for their support they do not feel the necessity for a better state of things. But when the head of the family dies, and the pecuniary supply stops, and they are left still expecting husbands—then comes the tug of life. Not having been taught to work in any useful branch of industry, they are perfectly unable to compete with the skilled workers of their own sex; and having been delicately nurtured, they are unable to perform the duties of domestics, and fly to the advertising columns of the 'Times;' some offering their services as 'teachers' and 'governesses,' being alike mentally and physically incapable of either; while others, as a forlorn hope, undertake the care of widowers' houses. How can women brought up in such a foolish way hope to stem the torrent of adversity? A thousand channels are open to men, but very few branches of industry are open to females, who, without the elegance, and refinement, and good sense of the educated gentlewoman, have yet been surrounded by refined associations, and are, therefore, incapable of contending in the stern arena of life—a battle-field from which men do not always come out successful.

It has been calculated that when one thousand heads of families die without having made some provision for them, that four thousand destitute children and women are bequeathed as an unwelcome legacy to the community. What can, what does become of these? The union workhouses and hospitals afford the melancholy response to this question. Certain numbers of them, no doubt, struggle into some honest way of support; but too many of those whom the selfishness and thoughtlessness of parents and others thus fling on the world, it is to be feared, become—the sons adventurers, the girls prostitutes.

Daily experience teaches those who at all observe what is going on around them that it is not the labouring, nor even the mechanical portion of our working population that are thus improvident; but that this want of forethought exists where we least expect to find it, and where it ought not to be found: among the more intelligent classes, among those whose incomes range within a few hundreds, and end with their lives. We do not wish to include the whole of this large class under one sweeping censure of carelessness and extravagance; for we know that hundreds of worthy men take a pride and a pleasure in undergoing much privation, and really experience no small amount of mental torture in making provision for a family. Nevertheless, we may safely add that every reader of these lines, whose pecuniary circumstances allow him to minister to the distresses of others, can give almost daily instances of appeals to his pocket on behalf of widows and orphans. This would not be the case were the valuable system of Life Assurance more fully appreciated and more extensively practised. It were difficult to select a subject more intimately connected with the stern realities of life, or a principle capable of more universal application than this, which, if considered only in a restricted sense, as a means of provision for families, is of the highest importance to every class of the community; for although its nature is such that it may be rendered subservient to nearly all the arrangements of business and the contingencies of life, yet the chief feature of

of life assurance is the facility it affords to persons of restricted means for bequeathing legacies which, without its aid, no effort of theirs would enable them to do At the period of its original introduction, and when life assurance was confined to few objects, persons of narrow means might plead the impossibility of providing for widows and children from the fact that there was no existing facility which would enable them to secure a future valuable property by present economy and comparatively small savings. But since the numerous facilities and variety of purposes to which life assurance may be applied have been so thoroughly and so often explained to those classes whom such details should specially interest, there is no excuse for a man with any regular income at all leaving a wife or children utterly unprovided for. Were any proofs required of the culpable negligence of hundreds of parents to make future provision for those dependent upon them, we might find one in the indifference withwhich the majority of those individuals who more particularly require its aid all but ignore the existence of a system, which, if properly estimated by them, would save their wives and daughters from sorrow and shame. When 'life agents,' as they are called, are canvassing for 'proposals' for a particular office among those classes to whom we now appeal, he is too often met with the excuse that the payments of the premiums cannot be spared from the income, which, perchance, is only 300*l.* or 400*l.*; but how does a mechanic, with no more, perhaps, than 30*s.* a week, continue to pay to a sick-club or benefit-society, in order to secure assistance when ill, or the means of decently burying his children? Simply because he is manly enough to appear what he is, and is not possessed with the idea of raising himself (in appearance only) to the position of one with twice his wages. Limited as the practice of life assurance is even now, and notwithstanding that its principles have, for these last twenty or thirty years, been most widely disseminated, yet among the classes where its operations can be traced, it has been found to be productive of the most beneficial effects. The peasant and the artisan in very numerous instances have been led to the practice of industrial and temperate habits, and have learned the advantages of economy and prudence, and acquired a higher tone of moral and religious feeling. Those of the labouring and industrial classes who have been able to subscribe for its advantages, or been led to practise it, have risen higher in the social and moral scale, and have even attained a higher rate of longevity.

Guildford, Surrey.

2. The new Reform Bill. A Dialogue.

Hughes. Well, we are to get in our hand now, it seems. The good time is coming to working men at last.

Wilson. Is it? I am glad to hear it. But how?

H. Why, there is to be a new Reform Bill, and we are to have a wide extension of the suffrage. It is said that they are going to frame it so that working men are all to have votes. Isn't it jolly? If you had been with me last night you would have heard all about it. It was famously discussed at the *Robin Hood*; but you never go there.

W. No, never. But how is the good time coming?

H. Why, by our getting votes—what they call 'the franchise.'

W. What good will that do?

H. Oh, surely you don't mean to deny or dispute that it will be a benefit. Surely you are not sorry to get a vote for a Member of Parliament, and that all of us should get one. Don't you see what a power of good it will do?

W. If you see it so clearly, I wish you would tell me. I am not sorry that we are getting votes, if we *are* to get them. Far from it. I am very glad, though I cannot help feeling a little anxious as to the use that may be made of the privilege. But I want you to tell me where the benefit really lies, and what is the precise advantage to be derived by our class from the new franchise.

H. If you had only been with me at the *Robin Hood*, you would have heard it explained to purpose. Jem Alcock read the newspaper, and then we fell to discussing the subject. Bill Orton, and Joe Hicks, and Kennedy the Scotchman, and three or four more, and myself, all set to it, and I think we made it plain enough that times would not be as they had been.

W. What did you say? and how did you make it out?

H. Well, as for telling you what we said, he would be a clever fellow who could do that, we said so much. And, besides, we got rather noisy at last; and Orton and Kennedy made such long speeches, the others talking all the while across them, and we cheered and laughed so loud, and kept it up so late, that I feel rather confused this morning. But I remember that we settled it to our entire satisfaction, that when we get the franchise we shall, of course, vote against taxes, and abuses, and all that sort of thing, and make the great men in parliament do justice to the labouring classes, and make laws for their benefit.

W. That is rather vague, but it sounds very well upon the whole, and I hope that you will keep it in mind at the hustings and the polling-booth. You will recollect, however, that what you will have to vote for is not justice and wisdom, and all that in the abstract, but a particular *man* who offers himself as a candidate; and what you will have to vote *against* is another man, and not directly against abuses, taxes, aristocracy, and such like. I hope that you and I and all the rest of our class will vote conscientiously and intelligently; and if we do there can be no doubt that evils will be gradually corrected where they still exist, even after all that has been done of late years for the removal of the burdens which pressed upon industry, and bore hard upon the families of labouring men. I think I can see some important benefits which will flow, not only to our own order, but to the community at large from the extension of the suffrage, if we only make a right use of it. But really, neighbour, for you and me to expect that, as individuals, it will materially and at once improve our condition—that it will furnish a cure for all our ills and a supply for all our wants—is a mere delusion; is, in fact, downright nonsense and folly.

H. Well, I don't know: it seemed clear enough last night. I wish you had heard Bill Orton and Kennedy upon it.

W. Ay, ay, I dare say they saw—particularly when they got a little 'confused,' as you call it—a great many benefits to workmen in this Reform Bill which I cannot discern. I don't undervalue the suffrage; on the contrary, I think it will do good: but as for lifting us out of all our difficulties, procuring us easy work and high wages, and materially smoothing our path through life, depend upon it this Bill will do nothing of the sort. I can do far more for you myself than it will ever do, or, rather, I can tell you how you may do far more for yourself.

H. Bravo! Let us hear. I wish we'd had you at the *Robin Hood* last night with your grand plan. Will you come to-night and expound it?

W. Now, my good friend, this is the very thing which my scheme would knock on the head, this wasting of time and money at the *Robin Hood*. If you would only keep out of the public-house, and devote to better purpose the time and money squandered there, you would do far more for yourself in one year than the new Reform Bill will do for you in ten; far more to improve your circumstances, far more to raise yourself in the social scale, far more to promote your credit and respectability, far more for your best interests both here and hereafter. I am quite serious. The franchise you speak of will not directly put a shilling in your pocket, and, indirectly, it will at best put only a few; while the course which I recommend will directly save you two or three pounds a year, and gain for you perhaps as much more; and indirectly, in its effect upon your health and character and credit, and upon the position and prospects of your family, it will benefit you to ten times that amount. And consider that *here* you have, under God, your future welfare in a great measure in your own hands. You may never get the franchise you talk about; and even if you should, it will work very slowly in your favour: *here* you can yourself operate at once and most effectually. What think you, Hughes?

H. Well, I suppose there is something in what you say. But I don't see much that is *new* in your scheme. It seems to me that I have heard it all before.

W. Very likely, though I don't think that you ever heard it at the *Robin Hood*. But new or old, is there sense and reason in it?

H. Perhaps there may be. But one must have amusement of some kind, and as well take it at the *Robin Hood* as anywhere else. And then we expect to get it cheaper, for Bill Orton says that we'll vote the duty off hops and licences, and so cheapen the beer; and Kennedy swears that the very first use which

which we ought to make of the suffrage is to strike the duty off whiskey. So we won't spend so much money, you see.

W. I am not so sure of that. But even if it were so, what do you think of the loss of time, the fostering of a love of drink and dissipation in yourself and others, the injury done to your family, to your health, and to your reputation, not to speak of the eternity to which we are all approaching? Is there nothing here to make you pause and ponder? Then as to recreation, I am very far from frowning upon it. We must have amusement, as you say; but there is no reason why it should be of a kind to leave a sting behind it. I can enjoy myself right well at home with my family, with a good book or other occupation which I have a taste for, or I can have the company of a neighbour, or amuse myself out of doors, and be a far better man in health and strength and spirits than if I were soaking night after night in the *Robin Hood*. And, by the way, if we get this new franchise, I tell you frankly that I hope to see another use made of it than your friends Orton and Kennedy anticipate. What would you say if, by means of this same franchise, we were to make a rapid reduction—perhaps a clean sweep—of those pests and snares, the public-houses?

H. Do you really believe that you will ever see such a thing as this?

W. I shouldn't wonder. We shall see. Meanwhile don't let you and me deceive ourselves about the great things which this Reform Bill is to accomplish. I think that we—the working classes—may get something out of it in a few years, if we understand our own interests, and are earnest and united in seeking to advance them. I really do think, as I have said, that the parliament might still do something for us to promote our comfort, improve our circumstances, and further our elevation and intelligence. But I know full well that it will not, and cannot, do a hundredth part of what we may do for ourselves. Let us only be industrious and frugal, sober, steady, and trustworthy—let us embrace every means of self-improvement, and avail ourselves of every lawful opportunity of getting forward in the world—and, if God grant us life and health, we shall do a thousand times more for ourselves and our families than all the Reform Bills in the world will ever do for us or for them. Such is my view of the case, and I try to act accordingly.

H. Well, somehow you do get better on than most of us, though you had no better chance at first.

W. Not quite so good a chance, I think. But if I have got on well, take my word for it, it has not been by trusting to Reform Bills, or spending my nights at the *Robin Hood*. Good day, friend Hughes.

Wumphray, N. B.

3. The Great Social Evil.

To the Editors of Meliora.

GENTLEMEN,

OF the privilege of making suggestions on the great social topics of the day, which you have accorded to the supporters of 'Meliora,' I, as a humble, though, I trust, zealous member of that body, gladly avail myself.

That intemperance is the 'perennial fountain' from which impurity flows, must be evident to the most superficial inquirer. I can speak with some confidence on this point. It has been my lot to study in both an Irish and an English university, and during my residence in both, having gained the confidence of many of my fellow-students, who had departed from the paths of chastity, I found that in their calm, reflective moments, they all, with one or two exceptions, confessed that their first transgression of the laws of purity occurred when they were under the influence of intoxicating liquors.

That 'the drink' is the life-blood of prostitution also, close observation, whilst curate of the populous parish of St. Oswald's, Collyhurst, Manchester, compels me to acknowledge. Anxious to see the worst form of the terrible scourge in that city, I sallied forth on a Saturday evening, accompanied by two detective policemen and a well-known philanthropist. Disguised as a detective, I was enabled, without let or hindrance, to witness the abominations of the low theatre, the casino, the brothel, and the public-house. Horrified at the fearful, unmentionable scenes which met my gaze, I exclaimed, 'How are we ever to bring the Gospel to bear upon these poor creatures?' Never shall I forget the reply of the intelligent serjeant by whom I was escorted:—'Nothing, sir, can

can be done without the Maine Law.' Now, this man was not in any way connected with the temperance reformation, in either of its aspects; and his testimony was, therefore, the more impartial. Would to God, that that testimony, borne by one so conversant with vice in all its ramifications, were duly pondered by every Christian throughout the kingdom!

But there is another point to which those who possess influence over the female mind should direct it, viz.: the duty of banishing from their society the man who is known to have been guilty of seduction, or to indulge in fornication. The power of the mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters of our land is tremendous. Let them, then, repel with righteous indignation from their acquaintance, and from their homes, the villain who has robbed their sister of her honour, and, perchance, then flung her off to float as offal on the surface of society. Such is *not* their mode of procedure at present. The broken-hearted victim is shunned as 'an unclean thing,' while the exultant victimiser is patronised and caressed. Nay: is it not notorious that many a fair and gentle woman bestows her heart and her hand as readily upon the well-known seducer or fornicator as upon the chaste and godly man?

Women of the United Kingdom! these things ought not so to be. Rise in the majesty of your purity, and frown down this dreadful vice, which, to a greater extent than is supposed, is undermining the foundations of the body social.

Ministers of Christ's gospel! let us not be ashamed to speak plainly on this subject. The truths which we utter may be bitter and unpalatable, but they are decidedly wholesome.

I am, gentlemen,

Faithfully yours,

JOHN KINGSTON,
Curate of Durrus, Diocese of Cork.

ART. VII.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

IF Social Science has not made progress during the last few months, it certainly has not been the fault of those devoted to its pursuit.

The meeting of the British Association at Leeds afforded an opportunity to Professor Owen, the president for the year, to deliver one of the most eloquent and thoughtful of the numerous public addresses which the parliamentary vacation always offers. The recent changes in the departmental arrangements of the Association affording, in the statistical and economical section, scope for inquiry into questions formerly excluded, will, no doubt, render the British Association for the Promotion of Science even more popular than it has been; still, devoted as it must be mainly to the discussion and development of pure science, the interest attached to its meetings by social politicians will always be far less than that excited by the gathering of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. The second annual meeting of this latter body has been unquestionably the great event of the vacation.

The selection of Liverpool as the place of meeting for the present year was happy. Easy of access, and in itself, as the outlet and inlet of the streams of commerce which fertilize the northern counties, possessing very great interest, the facilities presented exist in few provincial towns. The noble structure St. George's Hall enabled the committee to hold all the meetings of the Association under one roof—the large gatherings in the great hall, and the several departments in the courts and the various anterooms which surround them.

Possibly the arrangements of the Liverpool meeting indicated a danger lest these splendid gatherings should degenerate into complimentary speech-makings, and the pleasant gossip of the soirée supersede the serious and important work of the sections. Possibly the discussions, hurried as they necessarily were, from the immense pressure of business, may be considered unsatisfactory; and the constant repetition of similar suggestions and thoughts from many individuals, each equally entitled to respect, be thought wearisome and unnecessary. But with all the fault which the most captious can discover, it is impossible to refuse to acknowledge

acknowledge that the Liverpool meeting was a great success, or to recognise the progress of one of the noblest efforts of modern civilisation.

The inaugural meeting, at which Lord John Russell delivered the opening address, was not only a brilliant but an affecting scene. The great hall, probably the most gorgeous in the world, with its massive gates, its granite columns, and its tesselated floor, was crowded to its utmost capacity with an enthusiastic audience. The gay toilets of the fair auditors gave brightness to the appearance of so vast a body of people; and the interest excited by the presence of statesmen of world-wide celebrity kept all in a state of lively excitement. But there, it must be confessed, enjoyment ended. The eye was gratified, but the ear was disappointed. Hardly a word could be caught by the most attentive listener to the noble lord who presided. At all times remarkable rather for the sound sense of his matter than for the grace of his manner, Lord John Russell's reading of his inaugural address was but a dull affair. With the exception of a few hundreds immediately surrounding him, the whole of the vast assembly were left to derive their knowledge of what was going forward from the same source as their less fortunate brethren outside—the reports of the public press. We avail ourselves of this source of information to congratulate our readers on the frank and explicit avowals made by the president. Addressing himself to the various departments of the Association, Lord John said something on jurisprudence, on education, on punishment and reformation, on public health, and on social economy—a wide range of subjects, and exhibiting a wide sympathy. From an address occupying in delivery nearly two hours it is impossible to present adequate extracts. The entire speeches have been printed as a cheap pamphlet, and may be had from our publishers; and they will doubtless appear, revised by their authors, among the proceedings of the Association. Although fully recognising the efforts put forth, and hopeful of results, the facts as stated by Lord John Russell certainly point to many difficulties, and to a sad social condition.

'Our judicial statistics,' said he, 'it is well known, are very incomplete; indeed, we have hitherto had no information of any value giving the results of the proceedings of our civil courts. With regard to criminal trials and their results, we have, indeed, valuable annual returns, drawn up by a very intelligent officer attached to the Home Department—I mean Mr. Samuel Redgrave. From the return presented to parliament, I am about to quote the results of the trials which have taken place on several subjects of criminal jurisdiction. Those are, the offences of—1st, shooting at, stabbing, or wounding; 2nd, robbery; 3rd, burglary; 4th, housebreaking; 5th, larceny in a dwelling-house; 6th, forgery, and uttering forged instruments. The returns show the numbers convicted, sentenced to death, and executed for these offences in one year in every ten from 1817 to 1857, or, in other words, the changes which have taken place in forty years. I give you the results:—

	Convicted.	Sentenced to death.	Executed.
1817	912	911	78
1827	1,113	1,113	41
1837	1,081	405	None.
1847	1,498	18	None.
1857	2,057	21	None.

'The population of Great Britain has increased from 1811 to 1851, in round numbers, from 12,000,000 to 21,000,000; and in England and Wales from 10,000,000 to 18,000,000. You will perceive that convictions have increased, and in a greater proportion. Upon examining these returns more in detail, there is a further result, namely, a great increase in crimes accompanied with personal violence. Thus, the numbers convicted of shooting at, stabbing, or wounding, has increased, between 1817 and 1857, from 26 to 208, and of robbery, from 154 to 378; while larceny in a dwelling-house has only increased from 143 to 246. Burglary has increased from 374 to 473; housebreaking, from 152 to 568; forgery, &c., from 62 to 184.

'The punishment of death,' he continues, 'being nearly discontinued, transportation to a colony virtually abolished, it has become a necessity for us to consume our own crime, and not to send it forth to contaminate other parts of the world. Hence it is a problem of the deepest interest to us to ascertain in what manner the thousands of criminals we used to send to Australia can be most effectually punished, for the sake of example, and most effectually reformed, for their own sake and that of the community.'

And in propounding the question of public health, before congratulating the association upon much hopeful progress, Lord John did not hesitate to sound an alarm which may well arouse serious attention.

'On the question of public health,' he said, 'I find this statement in the registrar-general's report of the quarter ending June 30, 1858. "Upon dividing the population into two portions (1) the 8,247,117 people living in rather close proximity to each other, and (2) the 9,680,592 living much further apart, the result is, that the mortality in the dense districts was at the rate of 24·73, nearly 25 in 1000; while in the other districts, over which small towns and villages are distributed, the mortality was at the rate of 19·58, nearly 20 in 1000 of the population." Thus it appears that five persons more die every year in every 1000 of the 8,000,000 of people living in large towns than of the nine and a half millions of people living in the country; in other words, the excess of deaths in the large towns is 40,000 a year. When we add to this result the fact that temptations to intoxication and to vice of every kind are far more common in towns than in the country, that the means of education are likewise in large towns either less complete or less used, it is alarming to find by another statement of the registrar-general, that in England and Wales the town population is increasing much more rapidly than the population of the rest of the country. I suppose every one will agree that the tide of population cannot be checked or diverted from its channel; yet we cannot deny the importance or the urgency of the following questions. Now, in England and Wales the town population is increasing much faster than the population of the rest of the country; and the question is therefore becoming every day graver —How is the health of the nation to be sustained in the midst of the new dangers which millions of its people are encountering?'

Passing in review all which is being done in the various departments of social progress, the president did not hesitate, however, to avow his faith in ultimate substantial success.

'We are not,' said he, 'like some philosophers of the last century, enamoured of an age of reason which will never come to pass. Nor do we share in the dreams of philanthropists who ten years ago imagined that if property, and capital, and competition were put down by authority, the human race might sit down in happiness and contentment. Our task is more humble, but, as we conceive, more in accordance with the decrees of our Divine Creator. To mankind is allotted labour as its portion and perpetual inheritance. If any think that he has nothing to do but to eat, drink, and be merry, in that very night as fearful a doom may fall upon him as it did upon the tyrant of old. If any suppose, like the masters of the Roman empire, that the sword has done its work, and that nothing remains for them but luxurious enjoyment, that very luxury may revenge the conquered world. If any imagine that to them belongs dominion, and that they may indulge in contempt of the unlettered and ill-fed multitude, that very multitude may overwhelm them in bloody and merciless retribution. It is for us to work as truly as the man who forges the iron bar, or the woman who works at the factory loom. It is for us to endeavour to improve the laws by which the community is governed. It is for us to show how education may be extended and diffused. It is for us to examine and record what has been done for the reformation and punishment of offenders. It is for us to confirm and animate the efforts which are being made to sustain the public health, and thereby preserve for this country her eminence as the home of a vigorous and independent race of men. It is for us to investigate the conditions of the great problems of political economy, which may often admit of exceptions, but never of refutations. In so doing we shall but consult the welfare of the present and future generations; in so doing we shall follow the path traced out for us by Almighty Benevolence and Almighty Wisdom.'

After the address of the president a vote of thanks to Lord Brougham, as the abdicating potentate, was proposed by Lord Shaftesbury and seconded by Sir John Pakington. And then rose the old man, whose name was in all mouths, and whose honour was in all hearts, whose head has grown gray in the service of the people, and who, in spite of human frailty, seems determined, in the mature wisdom of his last years, to rival the usefulness and fame of his youthful zeal. The few words he

he addressed to the meeting indicated not merely that the skill of the orator had not been forgotten, though a little rusty from disuse, or perhaps a little stiff with age, but that, in the emphatic words of Sir John Pakington, 'the giant intellect of Henry Brougham was as fresh as ever.' With this tribute to the originator of the association, the interest of the opening meeting culminated, and the assembly rapidly dispersed.

The following day was devoted to the inaugural addresses of the presidents of the various sections. Over that of jurisprudence the Lord Chancellor of Ireland nominally assumed directorship; those of education, public health, punishment and reformation, and social economy being respectively placed under the care of the Hon. F. Cowper, M.P., Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Carlisle, and Sir James Stephen.

Every address was characterised by clearness of thought and boldness of expression; and, to add to the already high gratification of the members, Lord Brougham volunteered to deliver his opinions in vindication of the history and results of cheap literature. No man could be better fitted for the task. Connected from its establishment with the well-known Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge, under whose auspices were produced not only the 'Penny Magazine,' the first of a long list of admirable weekly papers, but also the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' a work still unrivalled, Lord Brougham entered with the chivalry of an old knight into an elaborate defence of the proceedings of that society and a vindication of its usefulness. Possibly the best tribute to its worth is the fact that it has become comparatively worthless, because no longer needed. When the 'Penny Magazine' was first established, no less than nine weekly papers were devoted to the circulation of the most abominable matter—morally scandalous and obscene. The 'Penny Magazine' drove these entirely out of existence, leaving behind them only a feeble progeny, which, skulking in corners, has hardly ever been heard of since. Now, although the 'Penny Magazine' itself has long been displaced and has departed this life, it has engendered a taste which, supporting its successors, has rendered popular literature one of the most profitable business investments. The 'London Journal' sells 350,000 weekly; Cassell's 'Family Illustrated Paper' probably 285,000; the 'Family Herald' 250,000; and the 'Popular History of England' 100,000 copies. While the 'Penny Magazine,' at its highest circulation, was believed, according to Lord Brougham, to have nearly a million *readers*, there are several of those now published, *each of which* must have at least twice that number.

After two days of the week had been spent in listening to these addresses, and in deriving inspiration from the social intercourse promoted among the members, the serious work of the sections began. And here, at the outset, was felt the inconvenience to which we have already alluded. The papers sent in to the Committee were so numerous, that it was necessary strictly to enforce the rule which excluded all which had not been forwarded prior to a fixed date. Of this no one could reasonably complain. Many excellent and interesting papers were doubtless excluded; but a rigid adherence to rule is absolutely essential in the arrangements for such a gathering. But a more formidable obstruction to the progress of business existed. On certain subjects many papers were sent in, and of course, being quite in accordance with rule, admitted and read. Thus in that section and on that subject, instead of free, full, and lively *discussion*, in which those comparatively uninformed may often take part most advantageously, we had a series of careful papers, each excellent, but in many cases containing mere repetition of the same facts and the same ideas. The time for discussion was thus entirely consumed; and we confess ourselves unable, in many instances, to detect any practical result arrived at, or even any substantial benefit obtained. It is very difficult, too, to point out any remedy for this unfortunate state of things. It would be easy to say that one well-considered paper should be read, and discussion on that be promoted with a view to the formation of opinion, the removal of difficulty, or the answering of objection: but the puzzling question remains, Whose paper is to be read? Every author naturally thinks his own production the best, and no committee would willingly undertake the invidious task of selection. But this is a difficulty which must be considered by the committee, and we recommend it to their deliberations.

We must not be understood to mean

more than this was a drawback, but not a fatal defect. The proceedings of the sections were, on the whole, intensely interesting, and, amid considerable diversity of sentiment, true harmony was preserved.

A curious mistake has been fallen into by the 'Times' and by Mr. Hutt, the Member for Gateshead. Admitting the importance of the various social questions discussed—and these ranged over the entire domain of social morals and social politics—the Hon. Member declared his surprise that one of the greatest--popular intemperance—should have excited so little attention. This would, indeed, have been a grievous mistake; but from the guarded utterances of Lord Shaftesbury to the outspoken entreaties of Lord Brougham, *this* great question *was* alluded to by all speakers.

'Is there any one here,' said Lord Shaftesbury, 'in the least degree conversant with the state of our alleys, dwellings, and various localities, who will deny this great undeniable truth, which all experience confirms; for if you go into these frightful places you will see there the causes of moral mischief, and I do verily believe that seven-tenths of it are attributable to that which is the greatest curse of the country—that which destroys their physical and moral existence, cuts through their domestic ties, and reduces them to pauperism, with all its various degradation—habits of drinking and systems of intoxication.'

And with a striking and most gratifying advance on previous opinions, though still a little halting, Lord Brougham, in trumpet tones, propounded abstinence as the great handmaid of knowledge. 'We profess,' said he, in his speech on popular literature, already referred to, 'to encourage reading among the people, and we directly and effectually discourage it, raising the price and lowering the value of everything they read. To a certain degree, however, the people have a remedy in their own hands. Let them firmly resolve to meet the paper duty by practising a salutary economy in the use of their earnings. The tax adds to the price of what they buy to read. Let them deduct as much from their other expenses, and the pressure of the tax ceases. Let them abstain from the use of fermented liquors, not at first altogether, but so far as to increase by a little the sum they pay for cheap works. *They will feel themselves all the better for the change, and will be encouraged to carry it further, so as to give up* ALTOGETHER *the use of both beer and spirits.* That the greatest obstacle to their improvement is also the greatest injury to their health, the worst enemy to their comfort and happiness, is undeniable; nor can there be a more natural or more appropriate manner of meeting and overcoming this adversary than to make the practice of temperance a help to knowledge; thus *setting at defiance the obstinate errors of the short-sighted and inconsistent legislature,* and showing it by the wise and provident consistency of their own conduct.'

Beyond this, at one of the conversaziones held during the evening soirées, the public-house system was submitted to a fuller discussion than could have been given to it in the section, the only disadvantage being the absence of newspaper publicity.

The discussion opened by a paper read by Mr. Jowett, of Leeds, recommending the adoption of Mr. Hardy's Bill, was supported by Mr. Pope, the Honorary Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance, Mr. Lupton, Rev. J. A. Steinthal, and many others, and a very considerable interest displayed on the part of the members.

We must not omit a bare allusion to the popular feature of the gathering, in the form of a public meeting of working men, addressed by Lord John Russell, Lord Brougham, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Carlisle, and Lord Sandon—an enthusiastic demonstration of the sentiments of the masses. It is hard to imagine that any one can look with doubt on the efforts of social reformers as being in Utopian advance of the wishes and feelings of the people. Upon all social questions, the deeper the foundation be sought, the more solid will it be found. Do we desire to remove the temptations to appetite presented by the public-house? From the sufferers themselves comes the most eager assistance. Do we seek to promote public health by strict sanatory arrangements? The active opposition emanates from the owners, but not from the occupiers of the noisome dwellings. Do we inquire for some definite opinion—aye or no—on great questions of social reform? We may obtain it from the hard-handed and hard-headed artisan; but we often ask for it in

in vain from the tradesman and the employer. This is a hopeful circumstance. If the working classes are to be raised, the fulcrum of the lever will be found among themselves. No government, however powerful, must be depended on; no association, however vigorous or however dignified, must be appealed to; the people, for themselves, must, and we have never doubted will work out their own redemption from the slavery of vice and the ruin of intemperance and improvidence.

With a grand banquet the Liverpool meeting closed. It has not officially transpired, but we believe Bradford has been fixed upon for the next year's assembly.

ART. VIII.—LITERARY REVIEWS.

1. Biography.

A Memoir of Elizabeth Fry. By her daughter, Mrs. Frances Cresswell. Abridged from the larger Memoir, with alterations and additions. London: Piper, Stephenson, and Spence.

THIS volume is a great improvement upon the former in two volumes. Mrs. Cresswell has exercised a wise discretion in abridging the previous biography, which was dull and heavy. In the present work the beautiful character and philanthropic labours of Elizabeth Fry are ably portrayed. Such a history as that of this distinguished lady is worthy of earnest study, and can scarcely fail to prove an example which many would wish to follow. In her own day

> 'Who that saw her pass, and heard the poor,
> With earnest benedictions on her steps
> Attend, could with obeisance keep his eye
> Or tongue from due applause?
> * * * * *
> Old men beheld, and did her reverence,
> And bade their daughters look, and take from her
> Example of their future life. The young
> Admired, and new resolve of virtue made.'

The reform of our prison discipline owed much to her, and in efforts for the improvement of the prisoners she may well be styled the Female Howard. We trust all our readers will become familiar with this biography.

The Life of Alderman Kelly, Lord Mayor of London. By the Rev. R. C. Fell, M.A. Third Edition. London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

WE are delighted to see a new edition of this excellent biography. Thomas Kelly rose from the humblest to the highest station in London, and his life is a model for young men in business. Strict integrity, filial piety, a patriotic spirit, and a genuine, unobtrusive religion conspired to make him at once successful in trade, happy in mind, and useful in his generation. Mr. Fell has used his materials to good advantage by preparing a biography for young men throughout the land.

The Devoted Minister: A Memoir of the Rev. David Wilson, of Cumnock, Ayrshire. By the Author of A Memoir of Mrs. Andrew. Edinburgh: Thomas Grant. 1858.

IT has given us much pleasure to peruse this memorial of a faithful minister, having many memories connected with the parish in which Mr. Wilson laboured, though long after his day. It is to be regretted that the record is so brief: but at this distance of time—Mr. Wilson having died in 1822—the materials were probably very few.

2. Social Science.

The State of our Educational Enterprises. A Report of an Examination into the working of the Chief Public Educational Experiments in Great Britain and Ireland. By the Rev. William Fraser, Paisley. Glasgow: Blackie and Son. 1858.

A MOST valuable document, prepared with great care, and after personal visitation of our chief educational establishments. The author was selected by a number of influential gentlemen, interested in national education in Glasgow, and his execution of the trust proves how wise was their choice. This report cannot fail to impress educational reformers, and we trust it will fall into their hands.

A Handbook of the Cotton Trade: or, a Glance at the Past History, Present Condition, and Future Prospects of the Cotton Commerce of the World. By Thomas Ellison. Dedicated, by permission, to the Right Hon. Lord Stanley, M.P., &c. London: Longman and Co. 1858.

THE object of this work is, according to the author, 'First, to furnish the cotton-

cotton-merchant, broker, and manufacturer with a portable book of reference, containing reliable information, statistical and otherwise, relating to the origin, progress, present condition, and future prospects of the great trade in which they are engaged; and, secondly, an elucidation of the question of "Cotton Supply," which has of late been so prominently before the public of both sides of the Atlantic.' There can be no doubt of the value of a work professing such an object, and Mr. Ellison has, within the compass of 200 pages, done great justice to his subject. His volume is divided into three books: the first being devoted to the Botany and Cultivation of the Cotton Plant; the second to the Progress of Cotton Cultivation in the United States, the East and West Indies, South America, Africa, &c.; and the third to the Cotton Consuming Countries, Great Britain and the Continent of Europe. This will at once indicate to the reader the character of the work, which contains much information strictly accurate, carefully compiled, and illustrated by numerous statistical tables. Cotton Supply forming an article in the present number of the Review, we need not enter on the general subject, but have much pleasure in commending to our readers the Handbook of Mr. Ellison.

Good Times: or the Savings' Bank and the Fireside. London: Groombridge and Sons.

THIS pamphlet of sixty pages, in small type, contains a large amount of practical wisdom on subjects of deepest interest to the working classes generally. It opens with a comparison of what was the social condition of Europe and America one hundred years ago, and what now prevails; but immediately after proceeds to discuss existing evils and the best means of ameliorating them. The author is no Utopian, but a man of strong common sense. His proposals can be practically tested by every working man. Were they generally used, society would be healthier, wealthier, and wiser. We should be glad if our recommendation of this cheap fourpenny pamphlet could extend its circulation by thousands.

Our Mourning Customs. London: Whitfield. 1858.

THIS pamphlet is a reprint, and sets forth the absurdity and needless expense of our present mourning customs. There is, no doubt, much room for improvement amongst us in this, and good would result from the adoption of some of the author's views.

How to reduce Poor Rates: or Free Public Rate, Supported News Rooms, and Lending Libraries versus *Mechanics' Institutes, with Remarks on the Public Libraries Act.* By M. H. Feilde, Esq. London: Skeet, 1858.

THIS is a letter addressed to the Metropolitan ratepayers, advocating the establishment of free libraries. The author is most impassioned in his appeals, and despite several *outré* opinions, with which we cannot agree, has a good cause, which he has argued well. A rate for knowledge is the cheapest and the best that can be imposed, and we heartily wish every large parish availed itself of the provisions of Mr. Ewart's Act.

Daughters from Home. London: Jarrold and Sons.

THIS is one of an admirable series of Household Tracts for the People, which are well written, contain much practical wisdom, are adapted to the wants of society, and deserve to be circulated by every social reformer.

Practical Hydropathy. By John Smedley. London: Kendrick. 1858.

MR. SMEDLEY has collected many valuable facts respecting hydropathy, and added descriptions and directions that will scarcely fail to induce many invalids to try his establishment. The work is beautifully printed and profusely illustrated. It is pervaded with a high moral and religious tone.

John Hampton's Home: what it was and what it became. London: Knight and Son. 1858.

ART combines with letter-press to persuade the drunken to become sober, and the godless religious, in this well got up work. It deserves an extensive circulation among the homes of the working classes.

3. Religion.

The Eden Family. By the Rev. Jeremiah Dodsworth, author of 'The Better Land.' London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

THIS is a practical work, which presents religious truth in a very interesting aspect. We have been particularly

ticularly pleased with the ingenious divisions adapted by the author. They give a charm to the various subjects, which are well illustrated and earnestly enforced. Dealing with the most important matters that can engage human interest, it is likely to impress and benefit all who peruse it.

An Earnest Exhortation to Christian Unity, affectionately addressed to the members of every religious community and denomination, be they Hebrew, Christian, or Infidel. By the CHIEF OF SINNERS. London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

THE CHIEF OF SINNERS is not wanting in presumption. His sincerity perhaps makes him bold; but his rambling, illogical, and really pointless book will not gain many disciples. He treats his readers to several of the inspired writings transcribed at full length—such as the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, and many of the Epistles. As an author he is emphatically one of the Chief of Sinners, and we trust his temerity may be succeeded by becoming penitence and future privacy.

Sermons and Lectures to the Working Classes. By the Rev. Robert Maguire, M.A., Incumbent of Clerkenwell. London: Partridge and Co.

THESE are most admirable discourses for the times, and expound, in forcible language, the truth of the Bible in relation to certain social evils. They discuss the following subjects:—The Better Observance of the Lord's Day; Sunday Buying and Selling; Early Payment of Wages and Early Closing. They deserve an extensive circulation among masters and workmen, and in all our large towns.

The Church in the Circus. By the Rev. John G. F. H. Knapp, Incumbent of St. John's, Portsea. London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

THIS little work gives a narrative of the remarkable success which attended the preaching of the Gospel in a circus at Portsmouth. The author has strong sympathy with the working classes, and he has gained their attention by means of the earnest efforts which he has put forth on their behalf. Ministers and others interested in reaching the masses of the people would do well to peruse Mr. Knapp's practical and suggestive narrative.

The Four Evangelists: their Distinctive Designs and Peculiarities. Manchester: Bremner. 1858.

THIS small work, the composition of a member of the Manchester Young Men's Christian Association, is a performance of considerable merit. It evinces a most intelligent study of the four Gospel histories, and presents a clear and succinct view of their designs and peculiarities. It is a valuable introduction to the examination of the early books of the New Testament. If this be a specimen of the papers read at meetings of young men it is indicative of an advanced intelligence and earnest piety. Such literary efforts, and the generous criticisms they encourage, do much to cultivate the mind, settle the doubts, improve the hearts, and direct the energies of young men in large towns.

Fly-Leaves. A Book for the Churches. By Aristarchus the Wanderer. London: Partridge and Co.

WE do not know why we should aspire to be censors of the religion of the day, and of the pulpit in particular; but we have been favoured with several small works animadverting upon these subjects. We presume that, since we deemed it our duty to treat of the social power of the pulpit, it is supposed we are specially interested in this part of social science and reform. The author of 'Fly-Leaves' finds many evils and inconsistencies in the religious profession of the time, and earnestly, as well as satirically, attempts to rebuke and exhort.

A Word to the Free Church and to Preachers. By the Rev. Samuel Macmillan. Aberdeen: Davidson.

THE reverend gentleman who has prepared this *concio ad clerum* disapproves of *reading* sermons in the pulpit. He adduces arguments and authorities in support of his views, and laments the injurious effects of *reading* upon the Church of England—a practice which he regrets to see also in the Free Church of Scotland. With commendable zeal he protests against clerical indolence, and counsels fidelity in study, preaching, and pastoral care. There cannot be a doubt that the highest and most effective oratory has been uttered without reading; but some of the most able and successful preachers have read their sermons. The most natural is generally the most persuasive; and if

preachers

preachers have an earnest manner and a strong intellect, they will be listened to whether they discourse with or without notes: but those of smaller calibre and less enthusiasm 'will find few congregations willing to accept their dulness for the sake of the accuracy with which it is expressed.'

Parson-ography; or the Book of Parsons. By Linnæus Lynx, Esq., M.A. London: Cash.

THIS little work is full of satire; perhaps rather too sharp to be useful; but it is very clever. There is, however, a lightness in the treatment which detracts from its serious effect.

Preaching, Prosing, and Puseyism, with other Peas of the Pod. By Feltham Burghley, author of 'Sonnets' and 'Sir Edwin Gilderoy.' London: J. F. Hope. 1858.

THIS work is a satire on the preaching of the times. The author has abundance of wit and humour, and hits very hard. He has, moreover, an evident love of the truth, and a great dislike to error and sham. He exposes many scandals in the performance of clerical duties at the present time. His pen has great caustic power, which he may use to good purpose. He seems to incline towards the evangelical side, and is very severe upon all Puseyites. But he does not spare *prosing* wherever he finds it. There is in our time evident improvement in pulpit address; but there is still room for progress and adaptation to the wants of the age.

Christianity and Secularism. By the Rev. James Scott, M.A. Edinburgh: Shepherd and Elliot.

THE author has thoroughly exhausted, in some sixty pages, the controversy on which he has entered. He shows that reason is on the side of Christianity and against secularism. His mind is eminently metaphysical, and his logic severe. We commend the little work to all thoughtful readers, especially working men in large towns.

Letters to the Working Classes on Important Subjects. By one of themselves. Glasgow: W. R. M'Phun.

THIS small work discusses with considerable ability subjects of highest interest. The author is evidently well read and possessed of a clear and logical mind. Without the learning or metaphysical subtlety of the preceding work, this may with as much effect convince the inquiring among his fellow workmen.

The Temperance Pulpit. Nos. 1, 2, and 3. Glasgow: Scottish Temperance League. 1858.

As literary compositions, biblical expositions, and social tracts, this series, so far as it is published, is of the highest order, and merits extensive circulation. The first sermon is by the Rev. W. Arnot, of Glasgow, on *Christian Duty in relation to Drunkards and Drink.* It was preached before a large conference of ministers which assembled at Manchester in June, 1857, to consider the liquor-traffic, and was then published at their request. It advocates voluntary personal abstinence from intoxicating drinks and legal restraint upon their manufacture and sale. 'The one,' says he, 'is the soul of the temperance reformation, and the other its body. Either alone will certainly fail to work deliverance on a national scale. Actual abstinence by earnest men for their own and others' good, will not wipe away the shame of drunkenness from the country, as long as the dealers are permitted to treat the weak and the profligate as raw material for their trade. And, on the other hand, a law, entirely prohibiting or greatly restricting the traffic, cannot be enacted, and though enacted could not be enforced, unless a very large proportion of the community have become conscientious and systematic abstainers. The personal abstinence of the good, without a law to restrain the evil, would be a soul without a body; a prohibitory law, without a public sentiment in favour of abstinence, would be a body without a soul. The one is a ghost, the other a carcase.' Mr. Arnot founds his principles on the Scripture, and reasons them out with great clearness and vigour. The second sermon is called *Nehushtan, or the Principle of Hezekiah's Reformation applied to the Temperance Reformation,* and is by the Rev. Dr. Brown, of Dalkeith. His thoughts are historical, analogical, apologetical, and evangelical, and contain much truth ably set forth and applied. The third discourse is on *Abstinence: a special service for a special need,* by the Rev. Alexander Macleod, Glasgow. It is an eloquent appeal to professing Christians

Christians to join and support the abstinence movement. We hail the appearance of these sermons, and rejoice to observe that ministers of the gospel are growingly advancing in their views of abstinence. *O si sic omnes!* The church against the drink traffic would be its ruin and the blessedness of the land.

4. General Literature.

My *Recollections of the Last Four Popes, and of Rome in their Times.* An Answer to Dr. Wiseman. By Alessandro Gavazzi. London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

THE memories of the disputants with reference to the last four popes have very different records. This is not the place for entering into the controversy. We may add, however, that Signor Gavazzi writes with more force and earnestness than the Cardinal, if not with such refinement. His book evinces ardent patriotism and manly courage, as well as extensive acquaintance with public events of the holy see during the pontificates and changes of the last half century.

Self-Formation: Twelve Chapters for Young Thinkers. By Edwin Paxton Hood. Third Edition. London: Judd and Glass. 1858.

THIS work may be safely put into every intelligent young man's library. It is eminently calculated to stimulate thought, cultivate the mind, and improve the heart. It is written with ability, and in a most engaging style. The episodes introduced at the end of each chapter are very happy. Indeed, the whole work is interesting, and as literature for the rising generation is of the highest order. Philosophy and illustrations, precept and example, religion and learning are so harmoniously blended as to make the book such as the late Dr. Arnold would have loved to welcome and commend.

The Poetry of Teaching: or, The Village School, its subjects and its rulers. A Poem. By James Malcolm. London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

THIS is a well-meant attempt to set the village school to music; but the author is not a Goldsmith to realise his great idea in such verse as posterity will not willingly let die. There are, however, some good thoughts well expressed.

Hours of Sun and Shade; Musings in Prose and Verse; with Translations from Sixty Languages. By Vernon de Montgomery, author of 'The Immortal.' Second Edition, revised and enlarged. London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

THERE is true poetry in many of the pieces contained in this volume. Mr. de Montgomery has a good imagination, fine taste, noble and devout thoughts, and great felicity of expression—qualities eminently characteristic of the poet. 'The Eternal,' 'The Old Hall,' 'Sunset,' Twilight, Night,' contain vivid descriptions. The prose portions are beautiful and abound in good sentiments. The translations from sixty languages evidence considerable learning and rare ability to render one language into another. The author is, we understand, a young man, which encourages the hope that by care and study he may yet take a place among the poets of his country. We would suggest to him the propriety of separating the prose from the poetry, which in this volume are commingled. The advertisements at the end of the work we think in bad taste. Macassar oil, hair dye, essence of coffee, paper hangings, &c., may be very useful; but it is most unusual to append notices of them to a volume of poems.

Upward and Onward. A Thought-book for the Threshold of Active Life. By S. W. Partridge. London: 1857.

THIS work is for young men, and well fulfils its idea. Throughout every page there is condensed thought tersely though sometimes inelegantly expressed. The lessons it conveys are of the most practical kind—suited to the activities which engage young men, the temptations which surround them, and the responsibilities which press upon them.

INDEX.

ARCADIA, Life in, 201. Ownership of Land in England, 203. Labourers, 204; their Dwellings, 205; Wages, 207; Evils of Payment in Kind, 208; their Education, 209; Amusements, 210.

Art Education, Popular, 165. Recent Progress and Literature of Fine Art, 165. Government Department, 166. Great Exhibition and Crystal Palace, 166. Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, 167. Ruskin's Political Economy of Art, 168. Vernon and Sheepshanks' Bequests, 171. Mr. Sheepshanks' Stipulations, 171. Evils of Centralisation, 173. Prize System, *ib.* Effects of Schools of Art, 175.

BURNING of the Dead, 125. English Desire for decent Burial, 127. Cremation as anciently practised, 128. State of our Churchyards, 131. Evils of the present System, 132. Suggestions of cremation, 134.

CARLYLE, Thomas, 338; his Parentage, 339; Early Training, 341; Academic Career, 342; Associated in tuition with Edward Irving, 343; his Marriage, 345; his Writings, 346; Religious Views, 347; his Life of Frederick, 349.

Caste, 294.

Cotton Supply, 351. Growth of Manufacture, 352. The Cotton Supply Association, 354. Cotton and Slavery, 355. Emancipation Act incomplete, 357. Responsibility of Manufacturers, 359. Prices of Cotton and Labour in the United States, 361. Africa as a Field for Cotton, 363; Mr. Clegg's Efforts, *ib.*; India, 364. Claims of Philanthropy on Commerce, 365.

EAST INDIA COMPANY and the Opium Traffic, 28. First Traces of the Opium Monopoly, 29. Commencement of Contraband Traffic, 31. Opposition of Chinese, 35. Conduct of English Government, 36. Englishmen in China against the Traffic, 37. The Treaty of 1843 infringed, 40. The recent Attack on Canton, 43.

FRANCE, the Morals of, exemplified in her Contemporary Literature, 322. Origin of *Les Lionnes*, 323. Napoleon III. and his Influence on French Morals, 325. *Antony* the type of the 'July Period,' 326. Heroine of *Les Lionnes pauvres*, 327. The *Marchande à la Toilette*, 329. *Raison d'etre* of French Females, 331. Plot of 'Fanny,' 333. The Husband in French Society, 335. Absence of Truth, 337.

Friends in Council, 193. Letter from Professor Newman on the great Social Evil, 193. Unprotected Females, 374. The New Reform Bill, 377. The Great Social Evil, 379.

HOMER, his Translators and Commentators, 136. Epic Poetry, 137. Homer's Epic, 138. Was Helen the Cause of the Trojan War? 139. Mr. Gladstone's Homeric Studies, 141. His View of Heathen Morals, 143. Homer's Terms of Colour, 145; his Sea, as translated, 147. Comparative Merits of Translations, 149. Homer's Religion, 151. The Unity of Homer, 152.

Human Form, Symbolisms of, 17. Defective Education of Upper and Middle Classes, 18. Prevalence of Superstitious Beliefs, 19. Astrology and Alchemy, 21. Physiognomy of the Human Form, 23. Dr. Carus's Works on Physiognomy of Expression, 25; of the Eyes, 26; the Hand, 27.

KEEPING up Appearances, 88.

MAINE, History of Struggle in, 276. Origin of American Temperance, 277. License

License and no License, 278. Commencement of Struggle, 279. First Prohibitory Law, 280. Labours of Neal Dow, 281. Riot at Portland, 283. Repeal of Law, 285. Re-enactment, 286. State *versus* Congress Law, 288. Dangers of American Legislation, 290. Tabular View of Progress of Prohibition, 292.

Meliora, 1. National Advancement and Social Retrogression, 1. Rise and Fall of ancient Empires, 2. Present State of Britain, 4. Education, 5. Spiritual Destitution, 6. Impurity, Sanitary Condition, 7. Pauperism, 8. Crime, Intemperance, 9. Intemperance chief Cause of Crime, 10. Insanity, 12. Injures productive Labour, 13. The Cure for this Social Disease, 13. A Community has a right to prohibit the Liquor Traffic, 15.

Morals of Business, 46. The late Commercial Crisis, and its Causes, 47. The Arabs of Commerce, 49. Swindlers in Business often escape, 51. Want of Faith in God, 52. Want of Courage in Society, 55. Need for Integrity in Business, 55.

Negroes, Genius and Prospects of, 259. Haiti and Haitians, 262. The Baron de Pradine and Negro Literature, *ib.* The Cape Caffres, 265. Sir A. Stockenström, 266. Policy of Colonial Office, 269. Policy for Future, 274.

Norway, Recent Travels in, 211. Norwegian Scenery, 212; Politics, 213. Forbes' Travels, 214; Newland's, 217; the Oxonian's, 219; X and Y's, 222; Bruce's, 227; Unprotected Females', 235.

Paterson, Founder of Bank of England, 105. Literature of Commerce, *ib.* Statesman and Criminal better known than Merchant, 107. Paterson's Birth, 108; originates Bank of England, 109. Yarranton's earlier Suggestion, 111. Banks and Republics, *ib.* Paterson's Labours and Literary Works, *ib.* Suggestion of a Commercial Literary Society, 113.

Prison Discipline, Progress of, 301. Severity of Criminal Laws, 302. Howard, the Founder of Modern System, 303. Improvements, Separation of Prisoners, 305. Instruction of Prisoners, 306. Transportation, 307. Ticket-of-leave System, 311. Present Mode of Liberation, 313. Capt. Crofton's Plan in Ireland, 315. Objections to the Plan, 319. Hopeful Position of Prison Discipline, 321.

Pulpit, Social Power of, 153. Christianity and the Pulpit, 154. Pulpit in Early Ages, *ib.*; in Middle Ages, 155; at Reformation, 156; the Puritan Pulpit, 157; in the Present Age, 158. Wants of the Pulpit, 159. Doctrinal Eras of Christendom, 160. Christian Sociology, 161. Social Evils themes for Pulpit, 163. Levity unbecoming in Pulpit, *ib.* Influence of Mr. Spurgeon, 164. Special Sermons to Working Classes, *ib.* Social Influence of Preacher, *ib.*

Record of Social Politics. Amendment of Law, 96. Bankruptcy Act, *ib.* Codification of Law, 98. Criminal Law and Statistics, *ib.* Divorce, *ib.* Association for Promotion of Social Science, 96, 380-5. British Association, 380. Cotton Supply, 195. Early Marriages, 100. Education, 99. Employment of Women, 195. Forbes M'Kenzie Act in Scotland, 100, 196. United Kingdom Alliance, 100. The Permissive Prohibitory Bill, *ib.* Pitcairn Islanders, 101.

Reformatory Schools, 79. Ignorance and Crime, 81. Statistics of Reformatories, 83. Criminal Home Influences, 85. The Work of Reformatories, 86.

Reviews, Literary — Redding's *Fifty Years' Recollections*, 102. Wallace's *Life of J. Stirling*, *ib.* Béranger's *Memoirs*, *ib.* Taylor's *World of Mind*, *ib.* Smith's *Thorndale*, *ib.* Snow's *Voyages to Terra del Fuego*, 103. Miss Brewster's *Letters from Cannes and Nice*, *ib.* Bonar's *Land of Promise*, *ib.* Thomson's *Punishment and Prevention*, *ib.* *Band of Hope Review*, and *British Workman*, *ib.* *English Hearts and English Hands*, *ib.* *Tom Brown's School Days*, 104. *The Exiles of Italy*, *ib.* Ellis's *Religion in Common Life*, 196. Arnot's *Illustrations of Book of Presents*, *ib.* Dr. Lees's *Essays*, 197. King's *Memoir of Montgomery*, *ib.* Paterson's *Masters and Workmen*, 198. Balfour's *Morning Dewdrops*, *ib.* Alexander's *Good, Better, and Best*, *ib.* Shipley's *Purgatory of Prisoners*, *ib.* Hogg's *Life of Shelley*, 199. Owen's *Good Soldier*, *ib.* Thomas's *Crisis of Being and Progress of Being*, 200. Shorthouse's *Theology in Verse*, *ib.* The *New* World,

World, 200. *British Controversialist*, *ib.* Morrison's *Lectures to Young Men*, *ib.* Morris's *Glimpses of Great Men*, *ib.* Old Jonathan's *Try*, *ib.* *Chapeltown*, *ib.* Exeter Hall Sermons, *ib.* Partridge's *Voices from the Garden*, *ib.* Bray's *Life of Handel*, *ib.* Grant's *Memoir of Havelock*, *ib.* *Memoir of Mrs. Fry*, 385. Fell's *Life of Alderman Kelly*, *ib.* *The Devoted Minister*, *ib.* Fraser's *State of Our Educational Enterprises*, *ib.* Ellison's *Hand-book of the Cotton Trade*, *ib.* *Good Times*, 386. *Our Mourning Customs*, *ib.* Feilde's *How to reduce Poor Rates*, *ib.* *Daughters from Home*, *ib.* Smedley's *Practical Hydropathy*, *ib.* *John Hampton's Home*, *ib.* Dodsworth's *Eden Family*, *ib.* *Earnest Exhortation to Christian Unity*, 387. Maguire's *Sermons to Working Classes*, *ib.* Knapp's *Church in the Circus*, *ib.* *The Four Evangelists*, *ib.* *Fly-Leaves*, *ib.* Macmillan's *Word to the Free Church*, *ib.* *Parson-agraphy*, 388. Burghley's *Preaching, Praising, and Puseyism*, *ib.* Scott's *Christianity and Secularism*, *ib.* *Letters to Working Classes*, *ib.* *The Temperance Pulpit*, *ib.* Gavazzi's *Recollections of the last Four Popes*, 389. Hood's *Self-Formation*, *ib.* Malcolm's *Poetry of Teaching*, *ib.* De Montgomery's *Hours of Sun and Shade*, *ib.* Partridge's *Upward and Onward*, *ib.*

Science, Social Claims and Aspects of, 237. Encouragement of Science by Despotic Governments, *ib.* Discouraged by British Government, 238. Duty of Government to encourage, 241. Recommendation of British Association, 241. Mr. Wall's Services, 245. Steam Engine, 248. Electric Telegraph, 249. Submarine Cables and Atlantic Telegraph, 251. Railways, 254. Gaslight, 256. Photography, 257. The Claims of Men of Science, 259.

Statute Law, Consolidation and Amendment of, 113. Law of England a fortuitous concourse of Letters, 114. Common and Statute Law, 115. Great Number of Acts, 116. The Statute Law Commission, 117. Report in 1835, *ib.* Plan of Present Commissioners, 118. Suggestions for expediting the Work, 119. Difficulties, 120. New York Code of Real Property Law, 123. Necessity of Consolidation and Amendment, 124.

Temperance in History, 176. Antiquity of Temperance Movement, 177. Drinking among Saxons, 178. In Time of Henry, 180. Chaucer a Temperance Advocate, 181. Drunkenness in Time of Elizabeth, 183. Vigorous Language of the Statutes, 185. Great Gin Epidemic, 187. The Beer Bill. 189. National Safety in Prohibition. 191. The Permissive Bill, 192.

Temperance in Science, 56. Science of Life, 57. Triple Relation of Temperance to Science, 59; to Chemistry, 61; to Physiology, 64. Effects of Alcohol on Food, 67. Ethical Relations of Temperance, 68.

Temperance Reformation, Philosophy of, 366. Origin of Temperance Reformation, 367. The first pledge, *ib.* Intemperance still the national vice, 369. Need for Legislation against its Causes, 371. Abstinence and Sympathy, 372. The Traffic, 373.

Vices of the Streets, 70. Timidity of Legislators on Prostitution, 71. Prostitution in London, 73. Extent and Defects of present Control, 75. Results of the Vice, 76. Duty of Government, 78.

ERRATA.

In page 5, tenth line from bottom, for *here* read *I*.

,, 61, eighth line from bottom, dele 2 after C.

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET.

Meliora:

A Quarterly Review

OF

Social Science

IN ITS

Ethical, Economical, Political, and Ameliorative Aspects.

VOL. II.

"MELIORA VIDEO PROBOQUE."

LONDON:
PARTRIDGE & CO., PATERNOSTER ROW.
1860.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Review is the only Shilling Quarterly in England, and has been received with unusual favour by the press and the public. Our readers must, however, remember that a very large circulation is of essential importance to secure means for providing a first-class literature, and for increasing the number of social reformers. A word is sufficient to the wise; and we solicit the kind offices of our readers in extending the circulation of 'Meliora.'

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
The Literature of Labour	1
Douglas Jerrold	17
The British Workman	38
The Rev. John Clay	56
Liberty and Mr. John Stuart Mill	83
The Science of Philanthropy	101
Memoirs and Chronicles of French Literature	117
Penny Savings Banks	133
Types of Disease and Crime	142
Death in Coal-pits	154
Education *versus* Drunkenness	168
Union Surgeons	181
Lectures and Lecturing	197
Mechanics' Institutes	209
Tennyson and his Poetry	225
The Church and the Liquor-Traffic	248
Revolutions of Race in England	263
What'll you Drink?	279
Libraries for the People	293
The Employment of Women	305
Lyrical Poetry in France	325
Law and Liberty in relation to Temperance	339
Trades Unions and Strikes	355
For Life (a Tale)	363
Our Friends in Council	371
Record of Social Politics	374
Literary Reviews	377

Meliora.

ART. I.—1. *The Cyclopædia of English Literature.* Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers.

2. *The Pleasures of Literature.* By the Rev. R. A. Wilmott. London: Routledge and Co.

IN former times literature was confined to a very narrow circle. Few could write, or purchase books, or read. In manuscript ages the difficulties of acquiring knowledge were many. Books were rare, and could only be multiplied by the pen. They were expensive, and could only be purchased by the rich. 'Plato,' says Mr. Wilmott, 'devoted 300*l.* to the purchase of three books of a distinguished Pythagorean; and Aristotle invested twice that sum in the library of a deceased philosopher. Jerome nearly ruined himself to procure the works of Origen; and Leo bartered 500 pieces of gold for five books of Tacitus.' It was a wonder of the world, before the Christian era, for a library to contain 30,000 manuscripts; and even in A.D. 1364, the royal library of France did not contain twenty volumes. The library of Oxford, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, consisted only 'of a few tracts kept in chests.' For thirteen centuries of the Christian era, literature belonged to the clergy and a few legal functionaries. 'The church was its only ark during a deluge of a thousand years.' And then, as is now found among many priests of Eastern churches, numbers of the clergy could do no more than read, or say the lessons of the liturgy. In a council in 902, scarcely a priest in Rome itself knew letters; and in the early canons, signatures of bishops were often made by marks. In Spain, not one in a thousand could write a letter to a friend. In England, in the time of Alfred, not a priest south of the Thames understood the common prayer, or could translate Latin into the common tongue. 'When the Normans first came over, the greater number of the English clergy could hardly read the church service.' Any grammarian among them was a prodigy. That so many manuscripts of these times remain, is due to the industry of some monks and schoolmen who occupied themselves in copying the works of philosophers, poets, and divines. In such a period the humbler classes had no means of cultivating their minds. Untaught to read, seldom

hearing a sermon, poor and oppressed, their aspirations rarely rose above the soil they tilled, except in blind obedience to their masters, and in as blind reverence to God. They toiled, they fought, they obeyed; but they scarcely inquired or thought.

The working man, in feudal times, was the serf of his lord. He was his absolute property, could be bought or sold with the soil where he had his nativity, and on which he always resided. The 'Pictorial History of England' informs us that serfs, in the Anglo-Saxon period, were 'so completely destitute of what we understand by freedom, that they had not the power of removing from the estate on which they were born, and were transferred with it on every change of proprietors—they and their services together, exactly in the same manner as any other portions of the stock—alive or dead, human or bestial, which happened to be accumulated on its surface. They were bound to the soil, and could no more uproot themselves and withdraw elsewhere, than could the trees that were planted in it.'

What, then, must have been the mental condition of the working man during this period of degradation and bondage? Denied liberty, he could not enjoy learning. Though we do read of some being made clergymen, while remaining serfs as before, the majority were brutish in mind and body. They were deprived of all cultivation, forbidden to ask questions, commanded to believe whatever was ordained. The collier's creed is a fitting illustration of their knowledge. When asked, 'What do you believe?' he replied, 'I believe what the church believes.' 'What does the church believe?' 'The church believes what I believe.' 'But what do the church and you believe?' '*We both believe the same thing.*' They could only refer to authority without a reason.

Serfdom can never consist with knowledge. In Russia, where it now exists, the peasants are all untaught. In America, where slavery exists, it is in many cases criminal to instruct negroes. In India, where a more galling tyranny than this prevails, in the system of caste, the *pariah*, or lowest class, can never rise into the higher. He must remain in that state always, and continue at the same trade as his father. The humiliation of birth is an infamy for life, and brands generations yet unborn with the same indignity.

In Europe, the liberation of serfs—the overthrow of the feudal system—contributed much to improve the condition of the labouring classes. They could then call themselves their own. They could breathe the air of freedom. They could possess time and money—invaluable acquisitions for the improvement of the man. They could think and aspire. And from that period to this, many have arisen from the ranks, to the same platform in society as those who were once called their masters.

But

But the freedom of mind was not enough to make the working man literary. The freedom of letters was as urgently needed. Encased in parchment rolls, and in the learned tongues with which the people were unacquainted, they afforded no food to the hungry inquirer among the humble. He could not read, he was no linguist, he had little wealth. But the art of printing gave freedom to literature; translations made it catholic. Schools gave the humblest the talisman, put the mystic power into the hand of the thoughtful, and opened the gates of knowledge to the people. For a considerable time, it is true, printing was expensive, and the library of the labourer was small; but soon the poorest in our land could possess, without a great sacrifice, the best of all books, in the purest and most intelligible Saxon—the language of the masses of the people. Since that memorable period, the progress of cheapening and circulating literature has been prodigious. It is now within the reach of all. Works of excellence in all departments of learning—theology, philosophy, science, history, art, and poetry—can now be got for small outlay, to fill the shelves and cultivate the minds of the most ill-remunerated labourer. The periodical, the magazine, the newspaper, and the tract, enter the home of every one, and court the perusal of all. In reference to the last of these it has been beautifully said:—

'Philosophy of old
Her ponderous tomes displayed,
And summon'd minds of mighty mould
To tread her classic shade.

'Her mysteries to explore
In vain the unletter'd tried,
The rich, the noble, learn'd her lore,
And drank her cup of pride.

'But mercy's light-winged page—
Swift messenger of love—
Comes to the home of lowly age,
To guide his thoughts above.

'The wayside beggar hears
Its ministry divine;
And little children dry their tears,
To read its radiant line.'

Education is now within the reach of all who choose to avail themselves of its invaluable blessings.

'There is freedom to him that will read,
And freedom to him that will write.'

There are schools in every village, and libraries containing intellectual food for nourishing learning and intelligence. The day in which the working man was necessitated to be ignorant is gone. Its knell is rung among us at least. No man need now be unintelligent, for there is no excuse. Most have time to spare. Some, indeed, toil from morn till eve, and can scarcely call an hour their

own; but this is the exception. The majority have 'nooks and corners of time, which,' as the Hon. Robert Boyle remarks, 'are wont to be lost by most men, for want of a value for them, and even by good men, for want of skill to preserve them. And since goldsmiths and refiners are wont, all the year long, to save the very sweepings of their shops, because they may contain in them some filings or dust of those richer metals, gold and silver, I see not why a Christian may not be as careful not to lose the fragments and lesser intervals of a thing incomparably more precious than any metal—*time*.' A few minutes saved each day may aid much in the acquisition of knowledge. An hour a day is six hours a week—a month in the year, at the rate of ten working hours per day, and equal to half a year's constant mental cultivation every six years. Were these intervals of time well employed, the amount of knowledge gathered in a few years would astonish and gladden the possessor.

Where there is the love of reading there is much to gratify it. But it greatly depends on the first book really perused to give the taste. 'Robinson Crusoe' and the 'Pilgrim's Progress' have given the stimulus to many a reader. The pleasure of the first exercise invites a second. Frequent trial gives the habit. Of course we do not measure a mind by the books read, any more than by viands devoured. There are literary *gourmands* who read voraciously, but who derive no more from it than the man who drinks hard. The appetite is increased, but the health is injured. Mr. Wilmott thus warns us:—'Lamb prided himself on being able to read anything which he felt in his heart to be a book. He had no antipathies. Shaftesbury was not too genteel, nor Fielding too familiar. Pope confessed his own miscellaneous amusements in letters, knocking at any door, as the storm drove. Montaigne and Locke were alike to him. The example is dangerous. A discursive student is almost certain to fall into bad company. Houses of entertainment, scientific and romantic, are always open to a man who is trying to escape from his thoughts. But a shelter from the tempest is dearly bought in the house of the plague. Ten minutes with a French novel, or a German rationalist, have sent a reader away with a fever for life.'

The pleasures and advantages of proper reading are incalculable. And they are open to every man of labour. They introduce you to events, to persons, to philosophy, and science; to music, and to poetry. By reading, you can roam with Adam, first of men, in Paradise lost, and sail with Noah over a deluged world. You can take your pilgrim staff with Abraham, and join the caravan with Moses. You can worship with the shepherds at Bethlehem, or sail with JESUS over Galilee. You can hunt with Nimrod, or conquer with Alexander. You can listen

listen to the wisdom of Solomon, and the eloquence of Demosthenes. You can sit at the feet of Socrates, and enjoy a chat with Xenophon. You can gaze on the stars with Galileo, and walk in the garden with Newton—and from the one learn the earth's motion round the sun, and from the other the great law of gravitation. You can join your protest with Luther, or sign the covenant with Henderson. You can hear blind Homer's 'Iliad,' and be charmed with Milton's epic. You can lament with Campbell over 'The Downfall of Poland,' or sing with Burns of 'Scots wha hae.' You can be familiar with prophets, apostles, divines, and hear anew the thunder of their warnings, and the sweet music of their gospel. Literature, rightly used, makes you an inhabitant of all time, a citizen of every country, the acquaintance of every genius, the brother of every man. It removes you from your own individuality, by taking you into an extended society; and enhances your individuality, by making so varied a society minister to you. It shows how much you have to learn and how much you might do. It gives you facts for storing, themes for thought, sentiments for delight. It gives pleasure to yourself, and means for pleasing others—of increasing your worth and usefulness. To sit at your own fireside, and, by the light of brilliant gas, or sickly taper, or a coal flame, or, as has more than once been done, by the blown-up blaze of a turf, make such acquaintances, is an object worthy of all the labour or expense.

'Reading makes a full man, conversation a ready man, and writing an exact man,' said Lord Bacon; and the aphorism is as true as it is terse. To express thought in writing is an exercise too seldom attempted by working men; but it is by no means beyond their power. *The Literature of Labour is no mean library*, as we shall immediately show. The working men who have contributed to letters are no small array, as we shall briefly enumerate. The disadvantages against which they had to contend were greater than those most of the same class would now have to meet. There is nothing in the condition of the working man to hinder the expression of his thoughts on paper, or, if he will, in print.

Ability to write is now possessed by most who have had the common opportunities of learning at any of our schools. Necessity to write is imposed on every one by removals of friends, emigration, and other causes. Writing is rapidly becoming a vehicle of thought to the most humble; yet it is to be feared that the majority of working men find it a toil. But where there is a fondness for reading there often is an attempt at writing. When the mind and heart are interested, an effort is made to express thoughts and feelings with the pen. The serious letter, or the amorous verses that mark early efforts, are cases in point. Writing what we think on any subject is a beneficent exercise. It deepens

the

the theme in our mind, gives a form to our thoughts, and collects them from their wide-spread surface, where they would be speedily lost. It gives consistency to our ideas, and aids to fix our principles. 'It braces the faculties,' says Mr. Binney, in a lecture on authorship, 'it gives them strength, nimbleness, dexterity, by the tasks it imposes, and the duties it demands. It is an enemy to self-deception, by the terrible disclosures it sometimes makes of the crudeness of your conceptions, the treachery of your memory, the poverty of your knowledge, your inability to express even what you know: it is favourable to growth and progress, by virtue of the great law of our nature—that power shall be increased, and good secured, by every honest and hearty effort at using rightly the strength we have.'

For mental cultivation, independently of all public authorship, this exercise is important. Though we blot and mistake, find the work a drudgery, be tempted to cast away our pen and burn our paper, though we erase and tear, and actually destroy, yet let us try, try again. Every new effort is more easy, and every success is a pleasure.

> 'None but an author knows an author's cares,
> Or fancy's fondness for the child she bears.'

In the efforts of which we know something thus made, and which have raised sons of toil to the honours of authorship, poetry seems to have been the earliest attempt. There is much of it in every man's nature, and it 'deserves the honour it obtains as the eldest offspring of literature, and the fairest.' We are told in the 'Cyclopædia of English Literature,' that 'the first Anglo-Saxon writer of note who composed in his own language, and of whom there are any remains, is Cædmon, a monk of Whitby, who died about 680. Cædmon was a genius of the class headed by Burns—a poet of Nature's making, sprung from the bosom of the common people, and little indebted to education. It appears that he had at one time acted in the capacity of a cowherd.' A stable was the scene of his earliest muse; and verses the utterance of his thoughts. The first literary productions of the Norman period were poetry. The first Scottish writers of whom there is any memorial were poets. The song of Lamech is the oldest work in the world. The most ancient Greek writers who remain to this day are the poets Homer and Hesiod. In almost all lands the bards were the first composers, and their songs the national library.

We propose now to refer to a few examples gathered from the literature of working men. We do not mean to include those who, from the humblest rank, have risen to fame in authorship by means of a university education. Our object is to point out such as, with the learning which is within the reach of all at common schools, have cultivated letters so successfully as to leave the world

world richer in literature when they passed away. We wish to present specimens from the different classes of working men—such as printers, tinkers, masons, blacksmiths, shepherds, ploughmen, weavers, mechanics, soldiers, sailors, shoemakers, and other tradesmen, who, both in prose and poetry, are known to fame.

JOHN BUNYAN (1628-1688) was the son of a tinker at Bedford, and, after acquiring the elements of reading and writing, followed for many years his father's occupation, and travelled about the country as a repairer of broken utensils. Such a life was not very favourable to literature, any more than to religion, and Bunyan grew up a wild, swearing, and lying fellow. But a great change passed over him: he became a Christian, and, without undergoing any literary preparation, a Baptist preacher. Imprisoned under Charles II. for twelve years and a half, with only two books—the Bible, and Fox's 'Book of Martyrs'—he sent forth from his cell a work which ranks as high as any in the English language—'The Pilgrim's Progress,' and which has been translated into most of the European and Asiatic tongues. This book, though the production of a man who, even in his prison, had to aid by his labours the support of his wife and children, has received the highest eulogium which could be pronounced. Macaulay's brilliant pen has been occupied in its praise. When we consider the beauty of its style, the minds it has aroused, the good of which it has been the instrument, the literature of the Bedford tinker cannot be too highly valued. It has written John Bunyan's name on imperishable records, as with a pen of iron upon a rock for ever.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (1706-1790) was a printer, and the youngest son, and, all but two, the youngest child *of a family of seventeen children.* At ten years of age he left school, and was made his father's helper in soap-boiling; but having a strong passion for the sea, he hated to attend the soapy waves. Notwithstanding the blighting of his wishes, he was fond of books, and read voraciously. His brother having brought printing-presses over from England, received Benjamin as an apprentice. Soon it was manifest that 'the child was father to the man,' when he wrote two ballads for the sake of his brother's business, and hawked them through the streets of Boston. To obtain books he 'boarded himself for half the money which his meals were reckoned to cost.' Self-denial secured him reading. Determined to rise, yet rash it may be, he found himself in Philadelphia, in his eighteenth year, 'with one dollar and a few copper coins in his pocket, and, moreover, hungry, tired, dirty, and miserable.' But time rolled on, and Benjamin Franklin became the author of works which fill six volumes, made important discoveries in electricity, was elected one of the representatives of Philadelphia in

in Congress, and was sent as ambassador of the United States to the court of France, then the most splendid in the world. He had only common abilities, and many disadvantages; but by self-education, self-denial, and persevering industry, he became one of the most illustrious names in the Literature of Labour.

Few can be ignorant of WILLIAM COBBETT (1762-1835): few men in England were better known than he, while yet he lived among us. His books and pamphlets and periodicals acquired a national interest, not merely for the opinions which they expressed —though these, notwithstanding all his changes from the tory and high-churchman to the ultra-radical in church and state, never failed to make their way—but for the chaste and clear style in which he clothed his thoughts. 'He had the power of making every one who read him feel and understand completely what he himself felt and described'—a rare, but priceless faculty in any public writer. History, Politics, English Grammar, Domestic Economy were equally familiar to him, and on each he has produced works of interest. The bias of his politics will doubtless cause most of his works to pass into oblivion; but his English Grammar will long remain a monument. Yet this man, who was Member of Parliament for Oldham, a popular author, and a mighty moulder of the opinions of men, was brought up an agricultural labourer, and served as a soldier at a time when few cultivated letters either in the one occupation or the other, or had the opportunity which is now afforded both to the hind and the soldier. Our mechanics and artisans have not the same excuse for ignorance, the same difficulties in the pursuit of knowledge; and though they may not attain so pure a style, nor publish through the press, as William Cobbett, it ought to be their reproach if they remain untutored to a considerable extent in the Literature of Labour. The most gifted minds now publish their works at a price which secures their access to the workshop and the cottage, and afford to the poor as well as the rich the same means of mental cultivation and enlightenment.

HUGH MILLER, of Cromarty, published his 'Autobiography' a few years before his death. He was the son of a sailor, and bred a mason. He had, for his education, means which are available to all the youth of Scotland. He has given the 'story' of it in the work referred to. The schools which he attended have been happily styled by a writer in the 'North British Review'—'the school of ancestry,' being wholesome influences of uncles who were alive, and of memories of the dead, for he was early fatherless; 'the school of local circumstance' being the shores and rocks, caves and hills, of his native Cromarty, which he has done so much to make famous, and from which he has brought so many contributions to science; 'the school of literature'

ture' being the parish and subscription schools of Cromarty, where he had all the improvement that his own insubordination and inefficient masters suffered him to get; 'the school of friendship,' which, in his work as an artisan, he found among other working men. Though thirty years of his life were spent in these various scenes of education, and some of them amidst many things uncongenial to an inquiring spirit—though they were no better than many of his fellows possessed—yet Hugh Miller became one of the first names in geological science—one of the purest writers of the English language, whose style has provoked the envy of eminent professors, and excited the praise of all leading critics. His works, some of which are text-books at the universities and schools of science, fill seven goodly octavos, and with consummate ability, for sixteen years, he edited a first-class paper in Edinburgh—better known, and more extensively read by learned men, than any other in Scotland. The autobiography of such a man cannot but afford a powerful stimulus to working men, by whom it should be perused and valued as one of the noblest monuments of the Literature of Labour.

ELIHU BURRITT is believed to be one of the greatest linguists of the present time, yet he acquired his learning while toiling at an anvil as a blacksmith. He is the author of 'Sparks from the Anvil;' 'Voice from the Forge;' 'Peace Papers for the People:' —'In every line coined from the reflecting mind of the blacksmith of Massachusetts, there is a high philosophy and philanthropy, genuine and pure.'

We might mention J. C. LOUDON, who, from a landscape gardener, rose to the 'head of all the writers of his day, upon subjects connected with horticulture, and of the whole class of industrious compilers.' He wrote four Cyclopædias, and an 'Arboretum Britannicum,' in eight volumes, which itself might be the work of a life-time. So much can be done by men of ordinary education, in the use and improvement of their powers.

'The Autobiography of a Working Man, by One who has Whistled at the Plough,' which appeared in 1848, took its readers by surprise, much as they had expected from the soldier Somerville. A man whose childhood, youth, and manhood were a struggle for existence, amidst poverty at home and hard toil at the plough and in quarries of stone, and who took the shilling when low diet and no work had almost driven him to despair, could scarcely be expected to become an adept in writing. His military castigation in 1832 brought his soldier-life to a sudden termination, but it made the author of the Letter which occasioned it famous, the pet of the British public which purchased his discharge, and gave him a new opportunity. He who before felt the exclusion which kept the labourer from rising in society because he

he had short tails to his coat, has since become Own Correspondent to newspapers, the author of some goodly volumes, and a contributor to the periodicals of the day.

But lest these should all be considered rather high for the ambition of the majority of labouring men, we would direct attention to a fact of some significance which the last few years brought to light. In the year 1847 the cause of the Sabbath was agitated. Many urged the plea of the working man, who, for six days, was confined to his shop and labour, and who needed the Sabbath for recreation. It was resolved to obtain the opinion of working men on the subject. A pious and liberal gentleman offered three prizes of 25*l.*, 15*l.*, and 10*l.*, respectively, for the three best essays on 'The Advantages of the Sabbath to the Working Classes, in a Christian point of view,' to be prepared exclusively by persons engaged in labour. It was the first experiment of the kind; but, in the course of three months, *nine hundred and fifty* compositions were given in, and altogether *a thousand and fifty-seven*. Of these, several have been published, and have had an extensive circulation. One was by a labourer's daughter, entitled 'The Pearl of Days,' which, though precluded from a prize, was published under the patronage of her Majesty, and has had a circulation of 50,000 copies, besides translations into various languages. These compositions attest not merely a love for the Sabbath among the operative classes, but also the literary character which many of them possess. They afford a stimulus to all in similar occupations to cultivate their minds. Nor are these solitary instances. For a prize on Infidelity among the working classes, one hundred and nine essays were sent in. Throughout the empire of late, by the establishment of Mechanics' Institutions, Debating Clubs, Young Men's Christian Associations, &c., where the taste for composition, as well as for reading, has been encouraged, literature has got a place among the sons of toil, by which they can enjoy many a pleasure after the day's labour is over, and be elevated into regions of thought, and feeling, and usefulness, to which their predecessors were strangers.* Men of labour may be men of mind, able to appreciate the best writing in books, and able, if need be, to add their mite to the general knowledge, and float down the stream of time in the

* In the eloquent address of Lord Brougham at Liverpool, there is the following passage:—'There lies before me a short treatise by a working man, popularly written, because it is addressed to his fellow-workmen in the same line of employment, with the view of removing the prevalent but dangerous delusions on the subject of capital and wages, by explaining the true principles of economical science on this head. No student of that philosophy at the English—nay, at any of the Scotch universities, where it is more cultivated—could have produced a better-reasoned tract, or one showing more entire acquaintance with its principles. It is the work of a common shoemaker in the Midland Counties.'

remembrance

remembrance of posterity. In Germany, it is said, there are no fewer than 50,000 persons who have each written a book. It is not unusual among ourselves to observe works with such titles as 'The Working Man's Way in the World; being the Autobiography of a Journeyman Printer;' 'The Autobiography of an Atheist'—a valuable book by a man who was a sawyer in the bush in Australia; 'The Life of a Vagrant;' 'Essays by Working Men,' published by that great friend of the literature of labour, John Cassell, &c.—which indicate the literary aspirations and capabilities of the class. Men of handicraft! these examples are before you to encourage the cultivation of your minds, and the expression of your thoughts. Though you may never appear in print, yet you may make many advances, profitable to yourselves, and useful to others.

Poetry has been as successfully cultivated by persons in humble rank, as the field over which we have gone. There are more who are prominent in this department than in the other. It may be that the saying of the old Latin poet, Horace, is true, 'A poet is born, not made;' while a good English style is the result, not of a 'heaven-born inspiration, but of a home-bred industry.' This fact, however, remains—that the literature of labour is richest in poetry, and most famous. Many can appreciate a verse, and as those who love to pluck flowers wish also to grow them, so those who can enjoy a poem, a hymn, a song, may try similar composition. Many have done so. In Scotland it has been frequently attempted. No land is richer in ballads, no republic of letters has more working men in lists of the illustrious. Therefore, do we first select

Robert Burns (1759-96). It is almost superfluous to state that he was a ploughman, and had only received the ordinary education of a parish school. He died at *thirty-seven*, yet left behind him evidences of the finest genius, and quickest sympathies, that could hear poetry in the carol of birds, the whistle of the wind, or murmur of the waters; and see it in the ordinary events of a ploughman's day, or a village scene. His poems are the national melodies of his country. 'Tis true, and pity 'tis, 'tis true,' that he has stained those marvellous and spirit-stirring productions; yet among his pieces are those instinct with finest sentiment and purest morals. 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' would alone have immortalized him. The poetry of Europe contains nothing equal to it. It cannot be read too often. It is a model and a motive in one. His poems and songs are too well known to need quotation. They are ingrained in the hearts of Scotchmen, even as they echo their own vernacular; and, despite their rude provincialism, they are popular with all ranks of Englishmen. It is sad, indeed, that when his works became his monument, him-

self

self became a wreck. It is sad that a genius, whose flashing light might have led to God, has too often spread the plague of his own heart on that of his admirers. But his works will ever remain a most distinguished ornament of the literature of labour. Were it possible to obtain a purged edition of his poetry, the circulation of it would kindle the fire of virtuous genius in many a bosom.

The age of Burns had many literary labourers in Scotland. JAMES HOGG, the Ettrick Shepherd (1772-1835), was not the least of these. He had only half a year's schooling in all; began to herd cattle when a mere child, and, when able, was made a shepherd. He loved reading; and his peculiar employment gave him abundant leisure for it. His taste and time were well improved; and the works of the Ettrick Shepherd made the literature of labour attract the attention of the great Sir Walter Scott. 'The Brownie of Bodsbeck' is one of his many prose works that is still appreciated, and his 'Queen's Wake' and 'Bonny Kilmeny' place him high among British bards.

ALEXANDER WILSON (1766-1813) was a Paisley weaver, and afterwards a pedlar of muslin. In 1792, he published 'Watty and Meg,' which, as it appeared anonymously, was attributed to Burns. Infected with the political fever which spread far and wide at the period of the French Revolution, he wrote a satire, which necessitated his flight to America. He began life anew there, in the same humble occupation as before, but prosecuted the study of ornithology, until he was able to give to the world a work, in eight volumes, on the 'American Ornithology.' He was buried at Philadelphia with public honours.

ROBERT TANNAHILL (1774-1810) was also a Paisley weaver, and the author of 'The Braes of Balquhidder;' 'The Braes of Gleniffer;' 'The Flower of Dumblane;' 'Gloomy Winter's now Awa,' &c.; which will be long remembered, and often sung. Poor fellow! a cloud came over his sensitive mind, and in his despondency he cast away his life.

'Sick of life's history—
Glad to death's mystery
Swift to be hurl'd—
Anywhere, anywhere
Out of the world.'

ALLAN RAMSAY (1686-1758) was of much older date, and arose on his country like a morning lark after the night of a century. He awoke the Scottish Muse after her long silence. Though born of parents able to give him a good education, yet, as he early lost his father, he only received the education of a parish school. At fifteen he was apprenticed to a wig-maker in Edinburgh. It was not until his twenty-sixth year that his poetic flame burst forth, and he was thirty-nine when his 'Gentle Shepherd'

Shepherd' was published. That drama is one of the truest to pastoral life ever written. The rural experience of Scotland is there finely represented. The reverence for patriotic lairds, the free and manly talk of farmers, and the happy clatter of young women, have there a real expression. Take the following as a specimen. It is from the dialogue on marriage, between Peggy and Jenny. Peggy is the speaker:—

'I've heard my honest uncle say,
That lads should a' for wives that's virtuous pray;
For the maist thrifty man could never get
A weel-stored room, unless his wife wad let:
Wherefore nocht shall be wanting on my part
To gather wealth to raise my shepherd's heart;
Whate'er he wins, I'll guide wi' canny care,
And win the vogue at market, tron, or fair,
For halesome, clean, cheap, and sufficient ware.
A flock of lambs, cheese, butter, and some woo',
Shall first be sold to pay the laird his due;
Syne a' behind's our ain. Thus, without fear,
Wi' love and rowth, we through the world will steer;
And when my Pate in bairns and gear grows rife,
He'll bless the day he gat me for his wife.'

ROBERT BLOOMFIELD (1776-1823), of Bury St. Edmunds, was a tailor's son, early made a farmer's boy, and afterwards apprenticed to a shoemaker, because too weak and little for the labour of the field. But the shoemaker's garret became the workshop of nobler toil. There, after he was thirty-two years of age, had a wife and three children, he rendered into poetry his early knowledge and experience of farm life, and wrote 'The Farmer's Boy,' which won for him the friendship of literary men, by whose kindness it was published, and of the Duke of Grafton, who bestowed on him a small annuity. He also published other pieces, by which the literature of labour has been enriched.

WILLIAM GIFFORD (1756-1826), of Ashburton, Devonshire, rose from the ranks to the dignity of a poet. His case was the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties. Early fatherless, he was a ship-boy on 'the high and giddy mast' at thirteen, and made to do all the dirty work of the ship. There was not a book on board except the 'Coasting Pilot'—he could therefore make no progress in reading. Recalled from sea by his unnatural godfather, he was sent to school for a few months, then apprenticed to a shoemaker—work which he hated. He had only one book, a treatise on algebra, an unknown subject to him, but by obtaining Farring's Introduction, he learned the science. Listen to the story of his education. 'This was not done without difficulty. I had not a farthing on earth, nor a friend to give me one; pen, ink, and paper, therefore, were, for the most part, as completely out of my reach as a crown and a sceptre. There was, indeed, a resource, but the utmost caution and secresy were necessary in

applying

applying it. I beat out pieces of leather as smooth as possible, and wrought my problems on them with a blunted awl: for the rest, my memory was tenacious, and I could multiply and divide by it to a great extent.' He then began to compose poetry, which was the means of his advancement. Afterwards, by the kind offices of friends, he was sent to the university, where, of course, he goes out of our criticism at present. But the lesson of his life of labour is a suggestive one. Can young men of the working classes speak of difficulties after such a case as this?

JOHN CLARE was born at Kelpstone, Northamptonshire, in 1793. 'His parents were peasants; his father a helpless cripple, and a pauper. John obtained some education by his own extra work as a ploughboy: from the labour of eight weeks he generally acquired as many pence as paid for a month's schooling.' Thomson's 'Seasons' were the means of stirring the spirit of poetry in him, and which he had procured by careful saving, and by a journey of six miles to make the purchase. His pieces, we are told by the author of a memoir prefixed to his poems, were composed under the immediate impression of his feelings, in the fields or on the roadside, and written down with a pencil on the spot, with his hat as a desk. In 1820 they were published, and met with cordial approbation. The result was an annuity of 30*l.*, with which he lived for a season in contentment. But by indiscreet speculations he lost his means, overbalanced his mind, and had to retire into an asylum. His advantages were few, his reading limited, yet his poems are rich and striking. Let the following speak for him:—

WHAT IS LIFE?

'And what is life? An hour-glass on the run,
A mist retreating from the morning sun,
A busy, bustling, still-repeated dream.
Its length? A minute's pause, a moment's thought.
And happiness? A bubble on the stream,
That, in the act of seizing, sinks to nought.

And what is hope? The puffing gale of morn,
That robs each flow'ret of its gem, and dies—
A cobweb, hiding disappointment's thorn,
Which stings more keenly through the thin disguise.'

WILLIAM FALCONER (1730-1769) was the son of a poor barber in Edinburgh, became a sailor, and was shipwrecked in the Mediterranean ere he was eighteen years of age. In 1760 he again experienced the same fate, and made a narrow escape. He published a poem in 1762, entitled 'The Shipwreck,' which is almost the only poem which a sailor has ever written on his native element. Poor Falconer perished in a shipwreck. Burns thus wrote of him to Mrs. Dunlop—'He was one of those daring, adventurous spirits which Scotland, beyond any other country, is remarkable

remarkable for producing.' His poem was worthy of the theme, and has long retained its popularity. Though the sea is his tomb, 'The Shipwreck' is Falconer's abiding monument, and speaks to sailors still of what they might become in the literature of labour.

EBENEZER ELLIOTT is the poet of the manufacturing districts. Nurtured amidst toil, and long obliged to labour for his daily bread, he nourished genius and made poetry. His 'Pictures of Native Genius' should be the handbook of all aspiring poets among the working men of manufacture. Himself stimulated to write by reading, he would not fail to give a similar impetus to some of his thoughtful readers. Thus he addresses toil-worn parents who are anxious for their children's welfare:—

> 'Let luxury, sickening in profusion's chair,
> Unwisely pamper his unworthy heir;
> And while he feeds him, blush and tremble too;
> But love and labour, blush not, fear not you!
> Your children (splinters from the mountain's side),
> With rugged hands, *shall for themselves provide.*
> Parent of valour, cast away thy fear!
> Mother of men, be proud without a tear!
> While round your hearth the woe-nursed virtues move,
> And all that manliness can ask of love.
> Remember Hogarth, and abjure despair;
> Remember Arkwright, and the peasant Clare;
> Burns, o'er the plough, sung sweet his wood-notes wild,
> And richest Shakspeare was a poor man's child.'

The writings of Elliott, against the duties on corn, are well known, and won for him the title of the 'Corn-law Rhymer.'

Many more might be referred to, who have enriched their country's literature, while in the humblest positions. RICHARD GALL, the author of 'My only Jo and dearie O,' was a printer. THOM, the Inverury poet, was a weaver. ROBERT NICOLL was a labourer, and died at twenty-four, the editor of the 'Leeds Times,' and author of several poems. HENRY KIRKE WHITE was a stocking-weaver, and, while pursuing his trade, obtained a silver medal for a translation from Horace. THOMAS HOOD was an engraver, and when will his 'Song of the Shirt' or 'The Bridge of Sighs' be forgotten? JAMES HISLOP was a shepherd boy in Ayrshire, and composed a beautiful poem called 'The Covenanter's Dream,' which yet lingers in the affections of Scotchmen, and has found a place in the 'Cyclopædia of English Literature.' One poem, such as 'The Burial of Sir John Moore,' is sufficient to immortalize a man, and 'The Cameronian's Dream' is Hislop's only memorial. But it is a column in the working men's corner of the Temple of Fame.

ALEXANDER SMITH lately appeared, from a warehouse in Glasgow, with a volume of poetry full of lofty thoughts, expressed in burning words, of which these lines are a specimen:—

'A single

'A single soul is richer than all worlds—
Its acts are only shadows of itself;
And oft its wondrous wealth is all unknown.
'Tis like a mountain-range, whose rugged sides
Feed starveling flocks of sheep; pierce the bare sides,
And they ooze plenteous gold. We must go down
And work our souls like mines; make books our lamps,
Not shrines, to worship at; nor heed the world—
Let it go roaring past.'

This list is not complete, nor is it intended to be more than a collection of examples, for the purpose of exciting working men to study and composition. The annals of publishing are constantly adding new names to the literature of labour.

We would have the higher branches of learning extended to all, and higher intelligence cultivated by all. We have seen that the advantages can now be enjoyed—that the advancement can be made. It now remains for all, and especially for the young, to aspire and do their best, to cultivate their minds, by a perusal of the best authors, to appreciate lofty and suggestive thought. We look forward to the day when men of handicraft will be men of mind, men of literature—when, as great men are rapidly becoming fewer in relation to the abilities of others, all will attain greatness. 'We cannot,' says an accomplished writer in one of our Reviews—'we cannot surpass Pericles (as a statesman), or Plato (as a philosopher), or Praxiteles (as a statuary); but we may look forward to the day, and contribute to hasten its arrival, when mankind shall be made up of such—when these great men shall have become types, not anomalies—specimens, not marvels—when the ideal shall be realized, and the selected good, and the surpassing great of former ages, shall be the average actualities of being, and not, as now, at once our reproach and our despair.'

We look forward to this because, among other reasons, of the beneficent and elevating influence of Christianity, which has not yet seen its highest style among men at large. When its pure and heavenly doctrines shall have fully moulded the mind and heart of humanity, the sons of men will have an intellectual acuteness and power, and an emotional excellence, transcendently higher than they have at present. *Excelsior!*

'Deeper, deeper let us toil
In the mines of knowledge;
Nature's wealth, and learning's spoil,
Win from school and college—
Delve we there for richer gems
Than the stars of diadems.'

ART. II.—*The Life and Remains of Douglas Jerrold.* By his Son, Blanchard Jerrold. London: Kent and Co.

'THE Life of Douglas Jerrold,' by his son, is an excellent performance. Gracefully affectionate, gracefully filial, it is at the same time candid, modest, and truthful. If one feels always that it is a reverent and loving son that speaks, one feels also that it is a sincere and loyal man. In both respects, indeed, there is that in the book that endears the writer to the reader. Its spirit throughout is gentle and ingenuous; and the whole series of pictures it presents seems, as it were, to lie pleasantly, peacefully distinct in the clear, mild light of an amiable and kindly nature. Well-arranged and orderly, all is lightly, skilfully touched: there is grace in what is said, and there is grace in what is not said. In short, the little book is right acceptable, right welcome. One feels pleased and satisfied that the man finds such a biographer; one feels pleased and satisfied that the father owned such a son.

Besides that knowledge of him acquired from his writings, it is our fortune to have possessed, in respect to Jerrold, just sufficient personal acquaintance to render this life peculiarly attractive to us. It effects for us the rounding of the picture: what was known lends a charm to what was unknown; and the latter points the former. The solemn thought, too, sighs round us like a ghost, that he, of whom we read, he, whom we knew, has—in the prime of life, when the harvest waved before him, ripe for the gathering—passed from among us, and will no more speak to mortals! And so memories of the past mingle with the pictures of the present, as if to the music of far-off, melancholy bells, while feelings rise within us of indefinable regret, of indefinable sadness.

It is these feelings that have prompted—as we hope they will accompany and guide—the following notice.

The parents of Douglas Jerrold were but strolling players, for, :n as managers of the theatre at Sheerness, they could hardly .rrogate a higher title. That he was born in London (and the date is January 3, 1803) was probably a contingency due to the precarious profession of the family; for it is a fact, as well that the south of England was its usual habitat, as that the infant Jerrold was carried thither in his swaddling-clothes. The first four years of his life, indeed, were spent at Cranbrook, in Kent, where Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Jerrold, patronized and protected by Sir Walter and Lady James, 'the great people of Angley,' had thankfully set up their modest theatre, under the rude rafters of a thatch-covered barn. The earliest impressions, then, of the future wit must have been those of green fresh pastures and tawdry theatrical properties, of fragrant wild flowers and unfragrant tallow, of the simple music of the sheep-bell and the squeak of fife

and fiddle. The eyes of the fair-haired, red-cheeked, stout little fellow must have opened round and large over these antitheses, so curiously typical of the main perceptions and leading imagery that characterized the literary efforts of his later years. How strange it must have seemed to him to pass, perhaps on the occasion of a rehearsal, from the fresh common (his little fist full, probably, of buttercups) into that squalid, murky barn, with its spectral rafters, and its skeleton-like benches, and the rough-hewn stage, and the coarse scenery, that should represent in the evening all the grandeurs of the earth! Loving the breezy fields, and the fragrant hedges, and the fleecy sheep, and the cloud and the blue of heaven, how odd the darned flesh-coloured tights must have seemed to him —the great, glaring, staring, glass jewelry, the pasteboard helmet, the cavalier cloak, the braggadocio boots, the pistols, swords, and daggers!

Nor when, at four years of age, he was removed to Sheerness, could the contrasts and contrarieties that still surrounded him have appeared to this curious and eager little soul one whit less striking. For the green meadows and the woolly sheep he has now the filthy streets and coarse populace of one of the filthiest and coarsest of seaports. In compensation, however, from the window of his lonely room—in which his good granny, for security, while she takes the money at the theatre, locks him up nightly—he can descry, away over the unsightly houses, the sea, and, on its glittering bosom, frigates queening it, or mightier bulks of war-ships glooming, solid, fast, like castellated keeps of founded stone.

But he is not always confined now to his room o' nights: when such necessity presents itself, he, too, supporting some suitable rôle, must do duty on the boards. Kean himself, then little bigger or better than a blackguard boy, has, as Rolla, carried this infant to the footlights. How the quick, susceptible little fellow must have looked and wondered at the scenes he saw! The benches, now no longer ghastly and spectral in the daylight, but filled—filled with such faces!—the oily brown ones of several hundred Jacks, and the blowsy red ones of as many Molls! Then the uproar, the whistling, the bellowing, the quarrelling, and the trampling—the loud comments, and the still louder accompaniments of the spectators! Then the green-room, and the men and women, and their dressing and undressing there! Surely neither variety nor contrariety is wanting here to excite and stimulate. Soon one of these strange men, in that strange green-room, takes interest enough in the willing little lad to teach him his letters; and soon he is able to cheer his solitude, when locked up o' nights, with 'Roderick Random' and the 'Death of Abel.'

What a strange web of influences it is here given us to see! What strange and contradictory materials must have constituted the

the thinking furniture of that poor little prisoner! The sheep-bell, and the fresh meadows, and all the sweet scents and sights and sounds of country life are still dear to his memory; and out there, far away before him, is the mighty sea! But under him are the filthy streets, and the mean houses, and the meaner people! And again, but just at hand, there is that rude playhouse, where the life he knows so well is now at its ruddiest! Then the books he reads, 'Roderick Random' and the 'Death of Abel!'

We must bear in mind, too, at what an epoch it is he lives; we must bear in mind that these are the days of Austerlitz and Trafalgar; when the armies of Napoleon are dominant on every land, and the fleets of Nelson vigilant in every sea. It is a mighty hour, and the minds of men are mightily stirred. Throughout all England there is but one element, and it is enthusiasm—enthusiasm for our sea-victories and enthusiasm for our sea-heroes—enthusiasm which leaps out in every look, tone, gesture of every man that meets his fellow on the street—enthusiasm that is caught up, shared, and declaimed nightly by every one of those dingy actors within the dingy little theatre of Sheerness. It is not wonderful, then, that he, too, the quick, spirited little Jerrold should, in such circumstances, acquire a feverish longing for the sea; for it *is* a quick, spirited little Jerrold: no sickly, puny cageling, dying of the pip, is this, but a stout, vigorous little fellow, with plenty of indignant vehemence in him, and an instantaneous, instinctive impulse, not to shrink when attacked, but to stand up fiercely for himself. The sea and *its* contrasts, then, are the next experiences of little Jerrold; but before we follow him thither we must advert to yet another source of contrast that lay for him in the characters of his parents.

His mother was young; his father was old—older than the very grandmother; for the present Mrs. Samuel Jerrold was the second wife of her lord, and the wife's mother was the junior of the wife's husband. It is she, Douglas's mother, who is the soul of the family, and the soul of the theatre also; and much reason she has to keep her wits about her, not for the sake of the young ravens only (she has two boys and two girls), but for that of her aged partner also. He, for his part, the good old man, has been cuffed, and huffed, and buffeted in this sad world, and in that sad calling of his, till he is as mild, and meek, and pliant as well-kneaded dough—as limp as manipulated pasteboard—and is content and happy in the quiet of whatever out-of-the-way corner the swirls and eddies of the draught may chance to sweep him. He plays any character—Richmond or the Ghost in Hamlet—for his place now is thankfully in any gap that the exigencies of the occasion may present. He is happy, the good, quiet, well-kneaded Samuel, if things will just get along without stopping: he likes the fireside;

he likes the repose of a quiet novel; he likes the serenity of a pensive pot of purl. His peculiar glory and his pride, however, the firm fundament of his life in this world, the soil on which he grows—what we may call his secret—is a pair of pumps. Pumps! yes; but then they are the pumps of Garrick; and they are still alive with the energy of the immortal sole. Poor old man! how one sympathises with him! How one rejoices, as he rejoices, in the rock of those shoes, on which he can so securely found himself! How one delights to know that his poor storm-buffeted bark had such an anchor to let down and ride at! As one thinks of all these cuffings, and huffings, and buffetings, and of the good, limp, pliant nature into which they have pressed, and turned, and kneaded him, one is glad to think that such an undeniable fountain of consolation was conceded him as this of Garrick's shoes.

Douglas does not seem to have enjoyed much attention from his mother. She, poor woman, had doubtless enough to do, for, as the phrase is, all devolved on her; and, in after years, while the good, easy old man is left by the fireside, we get glimpses of her flitting busily hither and thither on provincial engagements.

The maternal grandmother, Mrs. Reid, whose maiden name was Douglas, seems to have been the only one from whom little Jerrold received, during the whole of his infancy and boyhood, any regular and special guidance. She seems to have been Scotch; and from her, doubtless, little Douglas inherited, not his Scotch name only, but his Scotch blood also; for that *perfervidum ingenium* ascribed by Buchanan to the Scots was here, south of the Tweed, in the vehement individuality of Douglas Jerrold, as perfectly exemplified as ever, north of the Tweed, in any of the children proper of the ancient Caledonia.

One other point, which must have influenced the thoughts and feelings of our young ambitious aspirant, we must yet notice before following him to his ship—it is the absence of a pedigree. Mr. Blanchard Jerrold, as he says himself, has not 'been at much pains to elaborate an ancestral tree;' the strolling player is traced no further than his own father, a horsedealer at Hackney; and all the facts of the case are as freely, frankly, and unreservedly stated, as it has ever been our lot to witness on the part of any one discoursing in these 'old-clo'' days of his own birth and parentage. Still human nature will be human nature; and there is a touch or two here that are human nature itself. We trust, however, that we shall be seen to be merely yielding to the temptation of a naturalist, and not, in reality, unkindly, when we just slightly accentuate a phrase or two in the family legend.

'The son,' proceeds the said legend, referring to Douglas's father, the strolling player, 'the son of Mr. Jerrold, of Hackney (who was a large dealer in horses, *at a time when horses were eagerly*

eagerly sought, in consequence of the long-continued wars), and the descendant of yet richer forefathers, the poor stroller must have remembered somewhat bitterly the fact, to which he often referred, that he had played in a barn *upon the estate that was rightfully his own. More of his family he never communicated to his children.*' There are strokes here that must come home, if not to the consciousness, at least to the memory, of many a reader; but we are sure that all will, as we do, only smile, with kindly recognition, on the family myth, and respect the family euphemism. As some consolation to humanity in general, however, whether tree'd or treeless, we may hint that there exist few gentle houses, few ducal houses, ay, few royal houses, where the family myths are as innocent and the family euphemisms as free from vulgarity.

Jerrold's noviciate in the navy—for, as we have hinted, after some five years of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and just eleven years of age, to the sea he went—was neither of long duration nor of much vicissitude. He entered as a first-class volunteer, and remained but twenty-two months in the service. One year and four months he spent at the Nore, on board a guard-ship; and only during six months had he any experience of active service. We can fancy with what pride, with what hopes, with what aspirations, he first trod the deck of a man-of-war. Still, the gloss of novelty once dulled, the ways of the ship once mastered, and the characters of those around him once comprehended, life on board must have appeared to his eager, restless nature but wearisome and monotonous. The captain seems to have been kind to him; for he allows 'him to read Buffon in the cabin, and indulges him in the recreation of a flight of pigeons. Without doubt, also, little Douglas employed unceasingly both those sharp eyes and those quick ears of his, and stored up daily in his memory picture after picture and thought after thought. Still he must have sighed for active service. Whether he liked it, when he had an opportunity of judging, scarcely appears; but, it seems, he thought it his duty in after life, when consulted by any young aspirant, rather to dissuade than encourage. Life must have been uncomfortable enough, one would think, during the six months that—visiting Ostend, Texel, Heligoland, and Cuxhaven the while—he was tossed in that little brig the 'Ernest,' from the Thames to the Elbe and from the Elbe to the Thames again. His hammock was stolen, and he had to sleep as he could. He had his disgraces and his difficulties, his haps and his mishaps; but no event of any importance distinguished the short career of the little middy. He saw a man flogged—saw and sickened as he saw—and the brutality stuck to his memory. He transports from Belgium a number of the wounded

wounded of Waterloo; and has an opportunity of hearing something of war from those who had seen and suffered.

There are lessons involved here that we find turning up in many a page of the future author. His heart must have been at the bottom very tender; for that lacerated sailor and these wounded soldiers have engraved themselves deeply there. Other lessons, also, he doubtless learned. These were the days of brutal fun, of ferocious jocosity; Douglas was proud, of purer heart and higher intellect, we may believe, than any of his mates, and vehemently indignant at injustice; his frame, too, though stout and active, could not have been brawny: many cruelties must he have suffered, many mortifications borne. If young gentlemen were at all constituted then as they are everywhere nowadays, his antecedents of birth must have been often enough flung in his face, and awakened in his breast the keenest and fiercest of emotions. The teachings of experience were here in abundance then.

Altogether, though so far as book-learning is concerned, he is as yet not very far advanced, and has no acquirements but reading, writing, and arithmetic, still we may, without hesitation, assert that, as regards insight into this practical world and the conditions of existence, young Jerrold is wiser, riper, and maturer than many a much older youth who, as yet, has only learned and learned, and read and read within the walls of schools and colleges.

And conscious of this ripe experience, as well as proud of his increased strength and stature, must have been our gallant little middy of thirteen, as, leaving his ship for ever, he stepped once again ashore at Sheerness to greet his relatives. But, ah! how sad that greeting! Hot tears must have fallen on his cheeks with the kisses of his friends, for to them the world is changed. The theatre is broken up; the family is ruined; the good old manager has no consolation longer even in the shoes of Garrick; for neither he nor they will ever tread the boards again. A sad reverse for them—a fearful reverse for the proud young midshipman! The result is—after two months of an eclipsed existence in familiar Sheerness, while the young wife has gone bravely forth to seek some other resting-place for her helpless children and her equally helpless husband—a migration to London.

Broad Court, Bow Street, where the wanderers found shelter, could have offered no very cheering aspect to the high-hearted, crushed young middy; but, like some scenes we have seen already, it cut itself deep into his brain, and was stamped, in after days, on many a vigorous paragraph. Broad Court was a *poor* court; and every reader that has seen such has already before his eyes the proper picture. The houses are, of course, wretched, and the population teeming; but the characteristic feature is the children—ragged and dirty, but hot and loud with game or battle in the midst

midst of squalor, filth, and meanness. Jerrold, to be sure, was but thirteen; and, at that age, the heart is usually light, while the memory is but short for anything better or worse than the present: still he was, in intellect and experience, riper, older than his years, and his proud nature must have been deeply galled. Picture him, in such a place, amid such a population, skulking—skulking *from* the door *to* the door—still in his uniform!

What all this taught Jerrold can be read in every page of his writings. Hitherto, his life has been a life of contrasts: at Cranbrook, at Sheerness, on board the 'Namur,' on board the 'Ernest,'—wherever he has been, contrast has been forced upon him. For Douglas Jerrold, the universe has been cast on the principle of contradiction: what the Germans call the Satz of Widerspruch has ruled his horoscope. But here, in Broad Court, it is that the contrast of contrasts, the antithesis of all antitheses, impresses itself on the heart and brain of Jerrold. Here it is that all the mighty meaning of the words Rich and Poor begins to unfold itself. And from this time on, this contrast will continue to impress itself, and this meaning to unfold itself; for pain, privation, labour, will be the constant companions of this proud, eagle-hearted youth for many years yet. Poverty, ignorance, vice, crime; riches, selfishness, insolence, arrogance; the inequalities of fate; the injustices of fortune: these are the cuds he ruminates, till the fierce thoughts of the vehement, indignant man leap into the lightnings of keen and passionate speech.

Meantime bread has to be won; and little Douglas is apprenticed to a printer. Whatever regrets the late midshipman may have felt on this occasion, we may be sure that, in view of Broad Court, the parting with his uniform was not one of them. His, too, is, after all, a susceptible, impressible nature; and he soon reconciles himself to his new position. Nay, he takes a colour from it: books become mighty favourites with him; and he acquires an enthusiasm for literature. It is probable, indeed, that an enthusiasm of this kind was not difficult to kindle in the reader of 'Roderick Random' and 'The Death of Abel.' How eagerly, how indomitably he throws himself on the new pursuits! Early as *the printer* is obliged to go to work, still earlier rises *the student*, and applies himself to his. At meal-times, too, his books undergo a longer mastication than his victuals. Finally, at night, the body, after its twelve hours of drudgery, may be wearied if it will, but the mind shall not; and the evening shall end as the morning began, with books. And what are those books? If it is for his poor old father, now invalided in the chimney-corner, that the good-hearted lad is pleased to read aloud volume after volume of Scott's novels, it is for himself that he reads Shakspeare, reads him till he has him by heart and can quote every line

line of him. But there are dryer studies necessary for his assumption of a literary position; and these shall not affright him. Burns, in penitent moments, when resolved on steadiness, would return, ever and anon, 'to his Latin again.' But Jerrold, with greater patience, with greater perseverance, remained *by* his Latin, and, as his whole dialect and general use of words testify, conquered it. Nor Latin only: French, Italian, German, were all in succession objects of study with him, and all of them were more or less acquired. Brave, then, as the little midshipman, on board the 'Namur' or the 'Ernest' may have been, braver, far braver, we may fearlessly pronounce this wearied stripling of a printer, in his mean little room in Broad Court, with the Latin Grammar in his hand.

We are glad to learn, however, that the due meed of relaxation is not denied him. Orders for the theatres are not rare, as is to be expected, in such a family; and we may readily surmise that one member, at all events, would neither refuse nor neglect them. These are the days, too, be it recollected, of Kean and Kemble; and the aspiring stripling is privileged alternately to glow and quiver before the grandest Hamlets and Othellos the world has ever seen. These theatrical experiences bias his literature: it is for the stage he would write; it is as the guild-brother of Shakspeare he would appear. So to dramas he applies himself. He was only fifteen when his first piece was written; and only eighteen when he had the pleasure of seeing it performed—when he had the pleasure of seeing it succeed. A very singular and rare experience for so young a lad!

But he is not one-sided in his labours: besides dramatic, there are other literary efforts; and these, too, succeed. Copies of verses he has the bliss to see printed in the magazines; and one morning his master, who seems to have been editor as well as proprietor of a newspaper, puts into his hands, to be set by him in type—'O joy!'—an article of his own! accompanied, too, by an invitation to write again! Surely the world is opening for our brave apprentice and his fortune near! Ah, no! it is but the gleam of sunshine in the early morning of a dismal day. If in the brain or breast of the successful boy-contributor, of the successful boy-dramatist, any wind of arrogance, any air of presumption have developed itself, most rudely will it be shaken out of him—most bitterly will it be expiated. For there await him years of incessant labour, years of frustrated hope, years of cruel disappointment, before his name shall emerge from obscurity and his place be fixed.

But these bitter experiences shall not be all unsweetened, and these dark days not all uncheered; he shall have a friend, and he shall have a wife. Of the latter, whom he marries when he is but one-

one-and-twenty, we are not empowered to speak. The son could not with propriety have expatiated on the virtues of the living mother: the tone of the dedication, however, and the affectionate modesty of every word he uses when obliged to speak of her, assure us of the esteem in which he holds her, and supply a basis for that of the public also. Fancy will add the rest. The soothment of young love—the consolation of an absolute sympathy—the strength of purpose inspired by the consciousness of responsibility,—these and all other skiey influences that troop in the train of marriage which the heart has led, each of us shall picture for himself.

But let us linger a moment over the early friend: it is Laman Blanchard, whose grave is now no longer lonely, for that of Jerrold—the friend of his youth, the friend of his heart—lies there beside it. And it is fitting that, dead, they should thus lie near each other, they who, living, were bound together in such intimate and familiar union.

The soft, gentle, Shelley-like Blanchard seems to have looked to his harder, bolder, and more resolute companion, as to the master-mind that had a right and possessed the power to sway and guide him. His pure, open, unselfish nature directly acknowledges this. In 1826, he writes to Jerrold: 'Such as my nature is, it is not too much to say that it has been almost moulded by you; and certainly of late years, nothing has been admitted into it that has not received your stamp and sanction.' Then further on in the same letter, it is even with feminine tact that he writes: 'If you think I can share my mind with others as I have done with you, let me refer you to a passage in "Childe Harold," commencing—

"Oh! known the earliest and esteemed the *most*."'

There are allusions, here and there too, in this correspondence, to quarrels and to reconciliations of quarrels, that are particularly instructive and suggestive. It is not friends, in fact, we see; it is a pair of lovers! Blanchard is the lady, and in her loving, innocent spontaneousness, she is perpetually giving unconscious offence to her exacting, irritable, and somewhat perverse lord; she is, ever and anon, startled at his moody jealousies, alarmed by his fierce looks, and full of wonder as to what she had done: her allusions to 'jarrings when we meet in company, and a constraint when we are alone' are peculiarly touching, and faithfully depict the whole case. It is a pretty love-quarrel, in short, a pretty miff; and from this troubling of the waters we understand both friends better.

We are glad, then, that Jerrold has such friends to cheer his battle—for to him life *is* a battle, and this world the field of a most unequal fight. All the years of his early manhood are but one series of ingrate toils and unacknowledged labours. For

magazines

magazines and journals he writes scores upon scores of articles; and for the theatres, a whole host of pieces. Of these latter, some fifty have been specially enumerated; and fully thirty seem to have been written before their author could have counted as many years. Some of these, like 'Black-eyed Susan,' are eminently successful, replenishing the coffers of vulgar, dissipated, greedy managers, but bringing to their author a renewal only of neglect, disappointment, and injustice. Throughout all these years, in fact, up almost to his connection with 'Punch,' in 1841, we see him, a lean, pale, hard, exasperated little figure, standing by a gulf, over which he hopes presently to be able to pass by means of the masses of paper which he flings in; but, alas! the remorseless black maw swallows them all up, like snow, before his eyes; and there burst from his lips the fiery imprecations of a tearful wrath, and the fierce invectives of a scornful indignation. Few authors have ever undergone a more protracted ordeal, or passed through a longer noviciate than Jerrold. And when, at last, his bark did—after veerings, and tackings, warpings-in, and warpings-out, in the dirtiest weather and the most intricate of channels—reach the open sea, and the fog rose up and showed the shoals behind and the whole ocean of success in front, it was wonderful to find it still so hale and hearty, still so true and cheery, still so sound and pure at the core, if at the same time, also, it must be confessed, somewhat dull and indifferent, somewhat sceptical and incredulous as to the advantages of the voyage at all, and inclined rather to drop anchor and enjoy the sunshine.

The products of his literary activity during this period need hardly occupy us. In later life, they were, for the most part, condemned as worthless by their own author, who spoke even of the remarkably successful 'Black-eyed Susan,' and the equally successful 'Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures,' as trash and lollipop, and desired to assume the honours of paternity for such works only as 'St. Giles and St. James,' 'Time Works Wonders,' 'A Man Made of Money,' and 'The Chronicles of Clovernook.' Even of these latter works, it does not enter within the scope of our design to speak in any detail at present. We feel more occupied with the man than his works, and would use the latter only to demonstrate and illustrate the former. Indeed, it is doubtful if even these latter works possess themselves any very certain germ of an enduring vitality. For the conditions of literature are involved, nowadays, in processes of transformation that are as yet neither explained nor explored; and there is now the ever-increasing possibility of the existence of both talent and genius—clothed, too, in forms that, two or three generations ago, would have appeared marvels magnificent as palaces of Aladdin—but without the least chance of either eminence or permanence of place in the progression

sion of the ages. Every reader of experience is aware of examples even in the great world; and there is hardly a circle in the kingdom but can point to literary powers that seem but as seed flung on the rocks or dropped on the roads. And, indeed, it is surprising with what equanimity they who recognise and lament the injustice acquiesce in the arrangement, and neglect the neglected. That this may be the fate of Jerrold, is, at least, to be apprehended. His prominence in the world was certainly attributable rather to extrinsic than intrinsic causes, though, of course, the latter are even prodigally present. At all events, we may say with assurance that, on the whole—despite one or two exceptions, which are themselves but temporary, perhaps—Jerrold's literary works have never struck deep root into public estimation, or enjoyed any very extended genuine popularity. Jerrold, no doubt, issued from that laborious noviciate of more than twenty years, a finished literary athlete, agile, supple, swift, with the power of accomplishing the most astonishing feats, as it were, spontaneously, almost involuntarily. Certainly the sinew of writing had, by that terrible practice, developed itself, as he said himself, 'like the smith's arm.' But were there no drawbacks to this marvellous facility, no shortcomings in this wonderful ability? Are there no such things as the evils of premature—are there no such things as the evils of incessant authorship? Is it true that the more a man writes the better, and ever longer the better, he will write? Is it true, that the sooner he begins the better he will end? We doubt both positions; we doubt the advantages of a man becoming a literary athlete at all, unless, indeed, his function be a mere matter of business, and his place that of scribe to some daily or weekly journal. If a man have any higher possibility than this in him—if it is to the giant, Genius, that he is to give birth—it is certainly not by becoming a literary athlete that he will accomplish his deliverance in any adequate or satisfactory form. The feats of the one athlete, like those of the other, however dazzling their facility, have only a temporary and extrinsic value; their secret too is soon discovered, and the repetition palls.

We have done our best to love the writings of the brave Jerrold; but images and ideas like these will ever intrude, and we wander from the book to theorize endlessly on the evils of premature and professional authorship. And yet we admit at once that Jerrold is a writer that has widely influenced the literary, political, and social opinions of his period; that he is an able writer, a vigorous writer; a man as dexterous with his pen as any master of fence with his rapier; a coiner and utterer of richest, raciest, subtlest sayings. We admit, too, that with the names of Dickens and Thackeray that of Jerrold also must be always associated; but even while conceding him this parity of

place

place beside both, we assert that this place has mainly a mere external foundation, and that his writings have never exercised a tithe of the influence or acquired a tithe of the renown of those of either.

Like that of some of the wits of the bygone century, his fame, indeed, may, at the last, prove an affair of tradition rather than document. He is essentially, even in his best writings, the sayer of good things, of strong things—the wit of clubs. His works are not so much carefully-meditated, carefully-elaborated, carefully-finished literary wholes, in which the fervid soul of an original author has accomplished the embodiment of the deep feelings and deep thoughts which he knows to be his own, which seem to him to have been born with him, which seem to him to live and move in him, tormenting him to speech—not so much these as collections rather of hard, sharp, effective hits in words. He writes, *saccadé*, as if in blows. We feel as if we had to do with a sparrer whose rapid upper-cuts and unexpected back-handers were perpetually surprising and confounding us. His style and manner faithfully reflect his experiences, and declare him to have been a fighter, a bitter fighter, against adverse fortune and opposing circumstances. As we said already, contrast reigns; contrast is his secret. Of the three laws of association, one has no difficulty in deciding which it is that dominates the thoughts of Jerrold. It is from the perception of contrast that he rises on the wings of scorn and indignation to dart the lightnings of his epigram, and scatter lavishly the imagery of antithesis.

How keen he is, how bright, how swift, how polished! the points in his writing are like the points of needles. One feels sometimes, indeed, as if Jerrold thought in needles—wrote in needles. His very handwriting, 'smaller than printed types,' seems to have been the work of just such an implement. But if Jerrold dealt in needles, one must say it was a trade he was driven to. One could not eat the bread of the flinty Davidge or the brassy Elliston without being converted largely into iron; whence it would be some solace to fabricate needles wherewith to pierce these false giants to the core. How beneath the swift puncture of the all but invisible weapon they must have winced and winced again!

But his living depended on these giants; and this was the secret of his defects both as man and writer. Oh, it is fine work to fight a giant, but most miserable bondage to eat the bread of a giant! Under such bondage, the brightest, bravest soul will become at length hardened and embittered. Under such bondage, the very richest writer will become poor; for the necessities of the moment press; he must write and write—and ever for the same poor pittance—till all the germinal thoughts of his fresh young mind are

are wastefully dug up and scattered, to die of inanition, over a score of reams, leaving at last, for the enchanted palaces he had projected and the big soul he had hoped to grow to, nothing without him but an endless chaos of piecemeal stones, and nothing within him but—the trick of the trade!

Such is the result of extempore literature. When success arrives, all one's Promethean fire is well-nigh burned out; one has well-nigh ceased to believe in it; there are no longer any of those cherished secrets in the heart for which one hoped a glorious utterance. Literature is no longer a realm of Faëry; no longer a magic region, in which one's young resolves are all at length accomplished; in which the mighty good one planned is now achieved and realized; in which one stands up to one's full height; in which one pours out, in free and unimpeded accents, one's whole glorious inner being. It is now a trade; a thing, dull, dead, mechanical; it no longer glows, it is made to *seem* to glow.

One has written so much, too, that one learns economy. A thought is not to be lost, at so much a page. We no longer *dart* an idea; we seize it as it rises; we turn it and twist it; we smite it and strike it; and so long as one spark will leap, or one clang ring, we will continue to strike it and smite it. We know that figures in our fingers are tortured ghosts; we hear them cry to us: 'Let me go now, then!—have you not done with me yet?—for mercy's sake, good sir, let me pass!' An example will explain this.

'Jingo was born for greatness. He had in his character the great element of a great general—a great statesman; marvellous self-possession. Meaner boys would have been in a flutter of impatience; not so with the pupil of Tom Blast. Hence, he sat under the bed, with critical ear, listening to the hard breathing of the drunken man, who soon began to snore with such discordant vehemence that Jingo feared the sleeper might awaken his bottle friend, Mr. Folder. Jingo knew it not; but his testimony would have been very valuable to Mrs. Tangle; for the snoring of her husband was one of the disquietudes of that all-suffering woman; the rather, too, that the man constantly denied his tendency to the habit. He never snored. Of course not; nobody ever does. Now Jingo, might have been a valuable witness on the side of Mrs. Tangle, who could never succeed, talk as she would, in impressing her husband with a sense of his infirmity. On the contrary, her accusation was wont to be repelled as a gross slander; an imputation unworthy of a wife and a woman. It is bad enough to endure an evil, but to have the nuisance treated as a malicious fiction, makes it intolerable. And Mrs. Tangle felt it so. Of this, however, by the way. Return we to Jingo.

'With knowing, delicate ear, the child continued to listen to the stertorous agent. At length, the boy crept from beneath the bed, and treading as lightly as a fairy at a bridal couch, he made his way to a window. Now, had anybody attempted to open it for any honest purpose—had Molly, the maid, for instance, sought to raise it merely to give her opinion of the moon and the night to any rustic astronomer below—it is very certain that the window would have stuck, and jarred, and rattled; it was too old and crazy to be made a comfortable confidant in any such foolish business. Ten to one, but it had waked the mistress of the Olive Branch, who would inevitably have nudged the master. And now a robbery was to be done—a most tremendous robbery—perhaps, to be further solemnized by homicide—for who should say that the Parcæ, who wove the red tape of the life of Tangle, attorney-at-law, were not about to snip it?—who shall say

say that so awful a crisis did not at that moment impend—and yet silently went the window up; easily, smoothly, as though greased by some witch; smeared with fat "from murderer's gibbet." It is a pity that the devil makes evil so very easy to the meanest understanding.

'Two or three minutes passed, not more, and Tom Blast thrust his head and one of his legs into the chamber——' *

We shall be glad if the reader turn up and read at greater length the original for himself. Our limits will not allow us a longer extract: we hope, however, that, such as it is, it will suffice to render our remarks intelligible, and that the method and secret of Jerrold's progression in composition will now rise up more or less clear to every reader. The snoring, it is seen, furnishes one paragraph, and the opening of the window another. Then it will be found, that two other paragraphs of similar digressive moralities contrive to unwind themselves, while Tom Blast is kept astride of the window-sill. And even when allowed to descend, access to the money is still, and for a long time yet, denied him. The robber, like the author himself, is not at all in the smallest hurry; he, too, must moralize. Light in hand, he considers Tangle with the most meditative calm; a vein of philosophic reflection develops itself in the housebreaker; and so, paragraph after paragraph, now in soliloquy and now in dialogue, continues to evolve itself out of the most extraneous material. The writer, in fact, seems to be thanking heaven for every new stick, stone, or straw he can lug into his service; and it is only after full eight pages of mere moralization that the information is finally vouchsafed us that Jingo, having been concealed under the bed, opens the window to Tom Blast, who, forcing the closet containing the gold, succeeds in robbing Mr. Tangle while asleep drunk. Is it at all wonderful that we should get impatient at such a manner of telling a story? Is it at all wonderful that, again and again, in the course of these eight pages, the reader, on the rack, longing for a step, a stir, a move forward of any kind, should exclaim with Hamlet: 'Begin, murderer?'

Nay, the author himself appears to side with the reader, for he says: 'The thoughtless reader may deem it strange—unnatural—that a man about to perpetrate gibbet-work should thus coolly delay, and after his own fashion moralize. But then the reader must ponder on the effect of long habit. In his first battle, Julius Cæsar——.' And then we have another digression; and so, after all, it is not the position of the reader that is improved, it is that of the writer—by another paragraph! Let it be understood, however, that we do not deny the quality of the writing as writing; it is always hard, firm, terse, clear, transparent, admirable writing. But then, it is *only* writing; it is not thought.

* From 'St. Giles and St. James,' Chapter XXII.

The

The skill is great; but then it is *only* skill: it is not art; it is *business*. As Hegel would say, it is only *Formell;* there is no *Inhalt*.

We have not chosen our extract with malice prepense; we took it at a venture. Jerrold's manner of writing will be found throughout his works generally similar. If there be any exception it is in the inaugural chapters, which, for the most part, are written freshly, flowingly, triumphantly, as if from a full heart and a full soul. Jerrold, indeed, is always buoyant, elastic, alert at the start: he is not long-breathed, however; he soon flags—inspiration fails, and work grows drudgery. Then it is that the writing becomes similar to that which we have quoted. It looks artificial and mechanical; the deft hand turns it and turns it till it shines again, but the *hand* seems only there; the *heart* seems other-where: the heart, in fact, seems to be constantly saying to itself: 'This *is* weariness of the flesh; this *is* but the trick of the trade: if I had my own will it is not here I should be sitting, playing upon words and ringing the changes upon sentences!'

We find Jerrold himself confessing this in loud soliloquy to the reader. In Chapter XII. of 'St. Giles and St. James' we find him talking quite misgivingly of the whole trade of fiction-spinning; of what we once named novel-*blowing*. He there, of his own tale, asks doubtingly, 'if this small toy of a history may be allowed to have important moments!' But his thought is more explicitly stated here: 'All this delay, we know, is a gross misdemeanor committed on the reader of romance: who, when two lovers meet, has all his heart and understanding for them alone, and cares not that the writer—*their honoured parent be it remembered*—should walk out upon the foolscap *and begin balancing some peacock's feather on his nose.*' Novelists, it must be confessed, are seldom honest enough to avow their own views of their own industry and disenchant their readers in this plain fashion. This sentence, in fact, if taken with the context, will be found quite crucial; and it needs only to read 'lovyers' for 'lovers,' and 'parients' for 'parents,' to show up the inherent bosh of the whole business. So far as Jerrold is concerned, there is a tone of fatigue in the whole passage: we see the weary scepticism with which he views the vanity and inanity of spinning those ropes of barren sand that nowadays are misnamed novels: we see the bitterness and dissatisfaction with which he recognises in his digressions and moralizations but the balancing of a feather and the trick of the trade. In such state of mind it is no wonder that his analogies are often so remote and distant that they appear impressed—crimped—*vi et armis* crimped into his service; and that the writing seems, at times, a precipitate, exasperated spurt, as if the author, in sudden resolution, had dashed the rowels into his own flank.

We

We do not contemplate here any regular and complete criticism of Jerrold's writings; but we must remark, in passing, that the characters and conduct of the story display faults quite similar to those we signalize. The characters are never creations and seldom portraits: these Jerichos, and Cuttlefishes, and Canditofts, and Capsticks, and Bright Jems, and Tom Blasts, have no life of their own; they have the life only of their author; they are but his puppets and discourse at his motion and in his dialect. The conduct of the story in general may be understood from the extract we have already quoted. The incidents are few; each is made the most of, nor passes till its ultimate drop is wrung. The finale is merely arbitrary, and, as is to be expected, comes at last by a simple pulling down of the curtain.

In fact, we are carried always back to the evils of premature authorship. When Jerrold reached middle-life, and had acquired his audience, he was already *blasé*; he had now no longer enthusiasm and hardly hope. Sitting there at his desk, and having, with ready alacrity and prompt vigour, stamped with his own brand the living interests and current topics of the day for the columns of 'Punch,' it was only with unwillingness, we fancy, that he turned him to his other writings. These things in 'Punch' were alive; they had the red blood of the day in them: but those others, the creatures of his fancy, in his other and apparently more proper tasks, were but pale abstractions. The world was no longer what the golden boy had dreamed it was. His illusions were all gone. The evils of life were too gigantic; he heard them roaring all too unappeasably around him: he could no longer believe in a transforming Presto of the pen. His fancy was no longer an inspiration; it lay in his hands a tool—a tool that he could most dexterously use, but still a tool. Ever to cut and carve out weapons wherewith to pierce the wrongs he could no longer hope to redress, was irksome to him. His past lay behind him like a fearful dream. Why should he work? he thought. Had he not worked enough?—and he shivered. No; there in *the club* was the ruddy reality of life; *there* were living men to speak with; there were opportunity and matter for living thought and living speech. So the club became his arena, and the solitary chamber, deserted of the enthusiasm that once had made it bright, was chill to him as the cell of monk.

The estimate we have thus put upon his writings may appear to many much too narrow, much too niggardly. We may seem to have flung but coldly, summarily, into the scales the products of a life for which we pretended so much sympathy. Formal criticism has not been our object, however; and we hope that, while endeavouring to trace in the tissue the thread derived from the prematurity and necessity of the authorship, we have not unduly depreciated

depreciated the signal and essential merits of the tissue itself. To that tissue, genius, as well as talent, has set its stamp; and it is heavy with gems with which, hereafter, many a pilgrim will seek to decorate his own plainness. The reader, we think, will easily discern withal that, even in the discussion of his literature, we have really been working at the figure of the man, and that that figure has now received its final and concluding touch. Yes; that last glimpse of him, as he turned his back upon his study in haste to reach his club, is the finish of the picture as we designed it. We believe the reader to have it in his power to see now the whole growth and history of the character of Jerrold. For from this time out his career offers no vicissitudes but those of literary life in general, and is unmarked by a single salient incident. Why chronicle his changes of residence, his changes of theatres, his changes of periodicals, his changes of clubs, his changes of trips and tours? Each series but marks the road he travelled from penury and obscurity, through toil and suffering, up to affluence and fame. It is not our part, either, to follow him to that last dinner at Greenwich; and still less is it for us to intrude our presence into the sad and solemn scene of the 8th of June, 1857, when the brave soul, surrounded by his loved ones, whispered, 'This is as it should be,' and passed away.

One word of personal reminiscence, however, shall here be added.

It has been said, that 'if every one who had received a kindness from the hand of Douglas Jerrold flung a flower on his grave, the spot would be marked by a mountain of roses.' The present writer is one of those who has received such kindness; and he, too, would fling what flower it is his to bring upon the grave.

The prospectus of the 'Shilling Magazine' had reached me, busy with professional avocations, in the heart of the iron district of South Wales; and its calm, high, generous tone of universal sympathy, hope, promise, spoke at once to my inmost feelings. The first number corresponded to the promise of the prospectus, and I could not resist penning and transmitting an article to the editor. In a few days after despatch of my paper, I was surprised by the receipt of a small note in a hand unknown to me—in a hand altogether unexampled in any correspondence I had yet seen. In motion evidently facile, fluent, swift—swift almost as thought itself—it was yet as distinct in its peculiar decisive obliquity as if it had been engraved—sharp and firm in its exquisitely-minute fineness as if the engraving implement had been the keenest of needles. 'Surely,' thought I, 'the Iliad in a nut-shell is now conceivable.'

It may readily be supposed that I opened and read this note with no inconsiderable curiosity. There it is now before me, that little note, in its browning envelope, the delicate trenchant tracery of the superscription confessing to the action of the river of time.

There it lies before me, and all the emotions it excited are fresh again within me, fresh as when on the outside of that well-known post-office, in that well-known Welsh iron-valley, I first opened and read it. Surprise was not confined, however, to the outside only; for if, on turning to the inside, gratification predominated, surprise still held its ground. What experience I had had, some years earlier, of applications to the editors of magazines, had been all so different that surprise, on this occasion, could hardly yield even to the gratification.

The reader shall have it, this little note. It ran thus:—

'SIR, '*January* 24, *West Lodge, Putney.*

'I HAVE the pleasure to inform you that your paper, the ——, will appear in the next number. Should you feel inclined to favour me with other papers, it would be desirable that I should have them as early as possible in the month.

'Yours faithfully,

'DOUGLAS JERROLD.'

This little note, with a few others from the same hand, I cherish with peculiar care; not, I am sure, to the disapprobation of the reader.

I had sent my article in the middle of January, and had expected no notice of my communication even in the February number. I had looked to the number for March as likely to contain the word of acceptance or rejection: and here, before I had even seen the advertisement of the contents of the new number, was a polite acknowledgment of acceptance from the editor himself and with an invitation to send more! If the reader believes that any editor of a high-class magazine ever acted towards a new and wholly unknown contributor with a generosity at all similar to this, I, for my part, can only smile at his credulity.

I had only twice the pleasure of seeing Douglas Jerrold; the first time, in May (I think), 1846; and the second time, certainly in May, 1847. On both occasions I found him in that pleasant residence on Putney Lower Common, which his son so well and so lovingly describes. On the first occasion, his first words to me were, 'Why, I had you in mind, this very day;' and he proceeded to tell me of his newspaper which he was then planning, and which made its *début* in the following July. On both occasions he was as open, cordial, and unaffected as if it was an old friend he was receiving, and not a person comparatively unknown to him. He moved, talked, laughed in the most perfect spontaneity of freedom. There was not a particle of the snob in him; not a breath of the 'bel air qui s'apprend si vite,' and which some of his contemporaries—and even those who have distinguished themselves the most by felicitous persiflage of said 'bel air'—are yet signal examples. No; Douglas Jerrold was no snob: he was a child of nature, as free, and frank, and unconstrained, and so as graceful as a child. He did not seem, as some do, to mutter 'gentleman'

'gentleman' to himself, and stiffen himself up into the due attitude and aspect. He seemed never to *think* of being a gentleman, never to *try* to be a gentleman, and yet—though it cannot be said, perhaps, that he had all that delicacy of feeling that results only from that equality of respect for others and respect for one's self which only the true gentleman possesses in sweet equilibrium within him—he can be very warrantably named, gentleman. It is to be considered, also, that these two species of respect, thus in calm neutrality of union, but with graceful oscillation now to this side and now to that, hardly find a favourable bed in the breast of a literary man; for a literary man generally feels himself all too specially an 'ego,' a particular and peculiar 'I,' and dreams ever of his own proper mission, to the disparagement frequently of that of all others.

But be this as it may, there was not a pin's point of affectation in Douglas Jerrold: he was natural, simple, open as a boy. He chatted away, on the occasion I speak of, in the liveliest manner, gaily, frankly, unconstrainedly, and made no secret either of his thoughts and opinions, or of his predilections and antipathies. And I must not forget to add—for I have heard of accusations against him in this respect—that the first time I called, he wrote out, quite unasked, and even as he chatted, a cheque, as compensation for two or three articles I had sent him. He gave me, also, a copy of 'Clovernook,' showing me, with some pride, a translation of it in German, and expressing the decided opinion that it was his best work.

During both visits, passages in his own history were as freely communicated, as descriptions, anecdotes, and personal traits of his contemporaries. We talked of Carlyle: he could not say he liked his style, but he honoured him, for he was a man thoroughly in earnest, and had at heart every word he wrote. Did Carlyle come out among them? Yes: he was not quite an anchorite. He had met him at Bulwer's. They had talked of Tawell, the murderer of the day. He (Jerrold) had said something about the absurdity of capital punishments. Carlyle had burst out: 'The wretch! (Tawell) I would have had him trampled to pieces under foot and buried on the spot!' 'But I (Jerrold) said, "Cui bono—cui bono?"' This little anecdote made quite an impression on me. As Jerrold related it, his eye seemed to see again the whole scene; his features assumed the look they must have worn, and his voice the tone it must have possessed on the occasion; and he seemed again to be holding his breath, as if again taken suddenly by surprise. To me, too, the whole scene flashed up vividly: the vehement Carlyle, all in fuliginous flame, and the deprecating 'Cui bono?' of the astounded, not then vehement Jerrold; the stronger, broader conflagration appalling the weaker and narrower.

The house at Putney seemed just the house a literary man would choose. It lay there on the very hem of the green common, apparently, to me, the very utmost house of the very utmost suburb of London. The study, into which you entered almost directly from a very comfortable sitting-room, was itself a most comfortable apartment, well-sized, well-lit, well-furnished, and the walls well-covered with books.

Jerrold surprised me by the exceeding shortness of his stature; which was aggravated also by a considerable stoop. I do not think he could have stood much over five feet. He was not thin, meagre, or fragile to my eye, however. His foot seemed a good stout, stubby foot, the hand not particularly small; and he had quite a stout appearance across the chest. Then the face was not a small one: he had a particular broad look across the jaw, partly owing, probably, to the complete absence of whisker. The upper lip was long, but the mouth remarkably well formed; flexible, expressive, moving in time to every thought and feeling. I fancied it could be sulky, and very sulky, too. But I said as much when I described his character as Scotch: for what Scotchman—ourselves inclusive—is not sulky? His nose was aquiline and *bien accusé*. His blue eyes, *naïve* as violets, but quick as light, took quite a peculiar character from the bushy eyebrows that overhung them. Then the forehead, well relieved by the masses of brown hair carelessly flung back, was that of genius—smooth, and round, and delicate, and moderately high; for gigantic brows, colossal fronts are the perquisites only of drapers and greengrocers.

Altogether, the stature excepted, Jerrold's physique was such as any man might be proud of, and corresponded very admirably with the rapid, frank, free soul that worked within it. He was closely, smoothly shaved, and showed not a vestige of whisker. He was well, and even, I thought, carefully clothed; his linen scrupulously clean, and the trousers strapped quite trimly down on the patent-leather boot.

The second time I visited him he was kind enough to drive us (an American with weak eyes had dropped in) up to town. During the ride he was particularly chatty and agreeable. He told us of 'Black-Eyed Susan' and Elliston; of his early marriage and difficulties. We had the anecdote of the French surgeon at Boulogne, who insulted his rheumatic agonies with, 'C' n'est rien,' and got his retort in return. We had erudite discourses on wines and descriptions of pleasant places to live in. He told us his age. He talked of the clubs. He named his salary from 'Punch.' He related the history of that publication, and revealed the authors. He pointed out which articles were his, which Thackeray's, and which Tom Taylor's. He spoke of Percival Leigh. We heard of Clarkson Stanfield and Jerrold's own

own experiences as middy. He chatted of Dickens, Thackeray, Leigh Hunt, Tom Taylor, and Albert Smith. Of all he spoke frankly, but discriminatively, and without a trace of malice or ill-nature. Dickens he mentioned with the greatest affection; and the articles of Thackeray and Tom Taylor were praised in the most ungrudging fashion. No doubt Jerrold's feelings were quick and his expressions hasty; no doubt he could say bitter things and savage things; but still I believe his nature to have been too loyal to admit either of envy or jealousy.

And so we came to Trafalgar Square; and there we parted. And I see him now as I saw him then, when he turned his back and climbed the stairs of the Royal Academy. I did not think then it was the last time I should see him. I did not think then that, one day reading the 'Times' newspaper in the Museum Club of Heidelberg—the window open, and bright in the intense sunshine the mountain opposite—the tidings of his death would come on me with a shock. I did not think then that, returning from a six-years' sojourn on the Continent, one of the first places I should visit in England would be Norwood Cemetery, to seek out there the grave of him who had once been kind to me, and to find it only by a reference to that of Laman Blanchard. (For in the September that followed his death I could see no memorial of the earth that held 'so dear a head.') But so it was fated. And so, calling up again the short figure, and the bowed neck, and the face so swift and eager that the hair blew back—thinking again of the free, sailor-like nature that despised convention and detested cant, of the sensitive heart, of the liberal hand, of the simple, loyal impulse that made his movement straight—I fling this, my flower of grateful recollection on his grave, and cry, Farewell! Brave, frank, impulsive, generous Douglas Jerrold, farewell! Thou surely, if any man, didst thrill to the poet, when he called—

> 'Ring out the want, the care, the sin,
> The faithless coldness of the times;
> Ring out the feud of rich and poor,
> Ring in redress to all mankind.'

ART. III.—1. *Meliora.* First and Second Series. *Essays edited by the Viscount Ingestre,* M.P. London: J. W. Parker and Son.
2. *The Claims of Labour.* 2nd Edition. London: J. W. Parker and Son.
3. *London Shadows: a Glance at the 'Homes' of the Thousands.* By George Godwin, F.R.S. London: Routledge.

RATHER more than sixty years ago four young men conceived the idea of establishing a model society in the then almost unknown recesses of Central America. This association was to have been pure and innocent as that first society when man still dwelt in the garden, and knew nothing of towns. These generous enthusiasts lived to see the impracticability of their designs,—lived to learn that if they would afford the world an example of a perfect community, they must attempt rather to amend the existing condition of mankind in the great cities of England, than found a new society in the plains of the Susquehannah. These men were no fools. Two of them lived to become famous; and modern literature boasts no names more honoured than those of Coleridge and Southey. Forty years after 'Pantisocracy' was first suggested, Coleridge, then 'the old man eloquent,' uttering words of deepest import to his reverent listeners, said: 'That is the most excellent state of society in which the patriotism of the citizen ennobles, but does not merge, the individual energy of the man.'

We shall presently find that the more this aphorism is studied, the more will its wisdom appear. In the mean time let us reflect for a little upon the social condition of England at the close of the last century, and compare that time with our own.

First, then, it must be remembered that though Rousseau was a Frenchman, his doctrines had many admirers in this country. Very seductive was the picture of primitive happiness to those who, toiling on wearily from year to year, scarcely knew what happiness meant. By a change in the existing state of society they thought that at least they risked the loss of nothing, for they had nothing to lose, and they hoped to gain much. But they were mistaken, as the sequel soon showed. The expiring century, which seemed to so many the close of a long and dreary night and the dawning of a bright day, ended amid the darkness of a reign of terror and universal war.

The meanest and the poorest man learnt that he had this to lose—the protection of the law. And this is where the reformer of 1859 differs from him of 1789. In quietness and confidence is our strength; and only in quietness and confidence can we devise those social measures which will be productive of lasting good to the whole community.

These measures are of a twofold description—

I. Such

I. Such as may be accomplished by private means, or by public associations other than the legislative body. In other words, such as are intended to correct individual evils.

II. Such as can be carried into effect by the legislature alone; or such as will tend to produce organic change in the relationship between the employer and the employed.

We can glance only at the first in the present article.

The welfare of the workman is dependent upon—*his Work, his Wages, his Dwelling, his Education and Recreation,* and *his Provident Savings.*

The Work.—It would be impossible, within the limits of an article of reasonable length, to describe all the various occupations in which the workman is engaged; nor is it needful to detail them. It is sufficient to consider them with reference to such particulars, as, whether they are skilled or unskilled, healthy or unhealthy, solitary or associated. By the recent census we find that there were, in the year 1851, in England and Wales, 129,002 'masters in trades,' and that there were 727,468 'men employed by masters.' Of the 129,002 masters, 41,372 employed *no men;* but the remaining 87,270 masters state that they had in their employ 727,468 men, or 8½ men each on the average; 378,127, or more than half of the number, were employed by masters who had 30 or more men in their employ; more than a fourth part, or 202,500, were employed by 752 masters, who had each 150 or more of them engaged on the day of the census. The number of labourers employed by farmers was 665,651; so that there were nearly 62,000 more labourers employed in manufactures than in agriculture.

But these figures are far from presenting the grand total of what is usually called the 'working classes.' There are vast numbers of men, women, and children who are expending all their energy in the hope, not of ultimately obtaining a competence, but that they may keep body and soul together. The 'Morning Chronicle' and Mr. Mayhew have told us something about this class; and with these, and countless other works that have been written on similar subjects, one-half of the world has now no longer any excuse for not knowing how the other half lives.

'I know a woman who is making shirts at five farthings a-piece,' says a recent writer. Now if we consider what this fact means, that it means want of food, denial of rest, unceasing toil of a sort that soon injures the eyesight and ruins the health; that it means, in short, slow starvation, terminated only by a painful but most welcome death, can we wonder that modern philanthropists have to mourn over, and despair of ever remedying that which has been well called the 'great sin of great cities?'

Much

Much has lately been said concerning the employment of women in occupations that are now filled by men. Any arrangement by which feminine labour will be rendered more valuable must be highly advantageous, to a certain degree. But yet there is a very considerable danger connected with this, which, though one might deem sufficiently obvious, has been, for the most part, overlooked.

In the same proportion that women are employed in factories, shops, or otherwise, they must neglect those duties which peculiarly belong to the female sex—those which we term domestic. Mr. Mill, indeed, seems to think that, in the long run, this is rather an advantage than otherwise, since he deems that, 'among the probable consequences of the industrial and social independence of women will be a great diminution of the evils of over-population. It is,' he urges, 'by devoting one-half of the human species to that exclusive function, by making it fill the entire life of one sex, and interweave itself with almost all the projects of the other, that the animal instinct in question is nursed into the disproportionate preponderance which it has hitherto exercised in human life.'*

We confess that we are not sanguine as to the effect of any teaching which should induce women to consider marriage and maternity as quite subordinate elements in their life. The registrar-general, in the census for 1851, has very well remarked (p. 64):—

'Without overlooking the high duties which women, as well as men, perform in England, it must be admitted that St. Paul, when he says, "I will, therefore, that the younger women marry, bear children, guide the house," lays down, for the women of this class, their substantial business, which cannot be neglected without imminent peril to their children—to the nation of the next generation. The child receives nurture, warmth, affection, admonition, education, from a good mother; who, with the child in her arms, is, in the eyes of all European nations, surrounded by a sanctity which is only adequately expressed in the highest works of art. The fatal effects of living in concubinage—or of a wife sending her children to the foundling hospital—neglecting her duties—leaving her children to the care of strangers—are well known; for under such circumstances monogamic nations inevitably fall in arrear like the races who practise polygamy.'

But this question is not left as a matter of theory. In the manufacturing districts, especially, females have been largely employed, and that to the exclusion of their husbands, brothers, and fathers. It is very certain that where married women are generally occupied in work that calls them away from their homes, the whole family must suffer. The wages which the mother earns do not make up for the evils which the children suffer from want of nursing and maternal watchfulness, or for the lesser

* 'Political Economy,' vol. ii., p. 331.

evils

evils which arise to the husband from the absence of domestic comfort.

We are not disposed to think that Mr. Mill's argument has much force. What he terms 'improvident marriages' may be prevented by the general employment of women. But it must be remembered that these occupations involve, for the most part, frequent association with men; and too often the morals of the former have irretrievably suffered from this intercourse, and in such a way that decrease in the number of marriages by no means implies decrease in the number of births. Undoubtedly, however, population is checked by the employment of female labour, but in such a way as Mr. Mill did not contemplate, and which the most rigid political economist would deprecate. More than half of the children born in towns where large manufactories abound die before they are five years old. This arises, indirectly, from the weakened constitution which the offspring derives from its toil-worn and enfeebled mother; and, directly, from the want of nurture and maternal supervision, so necessary in the first few years of infancy.

Here, then, is an example of the great difficulty which meets all those who attempt to correct a great social evil—the underpaid wages of female labour. To many, the remedy seemed easy and simple. Only transfer to women a tithe of the work which is given to men, it was urged, and all will be well. But experience has shown that this practice is attended with great danger; that it too often implies demoralization to the woman, fatal neglect to the children, and to the husband all the discomforts and consequent temptations of a disorderly home.

The difficulty is only partially met by the provision of a larger amount of work that can be accomplished by the woman at her own house; and it is one of the evils attendant upon the great mechanical improvements of the present time that this is rendered every year more and more difficult.

It appears from the last census that there were 267,791 milliners and dressmakers, and 73,068 seamstresses and shirtmakers. In England the lot of most of these is a hard and painful one. In the colonies they would be loving wives and happy mothers. Let our ladies at home ponder these two facts. Perchance, reflection might convince them that a portion of the money which they so freely bestow in innumerable charities, might be better spent in restoring their own sex to the independence which is the right of every woman.

If we take some of the principal occupations in which our population are engaged, we find, from the census, that there were, in 1851:—

	Persons.	Character of Occupation.
Boot and shoemakers .	274,451	For the most part sedentary, solitary, and unhealthy.
Tailors	152,672	For the most part sedentary, associated, and unhealthy.
Carpenters and joiners	182,696	Moderately active, associated, and healthy.
Blacksmiths . . .	112,776	Very active, and perhaps not unhealthy.
Masons and paviors .	101,442	Active and healthy.
Carriers—carters . .	56,981	Active and healthy.

MINING OCCUPATIONS.

Coal-miners . . .	219,015	Active, associated, and though, perhaps, not unhealthy in themselves, are attended with great hazard.
Iron-miners . . .	28,088	
Lead-miners . . .	22,530	
Copper-miners . . .	22,386	
Stone-quarriers . .	23,489	

The first of these tables includes both masters and workmen. It has not been found easy to separate them. But, of course, the great majority are of the latter class. In the second table, the number of masters, *i. e.*, owners of mines and quarries, is so small as to be safely neglected in forming an estimate of the occupations of the working classes. The total number of agricultural labourers, farm-servants, &c., is given in the census as 1,460,896; so that the number of persons employed under-ground is equal to more than a fifth of those engaged in the cultivation of the surface.

With regard to the *characters* of these occupations, it is clear that where they are naturally sedentary no ingenuity can make them active. But as regards the unhealthiness attending those of the first table, and the hazard attending those of the second table, there is no doubt that in each case the unfavourable circumstance may be lessened.

For instance, in the case of tailors and shoemakers, the unhealthiness to which they are subject is not necessarily dependent upon the work: for though sedentary occupations are naturally less salutary than active, they may be rendered comparatively innocuous by obedience to the fundamental laws of hygiene. Cleanliness, ventilation, and temperance, are simple rules, neither difficult nor costly in the keeping, but which, broken, become their own Nemesis. The first and last of this triad are affairs of the workman; the second is a matter to which the master should give his earnest attention. Nature avenges the transgression of her laws upon the children of the offenders even to the third and fourth generation. Her vengeance is seen in blanched cheeks and hollow eyes, in feeble limbs and bodies, suffering under the dire scourge of scrofula. And as regards mining employments, the remedy here, likewise, is greatly in the hands of the workmen. More accidents are caused by carelessness than from unavoidable circumstances.

Wages

Wages have been already adverted to in this Review, therefore we pass at once to

The Dwelling.—The subject of dwellings has received more attention than any other that affects the working classes. At first, investigations were looked upon with suspicion, and it was openly argued that we had no right to interfere with an 'Englishman's castle.' But the absurdity was too apparent. A few details afforded by those who had made themselves acquainted with the haunts of the lower orders soon silenced all such pedantic excuses for selfish indolence. Reports, and pamphlets, and volumes, all having the dwellings of the poor for their subject, multiplied exceedingly. The legislature at length interfered, and it was only the ignorant clamour of a few parliamentary upstarts that prevented more stringent provisions than those which already exist.

The great majority of the vagrant poor, and the classes that unite some sort of regular work with theft, live in lodging-houses. Speaking of one of these, a City missionary says:—

'I measured the "parlour," which was 18 feet by 10 feet; beds are arranged on each side of it, composed of straw, rags, and shavings. Here are twenty-seven male and female adults, and thirty-one children, with several dogs; in all, fifty-eight human beings in a contracted den, from which light and air are systematically excluded. It is impossible to convey a just idea of their state. The quantities of vermin are amazing! I have entered a room, and in a few minutes I have felt them dropping on my hat from the ceiling, like peas. "They may be gathered by handfuls," observed one of the inmates. "I could fill a pail in a few minutes. I have been so tormented with the itch, that on two occasions I filled my pockets with stones, and waited till a policeman came up, and then broke a lamp, that I might be sent to prison, and there be cleansed, as is required before new comers are admitted."'

Mr. Riddall Wood says:—

'I have met with upwards of forty persons sleeping in the same room, married and single, including children, and several young adult persons, of either sex.' (This was in Liverpool.) 'In Manchester I could enumerate a variety of instances, in which I found such promiscuous mixture of the sexes, in the sleeping-room. I may mention one; a man, his wife and child, sleeping in one bed; in another bed, two grown-up females; and in the same room, two young men unmarried. I have met with instances of a man, his wife, and his wife's sister sleeping in the same bed together. I have known at least half a dozen cases in Manchester, in which that has been regularly practised, the unmarried sister being an adult.*

We find, likewise, that in countless instances virulent epidemics are clearly traceable to the total absence of ventilation and drainage which are the invariable characteristics of these dwellings. We are told that 'the annual slaughter in England and Wales from preventible causes of typhus, which attacks persons in the vigour of life, appears to be double the amount of what was suffered by the allied armies in the battle of Waterloo.' These

* 'Remedies for the Perils of the Nation,' pp. 267, 268.

facts

facts are fully borne out by Mr. Godwin's most painfully-interesting little work on the 'Homes of the Thousands.'

The condition of these lodging-houses at length became so bad, or what is, perhaps, more strictly true, the public attention was so powerfully directed towards them, that parliament interfered. Now it is provided that not more than a certain number of persons shall sleep in a given space. But though this is a step in the right direction, it does not thoroughly meet the case. Government could not insure decency or morality, and still the melancholy fact remained, that, as Lord Shaftesbury stated, 'It would be found true, upon inquiry, not only of the metropolis, but of the smaller as well as of the great towns throughout the country, that seven-tenths of the juvenile crime perpetrated in the different localities are concocted by the society which meet in those lodging-houses.' It was felt that the true mode of remedying the evil was by offering other lodging-houses, superior in every respect, and at the same rate as most of the old lodgings. On this principle the Labourers' Friend Society acted. 'The first efforts were on a small scale, being simply experimental, and were limited to the adaptation of existing houses in the worst and most crying localities. The indispensable requisites were decency, cleanliness, and essential comfort; strict, though considerate, rules for the maintenance of order; prices the same as those commonly paid; and lastly, that the whole should be on the footing, not of eleemosynary shelter, but of a self-supporting and even profitable institution.'* It was considered, and with justice, that in order to render these experiments successful, they must be not only self-supporting, but remunerative; otherwise, there could be no chance of driving out from the field those proprietors of lodging-houses who were making large fortunes out of the misery, destitution, and immorality of their fellow-creatures. The experiment, happily, proved successful. The society first took two houses in King Street and Charles Street, Drury Lane, which held, respectively, twenty-four and eighty-three lodgers, in rooms of unequal size, containing from three to eleven beds. The locality was well chosen, since it was in the very midst of those dwellings which it was so desirable to suppress.

The City missionaries bear testimony to the happy change that resulted from these efforts. The inhabitants of these new lodging-houses were warmly grateful for the shelter that had been afforded them, and looked back with horror upon the scenes that they had once witnessed.

The society, thus encouraged, attempted greater things, and determined to build a model lodging-house themselves.

---

* 'Quarterly Review' for December, 1847, p. 147.

'A site

'A site was selected in George Street, Bloomsbury, and a house was built, capable of containing one hundred men and boys. This house is five stories high, besides the kitchen floor; the staircases are built of stone, and are wide and well lighted; gas is supplied to all parts of the building. One of the lower apartments is assigned to the lodgers as a store-closet; each person having a small provision-safe to himself, fronted with a plate of pierced zinc, which he keeps under lock and key. The dormitories each contain no more than thirteen beds, and each bed, with a narrow pathway at its side, is separated from the adjoining one by a high wooden partition, and is approached by a private door from a common passage down the centre. In this small compartment are a bed, chair, and wooden box for clothes and other valuables; and to this contracted but comfortable recess the tenant can withdraw himself and enjoy an hour's retirement. This advantage is most highly valued. On each floor are rooms with zinc basins, and a full supply of water for personal cleanliness, and every other convenience; and below is a spacious laundry, where the inmates may wash their linen; tubs, hot water, and drying-closets are provided. The use of these comforts, including a small library, is charged at the rate of 4*d.* a night, for every night in the week. This is an increase of 4*d.* on the weekly payments of the other houses, since there Sunday's lodging is allowed for nothing; this increase, however, is cheerfully paid.'

Notwithstanding the original cost of building, and of the purchase of the land, which was very heavy, the society have derived a fair profit from their undertaking. Nor is this surprising, when we hear from the City missionaries that many of the proprietors of the old lodging-houses are men of notorious wealth, and 'live in great splendour' in different parts of London. One lodging-house keeper has stated that he came to London a journeyman carpenter, with only five shillings in his pocket, and that now he could lay his hands any day on ten thousand pounds.

There are other lodging-houses, similar to the one above described, in various parts of London: nor are they confined to the metropolis: they are to be met with in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Birkenhead, and other large towns.* The necessity for such establishments becomes greater every year. For each year, while the working population is increasing in numbers, the amount of available accommodation for them is actually decreasing. This arises from the architectural improvements that are constantly occurring in large towns. A broad, handsome new street is a pleasant thing to look upon, and a far more pleasant place to walk in than the old courts and alleys which once occupied its site. Yet, truly, there is not much cause for boasting in the enterprise that deprives the poor of their abodes, and drives them to seek shelter in dens unfit for the meanest beast.

In cases where it is not deemed desirable to erect 'model lodging-houses,' much may be effected by amending existing dwellings. There are a few leading principles which should never be lost sight of in any such undertaking. It should be remembered that it is absolutely necessary for the health of the inmates that there

* See 'Quarterly Review,' December, 1847, article 'Lodging-houses;' and Reports of the Society for the Improvement of the Condition of the Working Classes.

should

should be good ventilation, thorough drainage, complete cleanliness, and a plentiful water supply. While it is no less important that their morals should not suffer by the shameful over-crowding of the rooms, which has been the cause of such fearful immorality and sin. Where there is no provision made for the separation of the sexes, what result can be expected from uneducated people, but the practice of the most brutal vices, such as St. Paul says it is a shame to speak of?

Nurtured in such haunts, children become polluted from their birth. They grow up steeped in sin, and adepts in every crime. 'The experiment,' says Dr. Southwood Smith, 'has been long tried on a large scale, with a dreadful success, affording the demonstration, that if, from early infancy, you allow human beings to live like brutes, you can degrade them down to their level, leaving them scarcely more intellect, and no feelings and affections proper to human minds and hearts.'

There is little doubt that our neglect recoils upon our own heads in the shape of increased taxation for the conviction and punishment of criminals, in the terrible scourges of fever and cholera that break out from time to time, and which, though having their origin amidst the filth and effluvia of back lanes and courts, do not remain there, but spread to the mansions of the wealthy, infecting all the atmosphere as they pass. If we listen to the voice of these grim messengers, they will indeed have been messengers of mercy, angels of life though veiled in the form of Azrael the angel of death. It will not have been in vain that twice within ten years we have been visited with pestilence, 'and our children will have cause to bless God for the cholera if it teaches us that cleanliness is indeed next to holiness; if it teaches us, rich and poor, to make the workman's home what it ought to be.' *

Already we appear to have profited by these lessons. Dr. Southwood Smith tells us, that while the annual mortality for the whole of the metropolis is 22 to every 1,000 inhabitants, and in some parishes the average reaches the fearful height of 40 in 1,000, the deaths have receded to 7 in 1,000 in all the lodging-houses built by the Society for the Improvement of the Dwellings of the Working Classes. Further, whilst during the epidemic of 1854, 20 victims might have been counted in one street of London, and 6 in one house, there was not a single case in these lodging-houses. We receive the same cheering intelligence from other parts of England. In Wigan, where there are 24 lodging-houses, receiving 30,000 travellers per annum, and in Wolverhampton, which has 200 of such houses, affording accommodation

* 'Who causes Pestilence? Four Sermons by the Rev. Charles Kingsley.'

to

to the incredible number of 511,000 persons, the police have not had to record a single case of fever.*

Education.—In the year 1850, Mr. Kay wrote: 'It has been calculated that there are at the present day, in England and Wales, nearly 8,000,000 persons who cannot read and write.' By the census of the following year, the total population of England and Wales was 17,927,609 persons, so that four-ninths of the inhabitants of England and Wales were destitute of what might have been deemed the most ordinary instruction. This is a startling fact, and one for which few people would be prepared. In comparison with other countries, England ranks most unfavourably as regards education. In the Swiss cantons the proportion of scholars to inhabitants is about 1 in 5·7. In Wirtemberg and Prussia it is 1 in 6; in Saxony 1 in 5; in France 1 in 10·5; in Belgium 1 in 10·7; in Scotland 1 in 8; last of all comes England, where the proportion falls to 1 in 14.

And yet it seems as though we had of late heard sufficiently about education. The tracts and treatises that have been published on that subject would make a library of no ordinary dimensions. Whence, then, this sad result? The answer is not difficult. The very abundance of these works testifies to the want of unity among the writers. This supposition is confirmed by the fact, that whereas in ten countries of Europe, viz., France, Prussia, Bavaria, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Saxony, Hanover, Wirtemburg, Grand Duchy of Baden, the different religious sects unite is assisting government to promote the education of the people; in England, quite the reverse is the case, and the inextinguishable jealousies that have been excited as to what the people shall be taught, have caused that a large proportion of the population receive no education at all. It is difficult to find any remedy for so complicated a disorder. At present, the best method of treatment seems to be that government should make use of schools which already exist, without regard to the religious denominations by which they are supported; while, at the same time, the system of local rates should be adopted in connection with voluntary subscriptions. But this question is beyond our province. Our attention should be directed chiefly to the mode of instruction afforded to the 'working classes.'

Now, it is very certain that the term 'working classes' includes a variety of grades. The well-paid mechanic residing in a private house is an altogether different person to the squalid inhabitant of the penny lodging-house; while the neatly-dressed pupil in the

* See on this subject the very able Paper of Mr. Henry Roberts, 'On the Dwellings of the Labouring Classes,' read at Liverpool, and just published in the 'Transactions of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science.'

national

national school is no less distinct from the rag-clad neglected prowler in the filth of back streets.

Practically, this difference has been found to be very considerable. For instance, it has been proved that the national school is wholly useless as regards the lowest grade of children; for them it was necessary to create an altogether different institution. And the result has happily shown that ragged and industrial schools will succeed where their more respectable prototypes have utterly failed.

On this point Lord Teignmouth has offered some interesting information. We read, that 'it has invariably been found by the clergy and their lay coadjutors, most conversant with the social condition of large towns, that there is a class of children who, whether from the destitution, vice, or crime of their parents, cannot be drawn to the national schools.' Under such circumstances, ragged or industrial schools have been established, and the result has been most gratifying. The first experiment of this sort was made at Bristol, in the year 1847. Cleanliness was first insisted upon by the society's rules, and secured by the provision of a washing apparatus for each school. 'The scheme of education includes reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as religious instruction. And the proficiency of the children is attested by periodical as well as occasional examinations. Multitudes have acquired, besides a good secular education, considerable knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, of the doctrines and duties of religion.'* The Bristol police bore ample and willing testimony to the influence of these schools in diminishing juvenile crime. The great secret of this success lay in the fact that the children were not only taught in the usual way, but were also instructed in useful employments. Many of the boys who went to these schools were found to be starving from want of work; their existence was dependent upon their expertness in petty crime. They were at once set to work at oakum-picking, fabricating nets, and shoemaking. 'The effect of these schools in withdrawing the children from criminal pursuits may be gathered from the following summary of the number of those on the lists committed to prison in the first six years of their existence:—

	Average Attendance.	Number Committed.
In 1847, when two sets of schools were opened . .	Incomplete.	12
In 1848, after opening two more schools	459	19
In 1849, four sets of schools in full operation, and the industrial school opened	503	26
In 1850, a fifth school opened, and industrial in full operation	647	9
In 1851, five sets of schools in full operation . . .	693	1
In 1852, five sets of schools in full operation . . .	763	1†

* 'Meliora,' Second Series, p. 50. † 'Meliora,' *ut supra.*

Now,

Now, these figures are full of interest, more especially when connected with other figures, viz., that in London alone there were stated to be upwards of 30,000 uncared-for juveniles; while it has been calculated that in Great Britain there were no fewer than from 200,000 to 300,000 juvenile offenders who subsist upon the property of the industrious classes, to the extent of 5,250,000*l.* yearly. Another fact may be stated, full of significance to those blest with the hearing ear. It has been proved 'that in any part of Great Britain, even in London itself, children may be fed, taught, and trained, for less than 5*l.* a year each.' It would cost 10*l.* a year to keep any one of those children in the workhouse; 20*l.* a year in the gaol, irrespective of the loss to public property by his depredations; while if he should continue, as is only too probable, in his evil ways, so that he be at length transported, he will cost from 200*l.* to 300*l.**

We have now to refer to the education of the class above that of destitution. And first we must endeavour to discover what are the chief deficiencies in the present system of education. On comparing our own country with that of Western Europe generally, we are at once struck with the very inferior attainments of English teachers; and while the absurdity of dames' schools is almost confined to the villages, the condition of many of the schools in the towns is not very much better. The fact is, that scarcely any provision is made by government for the education of the teachers or for their maintenance. The little provision that does exist for the instruction and training of teachers is dependent upon voluntary subscriptions, so that the normal colleges cannot afford to give more than a year or eighteen months' training; while on the continent the teachers receive *three years'* training in the teachers' colleges at the expense of the government. In France, there are 92 normal schools to a population of 34,000,000. In England, there are only 12 to a population of 17,000,000, or only a fourth in proportion to those of France. When compared with other countries this difference is even greater. In Prussia there are three normal colleges to every million of the population; in Wirtemberg, Bavaria, and Baden, two to the million; and in *Switzerland, six to the million.* If it be asked, Can we do without normal colleges? we reply in Mr. Kay's words—

'We can do without them, certainly, if we are resolved not to educate the people. Or if education consists in merely teaching to read and write, and forcing instruction into the child by means of the ruler and the cane, then we may do without normal colleges. Or if the profession of a teacher is one for which *any one* is fitted, and to which any one may turn as his last shift in the world for obtaining a decent maintenance, then we may do without normal colleges; or if it is impossible for a badly-organized school to do harm, most grievous harm, and to demoralize instead of improving youth, then we may do without normal colleges.

* 'Meliora,' Second Series, p. 126.

[illegible] whether it will advance the cause of [illegible] order: or if it is merely a plaything to [illegible] we have no need of normal colleges.' *

[illegible] educational efforts should [illegible] The next subject of consideration is the condition of [illegible] is very bad. We are [illegible] the improvement [illegible] have been erected with the [illegible] do not see how this [illegible] That the voluntary [illegible] from the fact that [illegible] themselves were in no [illegible] They were unaided by [illegible] upon the pence of their [illegible]

[illegible] by government, of yielding [illegible] to the amount of subscriptions, [illegible] showed that parishes [illegible] which, therefore, do not require [illegible] whilst parishes which have no [illegible] get little or none. 'Clerkenwell, St. Giles's, [illegible]—friendless parishes, with a united population [illegible]—divide amongst them 12*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*, whilst [illegible] Chester Square, St. Barnabas, Kentish Town, and [illegible] parishes with a joint population of only 50,000, but [illegible]—take from the public grant 3905*l.* annually.† [illegible] seem the only remedy for this great evil.

[illegible] proceed to consider the proportion of children that [illegible] education in schools. At the last census it was found that [illegible] were in England and Wales nearly five millions of children [illegible] the ages of three and fifteen. Rather more than two [illegible] of these were at school. Now it has been usually considered that this small proportion of scholars is owing to the [illegible], or if we will not use so harsh a word, to the neediness, [illegible] parents, by whom a large majority of the children were [illegible] sent to work. The census proves this theory baseless. Only about three-fifths of a million were at work, the remaining [illegible] millions and a quarter were neither at work nor at school. The exact numbers were—

Between the ages of 3 and 15 at work	599,829
" " " school.	2,046,848
" " " neither at work nor at school.	2,262,019
Total number.	4,908,696

* Kay, op. cit., vol. ii., pp. 481, 482.
† 'Edinburgh Review,' October 1855, p. 401.

'Neither

'Neither at work nor school!' Those words are full of import to the political economist. If not there, where are they then, is the natural inquiry. The answer is a sad one. The back streets and courts of our crowded cities can tell. Half naked, begrimed with dirt, wallowing in the filth, fighting, swearing, hopelessly degraded—such is the primary education of half the 'rising generation' of England. A few years later we shall see these wretched children matured in vice, experienced in crime, the pariahs of society, from whom all eyes are averted but those of the policeman and the detective. We have already stated that there are from 200,000 to 300,000 juvenile offenders who subsist upon the property of the industrious classes. Never was it found more true that prevention is cheaper than cure. It is now become a very important question how far education may be made compulsory. We have the example of other states for such a measure; and in our own country, 'if the question is one of principle, involving the liberty of the subject or the authority of the parent, it is said to have been conceded by successive Acts of Parliament, which compel the attendance at school, for half their time, of all the children, 17,834 in number, between 8 and 13 years of age, who are employed in cotton and print works. If it be a question of expediency, the admitted success of that experiment is adduced; and the right of other children is asserted to the protection which the Legislature has extended to these. . . . . Why should Parliament legislate only for children employed in one kind of labour? There are 24,000 boys under 15 years of age employed in collieries, 80,000 of the same age employed out of doors in agriculture, 30,000 who live in farm-houses: these have the same right to be protected from the cupidity of their employers as the factory children have.' Were this Act rendered universal, 'the administration of the law would be rendered comparatively easy; the parish register and the school register would be all the machinery required to detect the evasions of it.'*

This enactment would produce two important and beneficial effects—

1st. Two millions of children would be sent to school who do not now attend.

2ndly. Double the number of children would be employed in remunerative labour that are now employed.

'Thus,' says the reviewer, 'the work of industrial and ragged schools would be done. The vagrant children of large towns would be swept into the schools. A large proportion of them would find remunerative employment for half their time (a better training to

* 'Edinburgh Review,' October, 1855, pp. 389, 390. See the very interesting account of the Hants and Wilts Educational Conference, recently holden at Basingstoke, for further particulars on this subject.

[illegible] than that of the industrial school), and all would find [illegible]. Were there no other good, to drag the misery of these poor children into the light of the school would be something.'

It is very gratifying to know that this particular social [illegible] has so rapidly progressed since its initiation at Aberdeen [illegible] in 1841, or after 17 years, there were in London [illegible] schools in connection with the Ragged School Union. [illegible] children were instructed by 330 payed and 2,139 [illegible] teachers.

[illegible] we have spoken of the education of children; but we [illegible] have it supposed that we deem education to cease with [illegible]. There is no mistake more common, scarcely any more [illegible] than this. Men are but 'children of a larger growth:' [illegible] man who deems that he has nothing more to learn has not [illegible] to learn. The working classes have until lately pecu- [illegible] suffered from this error. The child, when taken from the [illegible] or other school, was told that his pupilship was now ended, [illegible] that he must henceforth think only of making his way in the [illegible]. And so it has often happened that the young man, by the [illegible] that he has lived a quarter of a century, knows even less than [illegible] he was only half that age.

To remedy this evil, some public-spirited inhabitants of Sheffield, a few years ago, started a working-man's college, which, after various reverses, appears to be now permanently established. A similar institution was commenced by Mr. Maurice and other gentlemen in London. The college was opened at Red Lion Square in November, 1854, and numbered 140 pupils. The subjects of teaching included divinity, natural philosophy, mathematics, anatomy, history, political economy and biography, English grammar and the structure of the English language, geography, French, Latin, drawing, and sanitary legislation. The college was divided into five classes. The 1st, to consist of a general body of matriculated students; the 2nd, of students who obtain a certificate of competency in some one branch of study after they have attended the college for four terms; the 3rd, or associated students, who shall prove that they have a competent knowledge in the principal subjects of our teaching, no effort being made to elicit their opinions, but a reasonable knowledge of Scripture history, of English history, of the principles of English grammar, and of either geometry or algebra, being considered indispensable. The 4th class, of fellows, *i. e.*, of persons chosen out of the associates, who shall be considered morally and intellectually capable of assisting in the education of the students; the 5th class to contain the council, which is proposed to be recruited from the fellows.*

* See Maurice, 'Learning and Working,' preface, p. xxii.

Now

Now the leading idea of this college is, that it shall be self-supporting. No doubt, as Mr. Maurice says, an appeal might be made 'to the religious, or benevolent, or wealthy public, as it is called, in advertisements, in favour of an education for working men. . . . But what would thereby be gained? Less than nothing. The notion would be spread that we are raising a charitable fund, and the working people do not want our charity, and will not accept it. They would suppose that our charity could not be entirely disinterested; that we should expect some *quid pro quo* for our money in the shape of interference in the subjects of teaching. They give us money, it would be argued, that they may teach us in their own way.' Such an experiment could not fail to be unsuccessful. But, on the other hand, where it is understood that the working classes shall pay for the benefits which they receive; that they must exercise some little self-denial in order to obtain them; that their teachers are not their masters, but their fellow-workers and fellow-learners; then we may hope that such manifold benefits will not be contemned, but will be readily and joyfully accepted. We believe that such a happy result has followed. Already the Working-man's College in London has been compelled to remove from Red Lion Square to more commodious quarters; already there are many hearts full of gratitude, and many voices loud in the praise of Mr. Maurice and his coadjutors.

Recreations and Amusements.—The immediate transition from education to recreation is natural to those who treat of the condition of the working classes. It is necessary to the working classes themselves. Yet city amusements are far less under the influence of the upper classes than the amusements of the country. There is nothing in our large towns answering to the bowling-greens or cricket-grounds of the village. There are few who have the power, like the noble Mr. Crossley, to give away a park; still fewer, perhaps, who have the will to do so.

Thus it happens that the labouring population of the cities contrive their own amusements. The consequences might be foreseen. There is no higher refining influence at work, and the amusements of the million speak poorly for their decency and morality. The penny theatres and the cheap balls are akin to the light literature of Holywell Street. The suburban tea-gardens, which, strangely enough, have been held up by one of the most popular writers of the day as the scenes of innocent hilarity, are, we have good authority for stating, the haunts of the most profligate of either sex. But there is one distinguishing characteristic which unfortunately marks English conviviality—drunkenness. It is in the gin-palace and the beer-shop that the tired artisan seeks his recreation. There he finds anything but re-creation. There his powers

are

are wasted, his wages squandered, his morals degraded. With Cassio we exclaim, 'Oh that man should put an enemy in his mouth to steal away his brains! that we should with joy, revel, pleasure, and applause, transform ourselves into beasts!'

Seventy millions sterling are spent in this country every year upon intoxicating drinks and tobacco. Well may philanthropists despair of ever effecting any lasting good while the British nation bow down to this insatiable demon! The man who first discovered alcohol deemed that this was the long-sought-for elixir of life. This it was which was to give new youth to the aged, new strength to the weak, and prolong the ordinary threescore years and ten of human existence to the patriarchal age, when the man nine centuries old was still hale and vigorous. He little knew the curse that lay stored up in his much-prized vial. He little thought that it contained woes as terrible as those borne by the seven dread angels whom St. John saw in his lonely isle of Patmos.

Again and again have our judges declared that were it not for this universal sin of drunkenness they would have wellnigh nothing to do. One judge with his last breath bore witness to the curse that strong drink had brought upon this land; the long calendar of offences on which he was to pass sentence filled him with emotions that, at first having vent in impassioned words, then silenced his voice for ever.

As year by year passes away, it seems as though the efforts made by the workman's truest friends were utterly unavailing. And yet we trust that they are not so. Every one should join in the crusade against our national sin. Even those who do not agree in all the statements of the thorough teetotaller, may at least endeavour to provide other places of recreation and sociable refreshment than the gaudy gin-palace. It is not altogether from choice that the Englishman so often falls. He longs for companionship. That he cannot obtain in the miserable room that constitutes his home. It is only in the beer-shop and the gin-palace that he can meet his fellows. Alas! that the blessings of society should be turned into a curse! Yet surely nothing is easier than to offer rival attractions. The cheerful coffee-room, with its table well covered with newspapers, would be gladly welcomed by all but the most depraved. We would likewise have popular lectures frequently delivered, in which the unlearned should be brought acquainted with all the marvels that lie, though unseen, about all their paths. For the higher classes of working men there should be a great extension of mechanics' institutes. For both classes—the higher and the lower—the increase of public libraries would be an inestimable boon.

Provident Societies.—A few words on provident societies will not be inappropriate here. The old proverb of 'A penny saved is a penny

a penny got' was never truer than when said of the money saved from the gin-palace, and invested in some benefit or clothing-club. Lord Ingestre, lecturing in a town containing 24,000 inhabitants, and where 50,000*l.* are annually spent in ale or liquors, thus speaks of the various uses to which this sum might have been applied:—'It is rather more than 2*l.* a-head. It might have been paid into a clothing-club, or laid up as a reserve against sickness or bad times. It might have been spent in sending children to school, and teaching them the difference between right and wrong, letting them know what crime was, both against their Maker and against their country. Or let us suppose that the sum of 25,000*l.* had been handed over to the local authorities; that it had been spent in whitewashing, in repairing houses, in education, and in generally improving the neighbourhood.' We may add that a payment of 2*l.* a year, commencing at the age of 21, will insure the sum of 100*l.* being given to the wife or children of the insured after his death; while in course of years the annual premium will be much reduced, and eventually extinguished.

There are two forms of provident societies, however, against which we must testify. The one is that of loan societies, where the working man pays 20 per cent. for his money, when he might obtain money at 5 per cent. The other is that of burial-clubs. Mr. Chadwick has unfolded a tale of horror respecting these. The principle of these clubs is, that a small sum is paid every year by the parent, and this entitles him to receive from 3*l.* to 5*l.* from the club on the death of the child.

'Many parents enter their children in several clubs. One man in Manchester has been known to enter his child in *nineteen* different clubs. On the death of such a child, the parent becomes entitled to receive a large sum of money; and as the burial of the child does not necessarily cost more than 1*l.*, or at the most 1*l.* 10*s.*, the parent realises a considerable sum after all the expenses are paid. It has been clearly ascertained, that it is a common practice among the more degraded classes of the poor in many of our towns, to enter their infants in these clubs, and then to cause their death either by starvation, ill-usage, or poison! Mr. Gardiner, the clerk to the Manchester union, deemed the cause assigned by a labouring man for the death of his child unsatisfactory, and staying to inquire, found that popular rumour assigned the death to wilful starvation. The child had been entered in at least *ten* burial-clubs, and its parents had six other children who lived only from nine to eighteen months respectively. They had received from several burial-clubs 20*l.* for *one* of these children, and they expected at least as much on account of this child.'

The town-clerk of Stockport says: 'I have no doubt that infanticide, to a considerable extent, has been committed in the borough of Stockport.'* Another case is mentioned, which gained a considerable notoriety, where the *fourteen children* of a woman named Mary May had died suddenly. Two more sharing the same fate, the suspicions of the clergyman of the parish were excited. One of the bodies was exhumed; traces of arsenic were detected; the

* 'Sanitary Inquiry Report,' 1843, p. 235.

woman

woman was arrested, tried, and convicted. Previously to her execution she refused to make any confession, but said: '*If I were to tell all that I know, it would give the hangman work for the next twelve months.*' These murders were not confined to the children. Wives, in many cases, have administered poison to their husbands who were members of a burial-club. This is one of the blackest pages in the history of human society. The future chronicler of England's glory will turn with horror from details so terrible, so fearfully humiliating. Yet the fact that

'A Mammonite mother kills her babe for a burial fee,'

should be no argument against habits of prudence and providence. There are other ways in which these habits can be exercised besides the 'burial-club.' Indeed, strictly speaking, they are not exercised there, for the murderous member of the burial-club merely pays down a small sum, which he knows will bring him in a large return as soon as he pleases. There is no prudence or self-denial involved in such a devilish transaction. The honest labourer, mindful that 'hard times' may some day come, seeks out some upright means of providing against them. We cannot do better than recommend him some large *enrolled* friendly society, or life insurance; or, if he be unmarried, and have only to think of himself, a government deferred annuity will afford him a resource when old age comes upon him.

ART. IV.—1. *Chaplain's Reports on the Preston House of Correction.* Preston: Clarke.
2. *Testimonials of the Rev. John Clay*, B.D. Preston: Clarke.
3. *Preston Guardian.* November 27, 1858.
4. *Preston Chronicle.* November 27, 1858.
5. *Alliance Weekly News.* December 11, 1858.
6. *Irish Quarterly Review.* January, 1859.

'THERE are in every county in England large public schools, maintained at the expense of the county, for the encouragement of profligacy and vice, and for providing a proper succession of housebreakers, profligates, and thieves. They are schools, too, conducted without the smallest degree of partiality or favour, there being no man (however mean his birth or obscure his situation) who may not easily procure admission to them. The moment any young person evinces the slightest propensity for these pursuits, he is provided with food, clothing, and lodging, and put to his studies under the most accomplished thieves and cutthroats the county can supply. There is not, to be sure, a formal arrangement of lectures after the manner of our universities; but the petty larcenous stripling, being

being left destitute of every species of employment, and locked up with accomplished villains as idle as himself, listens to their pleasant narrative of successful crimes, and pants for the hour of freedom that he may begin the same bold and interesting career. This,' wrote Sydney Smith in 1821, 'is a perfectly true picture of the prison establishments of many counties in England.'* Preston Gaol was one of those from which the portrait may have been drawn. It is now a 'model prison.'† In the very year in which the passage we have quoted from Sydney Smith appeared, an officer was appointed to the staff of Preston House of Correction, to whose efforts it chiefly owes its present high position in the catalogue of English prisons.

To the late lamented chaplain of that gaol, the Rev. John Clay, its improvement is mainly to be attributed; and we shall endeavour in the following pages to indicate, by extracts from his invaluable reports, not only the means by which that amelioration was wrought, but the important aid he rendered to penal science itself by the light his benevolent zeal, sagacity, and experience enabled him to throw upon the causes of crime and the habits of criminals.

'It is impossible,' wrote the Bishop of Manchester to Mr. Clay, in 1854, 'to have ever read your valuable reports . . . . without acknowledging the very complete manner in which you have devoted yourself to the reformation of prison discipline, the prevention of crime, and the improvement of those around you. It is impossible to have visited, as I have done more than once, the House of Correction at Preston without perceiving that yours is not a mere theory or benevolent dream, but a system based on long and extensive observation and experience.'

'Your successive reports,' wrote Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, 'have faithfully traced the connection between the neglect of all the means of Christian civilization and crime. In establishing this, by reiterated demonstration, you have strengthened the hands of all who prefer prevention to punishment. The advocates of all the means of humanizing, instructing, and evangelizing the mass, turn to your reports as to an armoury of facts from which to prove that society encounters all its most serious dangers from the neglect of these means.'‡

It is deeply to be regretted that many of these reports are no longer to be obtained. From 1824 to 1836 they were only printed in the local journals, and few, if any, are now in existence. From 1837 to 1845 the newspaper type was put into double columns, forming a quarto pamphlet; but of these scarcely any are remaining. It was not until 1846 that the document assumed its permanent octavo form. Sixteen reports, ranging in date from 1837 to 1858, out of the thirty-three published by Mr. Clay, are all we have been able to procure. We believe, however, that they include the most important among those he issued, and they certainly

* 'Edinburgh Review,' July, 1821, p. 286.
† 'Preston Chronicle,' Nov. 27th, 1858.
‡ 'Testimonials,' pp. 11—14.

afford

afford far more passages of deep interest than the space at our command will permit us to transcribe. But before we enter upon the public career of the chaplain of Preston Gaol we will mention a few details of his early life.

JOHN CLAY, the fourth of five sons, was born at Liverpool on the 10th of May, 1796. His father, an ironmaster of that town, though member of a family which had long been settled in Derbyshire, died while he himself was yet a boy, leaving him and his brothers to make their own way in the world. When a child he was very delicate, and, according to the judgment of those at home, rather dull. As a young man he was chiefly famous as being about the best rider, fencer, runner, cricket-player (cricket then being in its infancy in the north), singer, actor, and light-weight boxer in Liverpool! With such qualities he was, of course, a great favourite in society; so much so, that all his elderly relations prophesied that it would be the ruin of him.

Mr. Clay was educated at Liverpool, where he was the pupil of Mr. Wylie. He acquired many accomplishments, besides an acquaintance with the more solid branches of knowledge. Thus in after life he used the pencil and brush with proficiency; he was conversant with most modern languages, and, with a taste for almost every science, he was as able as he was ready to lecture upon geological, antiquarian, and, indeed, nearly all subjects which could be thought useful or interesting to an English audience. He was originally destined for a commercial career, and served two apprenticeships with different mercantile houses in London and Liverpool. It was the failure of the second firm, when he was about twenty-four, that first led to his abandoning commerce and taking orders. At this time he went on a visit to a connection of his family residing near Preston. Intending originally to stay ten days, he remained more than a year, and, having determined upon entering the church, he occupied this time in reading for ordination. He was ordained in 1821 by the Bishop of Chester as a 'literate person.' He then entered himself at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and in due time graduated as a Bachelor of Divinity.

In 1828 Mr. Clay married a daughter of Mr. Fielding, of Myerscough House, near Garstang. Soon after their marriage Mrs. Clay's fortune, a large one, was almost all lost. Misfortunes never come alone, it is said, and Mr. Clay was now attacked by brain fever, the result of overwork. Happily for his family, and happily for mankind, he recovered, and at about the same time a turn in the tide of fortune relieved him from pecuniary troubles. With restored health, and freed from anxiety, he spent several years as happily to himself as usefully to his fellow-creatures, with

with the exception of one period of intense suffering arising from a domestic calamity. This was the death of his eldest son, a boy whose great abilities and wonderful personal beauty had so endeared him to his father, that the grief occasioned by his loss endangered Mr. Clay's own life.

We return now to the date of Mr. Clay's ordination as a deacon, when, in 1821, he was licensed to the assistant-chaplaincy of Preston Gaol, and commenced those labours which, through the reports in which they resulted, have obtained for him a world-wide reputation. He was appointed, at a salary of 100*l.* per annum, for a year, the chaplain, Mr. Harrison, being then in infirm health. The following year the appointment was renewed, and in 1823, on the death of Mr. Harrison, he was unanimously chosen by the court of annual sessions as his successor, with, however, no augmentation of salary, no improvement having yet been made at Preston on the prevailing rule, to which Sydney Smith alluded when he wrote, 'But the poor chaplain should be paid a little better; every possible duty is expected from him—and he has one hundred per annum.'* Still, this sum was twice the amount received by Mr. Clay's predecessor, who, of course, could not afford to give all, or, indeed, much of his time for so small a remuneration. In the November after Mr. Clay's appointment, however, the magistrates of Lancashire resolved 'that the chaplains of the several prisons of the county should in future bestow their whole and undivided attention to the duties of their respective offices.' Their salaries were all advanced; that of Mr. Clay to 250*l.* About 1850 it was increased to 350*l.*, at which it remained until his retirement from office.† Yet how inadequate a recompense is even the latter sum for such services as he rendered, or, indeed, for the services of the chaplain of any large gaol, who conscientiously discharges his duty—a duty of overwhelming importance, absorbing his whole time, bringing him hourly into contact with the vilest of mankind, taxing his powers of endurance both physical and moral, to the uttermost, and sometimes, indeed—as was the case with Mr. Clay—far exceeding the limits which regard for health should place to its demands!

Mr. Clay had, we are told, 'a peculiar aptitude for statistics. The compilation of his annual reports was a work which he liked, and here is the secret of its being so well done. He mapped out the crime of England, and exhibited at a glance the amount of criminality in various counties, endeavouring to trace the difference observable to specific causes. . . . He shed a flood of

* 'Edinburgh Review,' July, 1821, p. 299.
† 'Preston Chronicle.'

light

light upon our criminal population, and upon various local and general sources of crime, and it is by his reports only that the public can judge of the extent of his labours over a long period of years. He believed, with Mr. M. D. Hill, that "the vast majority of all who enter our prisons as criminals can be sent back into the world after no unreasonable term of probation honest men and useful citizens." '*

Mr. Clay's painstaking investigations into matters affecting crime, and its causes, established him as an authority on all questions of moral or social interest. There was scarcely a speech delivered on any such question, by any man of eminence, but Mr. Clay's facts and figures were quoted. They were often referred to in both Houses of Parliament; and it has happened that on the same night his authority has been twice quoted on entirely different subjects.† Indeed, whatever movement for a philanthropic purpose was attempted, his information and experience were of value, and were enlisted into the cause. Immediately his reports appeared they were translated into several foreign languages. Not only were his writings thus appreciated, but his evidence was often sought by committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons on questions affecting the social condition of the people.‡

The earliest of his reports which we have been able to procure is dated 1837, and is a fair specimen of these admirable documents. In it we find a philosophical exposition of the various causes of crime, enforced by arguments and illustrated by instances which carry conviction with them; while its nature and amount in Lancashire during that year, as compared with the past, are clearly revealed by elaborate tables.

So early as in 1827 Mr. Clay had declared 'that no system of prison discipline could be generally efficacious unless the influence of religious instruction were aided by the *individual separation* of the prisoners,'§ and this principle he strenuously advocated from year to year. It was not, however, until 1839 that he obtained its adoption, and then to only a very limited degree. Many years elapsed before it was acted upon to a large extent; and thus, in his report for 1846 we read:—

'For more than twenty years I have seen a house of correction operating as a seminary of sin; and WHEREVER THE ASSOCIATION OF PRISONERS IS PERMITTED, THERE THE WORK OF CORRUPTION IS STILL GOING ON.'

Nevertheless, he tells us:—

'The authorities of this gaol were not only among the first to recognise the necessity for abolishing association among convicted prisoners; but, as I believe,

---

* 'Preston Guardian.'
† 'Evening Mail,' Feb. 11, 1848.
‡ 'Preston Chronicle.'
§ Report for 1848, p. 17.

were

were *the first* to take the most momentous step ever yet taken in prison reform by sanctioning the *individual separation* of the UNTRIED.'*

So long and so universally did the pernicious system prevail of allowing the casual offender and the hardened felon, the old and the young, the tried and the untried, to associate unwatched and in idleness. The criminals themselves are aware of the effect such intercourse has upon them, and numerous passages like the following are to be found in their narratives quoted by Mr. Clay:—'Coming to prison hardened me. We was always talking in prison about our robberies, and scheming different things. Imprisonment does lads no good. It is best to put them in *Pompey* † for a week or two, and give them a right good flogging: lads will come again and again till they are transported.'‡

And Mr. Clay shows, with the help of his tables, how the victims of this corrupting system *did* return again and again until they *were* transported. Perhaps the strongest proof of the efficacy of the separate system, when at length he had obtained the remodelling of Preston Gaol upon that plan, is afforded by the steady diminution in the annual number of recommittals—a diminution which he stated had, though he was always sanguine on that point, far exceeded his expectations.§

The potent effect of separate confinement reveals itself in the awakened conscience, the self-examination, and the free and candid avowal of error in those subjected to its operation. To use the words of one of the most philosophical writers who have treated of reformatory discipline, M. Demetz:—'Il faut avoir été témoin de ses effets pour se faire une idée exacte de l'heureuse influence qu'il peut exercer sur les mœurs. Une transformation complète s'opére dans l'individu qui y est soumis. . . . . *La réflexion ramène sans cesse devant ses yeux le tableau de sa vie passée* . . . . il est amené forcement à faire un retour sur lui-même.'‖ 'Everything that ever I did since I was a child has come back to me; and I see things now different to whatever I did before,' are words, Mr. Clay tells us, frequently used by prisoners in the cell.¶ 'When a man is put here by himself, it like forces him to pray.'**

In one important respect Mr. Clay departed from the rigid observance of the separate system. The prisoners were not isolated in chapel, for he believed separation during divine worship to be destructive of devotional feeling, and that fewer offences

---

* Report for 1846, p. 5. † Solitary confinement.
‡ Report, 1839, p. 10.
§ Evidence before a Committee of the House of Lords on Criminal Law, 1847.
‖ Rapport sur les Colonies Agricoles. Tours. 1855. p. 45.
¶ Report for 1844, p. 7. ** Ibid., 1846, p. 46.

were

were perpetrated in his chapel than in those where the prisoners are concealed from each other.

'With regard to the question of social worship in chapel and isolated worship, I obtained yesterday from the chapel clerk a return of the offences committed in chapel during the thirteen weeks ending on the 30th of April; and I find that although we had upon the average 290 men present daily, there were only 19 offences, and that these were—5 for looking about, 6 for inattention, 6 sleeping (that was the chaplain's fault more than the prisoners'), 1 turning round, and 1 looking on another prisoner's book, which is no offence. I can only say that when prisoners are spoken to in chapel earnestly and intelligibly (for that is the main point—speak to them so that they can understand you), I never saw a congregation behave so well.'*

Doubtless their excellent behaviour was to be chiefly attributed, in part to the shortness of the services—a point which Mr. Clay held to be essential to their good effect †—and still more to his manner of conducting them. Mr. Frederic Hill says:—'Religious and moral instruction are conveyed in an admirable manner by the chaplain in the daily and weekly services in the chapel. . . The benevolent and earnest manner in which Mr. Clay addresses the prisoners, and the clearness both of his language and matter, are very striking, and must give great force to his counsel and admonitions.'‡ 'He strikes so deep,' is one of the many testimonies to his power in addressing the prisoners which we meet with in their own narratives.

Mr. Clay appears (for many years, at least, after its adoption in Preston Gaol) to have preferred cellular imprisonment under all circumstances (except in the few cases in which regard for bodily and mental health forbade it) to any other system, and to have reconciled himself with difficulty to the association during labour even of men upon whom a long period of separate confinement had exercised its beneficial effect. It must be remembered that he had long been compelled to witness the horrors of promiscuous imprisonment, while he had yet to gain experience of the advantages resulting from modified association. The change in his opinion wrought by that experience may be gathered from passages in his later reports, as well as from his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on Prison Discipline in 1850,§ and still more conclusively from an extract from his journal cited by Mr. Frederic Hill, of which we insert a portion:—

'*April 14th.*—Many of the prisoners who would be otherwise confined in the corridor, and who have undergone a certain term of "encellelulement," are now employed in the open air in taking down the old buildings, &c. The super-

---

* H. C. Report of Committee on Prison Discipline, 1850, p. 362.

† Report for 1847, p. 26.

‡ Thirteenth Report of the Inspectors of English Prisons, Northern District, 1848, p. 2.

§ 'Report of House of Commons Committee,' p. 365.

intendence

intendence over them is very strict, and, I believe, perfectly effectual. At all events, if a word of communication should be now and then risked, anything like *contamination* is impossible. Varied by this bodily and healthy labour, the service of the chapel seems to be now *enjoyed*. . . . .

'*May* 31*st*. . . . . I had an opportunity to-day of conversing with about 12 or 15 of these men, and in every case I am satisfied that moral progress is decidedly made. Two men, more especially, manifested as much feeling as I ever saw evinced by men subjected to the *strict* separation of the cell.

'*Aug.* 18*th*.—Since the beginning of May, the works carried on within the prison-walls have required the presence of about 90 bricklayers, &c., and about 30 or 40 of the prisoners. On some occasions a still larger number have been employed in wheeling, excavating, dressing bricks, &c. The discipline has not suffered under these circumstances in the slightest degree. On the other hand, the order, and regularity, and decorum of the prisoners seem to have been in some measure communicated to the workmen. I have never heard any noise from them but that of their tools; their conversation is never, as far as can be heard, improper or even loud; and the governor and officers assure me, that ever since their work commenced, oaths or other profane language have never been heard from them.'*

Testimony such as this from so acute and experienced a student of prison discipline must have great weight, and a peculiar value attaches to it when it is taken in conjunction with the success attained in Ireland by Captain Crofton, whose system includes among its several stages a probationary term of cellular confinement followed by labour in association.

Mr. Clay devoted much attention to the subject of juvenile crime. He demonstrated by statistics in the gross, and by special instances in detail, that it has its rise in dense ignorance, in the demoralizing influences of low concert-rooms, penny theatres, and vicious literature, but more still than these in the neglect, the evil example, the drunkenness, and too often the brutal cruelty of parents, of which the narratives of prisoners reveal the most hideous examples. But above all these causes of juvenile depravity Mr. Clay places the contamination of the gaol. Frightful as is the effect of indiscriminate association in the prison-yard upon the adult, he showed that upon the child it is yet more appalling. So great an evil made that of solitary imprisonment appear comparatively small, and in 1840 Mr. Clay earnestly advocated that mode of treatment for young criminals. The unfitness of a prison to their case, however, pressed itself upon his mind, and in 1844 he advocated a system of training resembling that now pursued in reformatory schools.†

In 1850 he again urged the importance of checking crime at its source by dealing with these victims of parental neglect:—

'Are the children of neglect always to think that no one cares for them? Is the wretched creature who has met with little else than blows and imprecations, ever to be permitted to know that the human voice can speak in kindness as well as

* Thirteenth Report of Inspectors of Prisons, Northern District. 1848. p. xxi.
† Report for 1844, p. 4.

in

in curses; that the human hand can encourage as well as strike?* that, if "a collar round his neck, and a cart-whip flourished over his back were what the gods would have appointed him," those "gods" were *false*—and their reign is over?' †

The passage quoted by Mr. Clay occurs in a work entitled 'Model Prisons,' by Thomas Carlyle, compared with whose outpourings the ravings of a lunatic and the denunciations of Judge Jeffreys are words of common sense, and the accents of Christian love!

It was not until the end of 1851 that the appeal of the chaplain of Preston Gaol met with a response. A conference on 'Preventive and Reformatory Schools,' suggested by Miss Carpenter, and assiduously promoted by its honorary secretary, Mr. Joseph Hubback, of Liverpool, but which Mr. Clay and other friends to the reformatory cause united with them in convening, assembled at Birmingham in December of that year. Mr. Clay took an important part in all its meetings, opening it with prayer. In reference to this address the chairman, Mr. M. D. Hill, after reading a passage from a letter from Lord Brougham, said:—'Lord Brougham concludes his letter thus; and after the affecting prayer we have just heard, I cannot refrain from reading out that portion:—"Among the names attached to the requisition, I observe some most valuable coadjutors in the inquiry of 1847 of the Lords to which I have referred. Of Mr. Clay, especially, it would be quite impossible to exaggerate the services and the merits."'‡

In seconding a resolution moved by the Rev. Edwin Chapman, Mr. Clay proved that in Preston 'criminal children were usually the offspring of parents well able to provide for their support and education, and urged that such parents ought to be compelled, by law, to defray part or the whole of the expense incurred in giving that religious and industrial education which they themselves have culpably neglected to give.'§ He has also maintained, that the parents of children committed to prison should be held responsible for their cost.‖

He took no less a share in the proceedings of the second conference held at Birmingham in 1853, and again urged that the principle of parental responsibility should be enforced, adducing numerous instances to show that the money which should preserve their offspring from evil is spent by vicious parents in debauchery.¶ These conferences were speedily followed by the

* 'Few can conceive the softening effect wrought on a *separated* prisoner, when, in speaking the word "in season," an *encouraging* hand is laid upon his shoulder.'

† Report for 1850, p. 30.

‡ Report of First Birmingham Conference on Preventive and Reformatory Schools. Longmans. 1852. P. 8.

§ Ibid., p. 54. ‖ Report for 1855, p. 21.

¶ Report of the Second Birmingham Conference. Longmans. 1854. P. 76.

passing

passing of the Juvenile Offenders Act of 1854, and the establishment of reformatories throughout the country. To the much-debated clause in that Act rendering obligatory fourteen days' imprisonment prior to admission to a school, Mr. Clay was, however, strongly opposed.

'The indiscriminating enactment,' he says, 'works most mischievously, in dooming the child to fourteen days' exposure to the worst corruption, by way of prelude to the good influences of the reformatory. If we wished to give a thorough personal cleansing to the same child, we should hardly think it necessary to begin the process *by immersing him in a common sewer.*'*

Mr. Clay has demonstrated how closely *ignorance* is allied with crime. In his report for 1837 he gives a table showing that out of the 935 persons committed to Preston Gaol in that year, 460 were totally ignorant, while the best-instructed class, described as able to 'read and write well,' comprised only 18 individuals; and this proportion is, with one or two exceptions, rather *above* the average of instruction exhibited by the statistics of succeeding years. Moreover, fluency in reading by no means insures comprehension of what is read. The process is often merely mechanical, and conveys no meaning whatever to the mind. A young man to whom Mr. Clay expressed his astonishment that while he could *read* perfectly he should remain utterly ignorant of the sense of what he read replied, indignantly, 'Why, they never learned me the *understanding* of the words!'†

Unfortunately the want of education which cuts off the class from which criminals spring from wholesome knowledge, does not keep them in ignorance of that which is baneful. To illustrate this fact Mr. Clay gives the following table ‡:—

Degrees of Ignorance, &c.	Sessions.			Summary.		
	M.	F.	Per Cent. on 416	M.	F.	Per Cent. on 1022
Unable to name the months of the year, &c. . .	163	45	50	416	85	49
Ignorant of the name of the reigning sovereign .	134	34	40	344	62	39
Ignorant of the words 'virtue,' 'vice,' 'righteousness,' &c.	143	36	43	355	75	42
Unable to count a hundred	65	18	20	112	24	13
Have read or heard read books about Jack Sheppard, Turpin, &c.	158	18	42	314	39	34

The noxious influence of such works as the histories of Jack Sheppard and Dick Turpin is painfully apparent in the narratives of prisoners already alluded to. When unable to read for themselves, young lads listen with avidity to such books read aloud by

* Report for 1858, p. 73. † Ibid., 1846, p. 23. ‡ Ibid., 1844, p. 23.

their companions, and are fired with ambition to rival the exploits of the highwaymen, who, they are taught, 'robbed the rich for the poor.'*

As regards ignorance on subjects of religion the following statistics disclose appalling facts. Of all the prisoners committed to Preston Gaol in one year (1855-6) 37 per cent. were ignorant of the Saviour's name and unable to repeat his prayer; 53 per cent. knew his name, but could repeat the prayer only imperfectly; 8 per cent. were acquainted with elementary truths; less than 2 per cent. possessed adequate knowledge; while *none* are entered under the head 'well-instructed.'†

Such is the dense ignorance existing among our labouring classes—still existing, we grieve to say,‡ to the disgrace of our boasted high position among civilized nations.

'If a people such as I have described, so ignorant, so degraded, exposed to the most demoralizing influences, but abundantly capable of mental and religious good, were believed to exist in some distant island of the Pacific, our missionaries would be poured upon their shores, and gold without stint would be spent in the effort to Christianize them. Why are our own *home heathens* so long overlooked? Are they less "benighted" than those of "India's coral strand?" No; their darkness is the more intense from its close contrast with the light. Are their *numbers* too insignificant? *In this county alone there is nearly* A MILLION OF THEM!'§

Again:—

'The great English institution for the conversion of the distant heathen, which has existed half a century, and has expended in the work more than *a million and a half sterling*, now reckons as the fruit of its labours 13,000 "communicants." Last year about *the same number of our domestic heathens were summarily punished in one town—Liverpool—for offences more or less arising from their unregarded irreligion.*'‖

Very much of the crime which fills our gaols is attributed, not only by Mr. Clay and others who have treated of the subject, but by the offenders themselves, to the temptation to evil-doing met with in the casino, the 'penny gaff,' and the low concert-room; and the revolting scenes enacted there forbid a doubt of their depraving influence.¶ To suppress such dens of infamy seems the obvious remedy. Let us be assured, however, that, if sup-

* Report for 1850, p. 27.

† Report of 1858, p. 32. In 1847, Mr. Clay's statements demonstrating the ignorance of our lower classes were impugned by Mr. Edward Baines as gross exaggeration. Mr. Baines's counter-statement we have not had an opportunity of reading, but judging from the elaborate reply of Mr. Clay in the 'Scotsman' (April, 1847), the latter gentleman appears to have established the trustworthiness of his facts and figures only too well.

‡ Report issued in 1858 for 1855-6, p. 31.

§ 'The examples of ignorance and degradation to which I have alluded are drawn from North Lancashire only; and, as I showed in my last report, only three counties in England—Cornwall, Cumberland, Westmoreland—exhibit a more creditable moral state than this division.'—Report, 1846, p. 24.

‖ Report for 1849, p. 56.

¶ See Mayhew's 'London Labour and the London Poor;' also 'Liverpool Life,' Liverpool, 1858; and Mr. Clay's Report for 1850, p. 51, &c. &c.

pressed

pressed, they will soon be replaced by others, unless the ground be preoccupied.

We do not undervalue the means of recreation afforded by public readings, lectures, and similar entertainments.* They are excellent, and the more widely multiplied the better. But there are times when we all, especially those who work hard with head or hand, need more complete relaxation than books or speeches will yield; and if we prohibit lighter amusements—*in themselves* harmless, we maintain—resort will be had to the grosser sensual indulgences. Very little inquiry suffices to show that the *virus* of such amusements lurks, not in the amusements themselves, but in the DRINK which accompanies them. Banish *this*, and the passions which impel to vice and crime will never be aroused.

Respecting the enormous cost to the community of criminals while at large, and the vast number of thefts and robberies in which the offender escapes detection, Mr. Clay has given from time to time overwhelming proof. He cites the narrative of a man in prison upon only his third conviction, who must, by his own showing, have stolen, by a series of petty thefts, property to the amount of many hundred pounds.

'I cannot recollect all the robberies I have committed; they are many a hundred score. . . . I have committed three robberies in one night, and have attempted more. I have done as many as fourteen or fifteen in one week. . . . Many commit crimes and robberies for the glory of the thing, and for the sake of cracking about them afterwards. I did things for the sake of mischief. I couldn't be quiet. I mostly got into shops and public-houses—seldom private houses, except farmers'. I did a good deal that way in the bits o' villages about Whitehaven. . . . Fences [receivers of stolen goods] should be more severely punished. They push one on, and say, "So-and-so draws three times as much as you. So-and-so would *do* the thing while you are *talking* about it." '†

Ten years later Mr. Clay informs us that there are 'in Liverpool '1270 thieves *whose residences are known to the police*, and whose plunder cannot be estimated at less than 200,000*l.* a year. This,' he adds in a note, 'may seem a startling calculation; but an inquiry, at the instance of the Liverpool Municipal Council, made some years ago, led to the conclusion that the annual contribution forced from the town by thieves was about 700,000*l.*'‡

'There are now many hundred pickpockets robbing at the rate of 300*l.* to 1000*l.* a year,' Mr. Clay informs us, in 1850, and adds an estimate, the result of careful investigation, of the 'cost to the public of 15 pickpockets during their career,' which was no less

* Most valuable information upon the subject of recreation for the working classes will be found in a pamphlet, entitled 'Experience of Factory Life,' by M. M., published at the 'Englishwoman's Journal' office, 14A, Princes Street, Cavendish Square, price 6*d.*, containing an account of what has been done for the social improvement of their operatives (of whom they employ upwards of 2000) by the Messrs. Courtauld, silk-crape manufacturers, at Braintree, in Essex.

† Report for 1839, p. 10. ‡ Ibid., 1849 p. 27.

 than

[illegible] of them having robbed to the enormous amount of [illegible]. Let us contrast this with the expenditure for reformatory discipline. "The cost per head in the Preston House of Correction is [illegible], which is reduced by certain repayments, &c., to [illegible]." We append in a note information on this point respecting the Irish Convict Prisons, for which we are indebted to Captain Crofton.* At the Glasgow House of Refuge, which is [illegible] to inform 20 per cent. of its inmates, the cost of each [illegible] a year.† Let us remember, also, the numbers [illegible] when discharged, [illegible] good according to the effect produced upon them while under detention. "The number [illegible] in this country [illegible]." And it is to be remembered that every [illegible] probably [illegible] the head of a family, whom he [illegible] to the workhouse, must be [illegible] left to pursue [illegible] may [illegible] the [illegible] learnt [illegible] the [illegible] at the [illegible] of his family.

We [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] contrasted the [illegible] between [illegible] trials at [illegible]. We found that the [illegible] of [illegible] prisons, and [illegible] a [illegible] furnishes striking evidence of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

to the uttermost this source of temptation. A little thought on the part of masters and mistresses might save private servants from many an hour spent unnecessarily upon the coachbox; while to them, though still more to those employed on public vehicles, almost whose whole life is passed in the streets, an ample supply of drinking-fountains in our thoroughfares would prove an inestimable boon.

Another instance in which employers are responsible for the temptation to drink incurred by their servants is revealed in the following passage from the biography of a navvy:—

'It is and has been a very customary thing to pay men working on the railway at public-houses, on the Saturdays, which has been the ruin of many men, as well as myself. There you get seated, perhaps waiting two or three hours for your pay. It is a customary thing to have a quart of beer each man, which costs sixpence; and when you are paid, it is not that quart nor that sixpence, it is keeping bad company. You will meet with companions as will say, "Jack, or Bill, come, let us have another quart, and another gallon;" until at last there becomes a most terrible scene—a tap-room full of drunken men.'*

That this evil may be avoided, we learn from the statement o a man who, after imprisonment for a serious felony, had been so fortunate as to obtain employment on the railway then making between Bolton and Blackburn. There

'The men are paid *weekly* in *money*. *Tickets* to "tommy-shops" or to beer-shops are unknown; added to which any labourer may receive two shillings of his day's wages whenever he has done a day's work. T—— says that on this line there is less irregularity and drinking than on any other he has seen conducted on the usual and injurious system of monthly or fortnightly payments in connection with tickets for provisions and liquor. The name of the contractor (for the whole line) who has established these fair and most beneficial plans is Evans.' †

The worse than uselessness of short imprisonments was repeatedly dwelt upon by Mr. Clay, and he was equally alive to the importance of exercising a restraining authority over persons 'who are openly running into crime.' ‡

A suggestion was made in 1850 by the recorder of Birmingham, that persons already convicted of an offence implying dishonesty, and known to have relapsed into crime, should be called upon to prove that they possess the means of an honest livelihood, or, in the absence of such proof, to give surety for their good conduct, or that failing also, that they should be liable to imprisonment for fixed periods. § This proposal attracted general attention, eliciting a great variety of opinions. That of Mr. Clay we find in a letter to Mr. Hill, dated November, 1853, from which we are permitted to quote:—

'I believe that on a former occasion I had the pleasure of expressing to you my humble approval of the plans you have suggested with regard to a systematic-

---

* Report for 1848, p. 71. † Ibid., 1847, p. 73. ‡ Ibid., 1849, p. 39.
§ 'Suggestions for the Repression of Crime,' by M. D. Hill, Recorder of Birmingham. London, 1857. P. 151.

watching

watching of known bad characters after their discharge from prison, and to the coercion and punishment of those who are *manifestly* pursuing their old courses. The recent alteration in the law in respect to transportation makes the adoption of your views a necessity; for I do not think the country will ever gain a due mastery over its criminal population until something of the kind is done. The necessity for this is perhaps more strikingly apparent in Liverpool than in any other town. It would be absurd, if it were not monstrous, that in Liverpool there were, on the 31st December, 1848, no fewer than "1270 *thieves whose residences were known to the police.*" I have no "returns" since '48; but if these "thieves" have continued to increase in number for the last four years as they had done previously, their present amount must be fearful; the increase from December, '47, to December, '48, was 45 per cent.!'

The *necessity* of which Mr. Clay speaks for exercising a restraining power over the criminal class was recognised by the legislature in framing the Ticket-of-leave Act, when it adopted the principle upon which was based the plan propounded by Mr. Hill, without, however, his safeguard of a trial. But that Act, in its integrity, was never in England carried into effect. The conditions inscribed upon the ticket-of-leave remained a dead letter (with exceptional cases, so few as simply to prove the rule), and those among their bearers who departed from prison unreformed, together with hordes of absolutely discharged penal-servitude men, spread terror throughout the land by the deeds of violence they perpetrated in all directions. Mr. Clay's opinion on this subject was in conformity with that expressed in a charge to the grand jury at Birmingham* by Mr. Hill, to whom he wrote (November, 1855):—

'I am very thankful to find that your views of the "Ticket-of-leave" plan sanction my humble opinions about the matter. If the system were worked with care and judgment, instead of by routine, I am sure it would be found to answer well.'

Mr. Clay's opinion, based on upwards of thirty-four years' experience of the criminal class, is fully confirmed by the results obtained in Ireland. There it *has* been 'worked with care and judgment,' and there it *has* been 'found to answer well.' In 1849 he had expressed his conviction that police surveillance, although regarded by many with jealous dread, besides being 'justly employed '*for the punishment of evil-doers*," is also capable of being exercised "*for the praise of them that do well.*" '† In Ireland this happy result also has been attained. The holders of tickets-of-leave are there called upon to report themselves periodically to the police. 'The greatest difficulty,' said Captain Crofton at a recent public meeting, 'at first with old thieves was with regard to this matter—they were afraid that their every movement would be watched; but now they regard registration as a protection to themselves, if well intentioned.'‡ He mentioned, as an instance of the protective power of registration, that at a

* 'Suggestions for the Repression of Crime,' p. 462.
† Report for 1849, p. 39. ‡ 'Bristol Mirror,' February 26th, 1859.

quarter

quarter sessions in Ireland, upon one of the magistrates observing that there had been several offences committed in the county, and that he supposed ticket-of-leave men were about, the head of the constabulary replied that he was in a position to state *where all the ticket-of-leave men were;* and, further, *that they were all at work.* Thus is the ticket-of-leave system in its integrity carried into effect in Ireland; thus, we trust, it will before long be acted upon in England. 'For,' to resume the words of St. Peter, 'so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.' *

Large towns Mr. Clay shows to be productive of crime,† but not necessarily so *employment in factories;* and he, indeed, states that female operatives can claim a better character for honesty than domestic servants.‡ The conduct of persons working in factories, however, depends much upon the care for their welfare evinced by their masters. Mr. Clay enables us to contrast the general appearance and conduct of the workpeople in a mill whose owner manifests no interest in their well-being with those of the Messrs. Catterall, the Messrs. Horrocks, and others, who have established schools, libraries, &c., for the use of persons in their employ, very favourably to the latter, as may be supposed; and quotes the testimony of a large millowner to the pecuniary advantage to the masters resulting from such a course. § 'Were those to whom Providence has given position or intelligence to act according to their opportunities, their responsibilities, and their INTERESTS, how would crime dwindle!' ‖ Such efforts on the part of employers tend to diminish another source of crime pointed out by Mr. Clay—the estrangement existing between the upper and lower classes in this country. 'It is not,' he says, 'so much wealth or power that is wanted, but friendly interest, timely advice, a more free and more frequent intercourse among the different classes of the community. Who cannot do something in one of these ways?' ¶

To the discomfort experienced by children, especially of the lower classes, in places of worship, the cold, the fatigue, and the hard raps from a beadle or monitor's cane which afflict them during the long services, and inspire a distaste for church and chapel, as well as to using the Bible as a task-book, Mr. Clay attributes much of the godlessness which leads to crime. **

---

* 1 Pet. ii. 15.

† Report for 1837, p. 6, and Report for 1844, p. 11; also Report for 1839, p. 13. The passages here referred to present valuable analyses of the causes and amount of crime in manufacturing as compared with agricultural counties, and in large towns contrasted with districts sparsely inhabited.

‡ Report for 1844, p. 6. § Ibid., 1848, p. 41. 1849, pp. 53, 54.
Ibid., p. 52. ¶ Ibid., 1850, p. 48.

** Ibid., 1839, p. 12, and for 1846, p. 23.

His

His paper on the effect upon committals of *Bad and Good Times*, read before the British Association in 1854, and which he incorporated in his report for 1855, has made his opinion upon that subject so well known, that we shall allude to it here but very slightly, and only as it illustrates the connection between drinking and crime.

Many years before, he had noticed the intemperance, and consequent increase in 'assaults,' resulting from a period of prosperity.* In 1847, a time of distress, crime had considerably decreased compared with the three preceding years of abundant employment.†

'The embarrassments of 1847, which in North Lancashire threw more than 12,000 "hands" out of work, and more than 30,000 on "short time," produced scarcely an appreciable effect on the numbers in our calendars.'‡ 'Crime and disorder *are* decreasing; and circumstances authorize the hope that the favourable movement is something even more hopeful than the mere moral fluctuation of the great popular wave. The decrease since 1845 is attributed by Mr. Sheppard, the chief constable of Salford, mainly to the restricted means of indulgence in liquor. In this view I fully share; and it is, I think, singularly corroborated by the falling off in the revenue derived from malt and British spirits in the present year. A decrease of eight millions of bushels of the former, and two millions of gallons of the latter, argues less drinking and consequently less crime.'§

In 1850, a season of prosperity, though the decrease in the number of committals generally, and of recommittals especially, demonstrated the favourable working of the reformatory system now established in Preston Gaol, there had been a rapid increase in the number of summary convictions which required investigation. The result of his inquiries confirmed Mr. Clay's opinion that, to use the words of the chief constable, Captain Woodford, which he cites, 'in times of distress more *crime* is committed, and that in prosperous times the people are prone to indulge in those excesses which lead to disorder, drunkenness, and quarrels.'‖ In 1850 and 1851, when employment was abundant, the offences punished by summary jurisdiction were far more than double the number of those so dealt with in 1847, the commitments for vagrancy and drunkenness having increased *threefold*. 'In Liverpool, in the year of distress, 1848, the apprehensions of the "drunk and disorderly" were 3019; in prosperous 1855 they amounted to 9055!'¶ The following table adds one more 'damning proof' to the evidence so painfully abundant in Mr. Clay's pages that our working classes, although they endure adversity with heroic fortitude, have yet to learn how to render a season of high wages and abundant employment the basis of permanent prosperity, instead of the high road to degradation and crime.

---

* Report for 1844, p. 3.
† Ibid., 1847, p. 4.
‡ Ibid., 1850, p. 16.
§ Ibid., 1847, p. 24.
‖ Ibid., 1850, p. 11.
¶ Ibid., 1858, p. 106.

'*Criminal Returns from Manchester.*'*

——	Years of Distress.		Prosperous Years.		Less Prosp.	Years of Distress.	
Years . . .	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848
Drunk, &c. . .	551	748	1761	3019	1820	1161	768
Totals . .	2957	2981	3961	5117	3795	3091	2685

'*First* committals and committals of the *employed* are nearly identical; and they chiefly contribute, through the unhappy addiction to intemperance, to the increased numbers who enter our prisons in good times.' †

'The general conclusions deducible from the facts now detailed appear to be that "bad times" may add a few cases to the sessions calendars, and that "good times" greatly aggravate summary convictions; that the increase to the sessions consists of the young and thoughtless, who, when thrown into idleness, are liable to lapse into dishonesty; and that the increase of summary cases arises from the intemperance which high wages encourage among the ignorant and sensual.' ‡

Notwithstanding all that has been said and written upon this vice, notwithstanding that, whatever the social evil we investigate, drunkenness reveals itself as its author; that 'into whatever path of benevolence the philanthropist may strike, the drink demon starts up before him, and blocks his way;' § notwithstanding that year by year thousands upon thousands of its victims fill the poorhouse, the madhouse, and the grave, we must believe that those whose lot in life has placed them above the labouring classes are yet in ignorance of the extent to which the habit of intemperance prevails among their humbler fellow-countrymen. Upon what other supposition can their apathy with respect to this overwhelming evil be accounted for? But ignorance of that which involves the misery or the well-being of our fellow-creatures becomes a sin if the means of knowledge exist, and are neglected.

'It *is* palling to the attention to have it dragged through successive stories of neglected infancy, idle and godless youth, drunken and profligate manhood: but, nevertheless, these stories should be read—let me say studied—by every one to whom the real state of society is a matter either of temporal or spiritual solicitude. The same, or similar details, may recur so often as to tire the unthinking, but that very repetition may rouse the thoughtful; for it must be borne in mind that these are only a few specimen memoirs, illustrative of the conduct and condition of very many thousands in this county.' ‖

From the melancholy narratives thus introduced, we select a few extracts which will enable our readers to form some estimate of the cost and consequences of drunkenness. It will be remembered that the innumerable instances cited by Mr. Clay, which our limits permit us to do little more than indicate, all came

* Report for 1858, p. 106. † Ibid., p. 107. ‡ Ibid., 1855, p. 44.
§ 'Repression of Crime,' p. 325. ‖ Report for 1849, p. 43.

within the knowledge of the officer of *one* gaol, and sufficiently prove that his opinion of the fearful extent to which the working classes indulge in habits of drinking, was founded—as might be expected from one of so thoroughly logical a mind—upon a rule, and not upon exceptional cases.

A careful examination of Mr. Clay's tables of offences from 1837 until 1856, shows that the proportion of crime which originated in *acts* of drunkenness amounted to nearly one-third of the whole; but he tells us 'if the extent of the *habit* could be known, we should find that more than another third of the yearly offences would be thus accounted for.' *

'Delinquents will readily admit the particular instances of drunkenness which may have been the "proximate cause" of their offences, but they are by no means so willing to allow that they are habitually or frequently drunkards. Many a man has denied that he was addicted to liquor, who, nevertheless, has admitted that he spent weekly one-fourth or one-third of his wages in the public-house.'†

'J. W. had been in the receipt of twenty-six shillings weekly for fourteen years, up to within a fortnight of the time of his committal. I asked him what he had saved.—"Nothing." "How much would you now be worth if you had put into the savings bank all that you have spent in liquor?"—"Why, I believe about 400*l*.!" And thus it is with thousands! . . . . If the ordinary principles of prudence and economy which guide the middle classes, and the neglect of which would bring them to poverty, were communicated to the labouring portion of the community, and acted upon by them, I am persuaded that, with certain inevitable exceptions, they would soon entirely and permanently emancipate themselves from all dependence upon charity and the poor rate; but I fear that this "consummation so devoutly to be wished" can never be brought about so long as places are licensed, if not for the purpose, certainly with the effect, of tempting the labourer and artisan into excess and ruin.'‡

'J. P., committed on a charge of felony; only 29 years of age. He formerly earned nearly forty shillings a week as overlooker in a factory. For about six years he spent "a sovereign a week" in liquor. . . . J. N. could earn, in the summer, seven shillings or eight shillings daily . . . yet too often the whole has been spent in drinking and treating.'§

'T. B, a collier, said:—"I've spent in drink, one way and another, a hundred pounds this last four months; and what's worse, I've pawned about thirty pounds' worth of goods, and made all the money away.'

'The Appendix contains statements and narratives by numerous victims of intemperance—or rather, of the beer-shop and public-house. I possess fifty-two of these personal histories, written or dictated by adults; and in all but two of them these places figure as the first cause and continued incitement to almost any crime by which society is injured.' . . . .

'In these it may be distinctly seen how crime flows—the metaphor is not so inappropriate as it may seem—from, through, and into the beer-shop. It is there that the poacher receives his first lesson and his chief encouragement; there the reckless "navvy" squanders his earnings and his strength, often drinking himself into desperation, and so becoming ready for any act of robbery or plunder, in order to purchase means for another debauch; there labourers and artisans assemble by troops, and drink away wages, clothing, health, life.‖ There they take their wives' and children's bread and cast it to dogs!

---

* Report for 1840, p. 11.
† Ibid., 1839, p. 8.
‡ Ibid., 1839, p. 9.
§ Ibid., 1846, p. 49.
‖ 'Mr. Heyes says: "I have noted, for pretty nearly the last twenty years, that, if you exclude inquests held on children and accidents in collieries, nearly nine-tenths of the inquests I hold each year are on the bodies of persons whose deaths are to be attributed to drinking."'

'It

'It may be thought that the insane fondness for drink is confined, after all, to the criminal population of the country, to "*la classe dangereuse.*" It would be some little drawback from the mischief to have it so limited. But I must proceed to state that which will dissipate such an idea, and indicate how far the infatuation prevails among the *whole* working part of the people. An opportunity presented itself which enabled me to estimate, or rather to ascertain, the weekly expenditure in liquor of all he men—hard-working labourers and skilled artisans—employed by one master. The result I give in the Appendix, and I venture to recommend it as well deserving of serious consideration.'* The table alluded to exhibits the wages earned by 131 men—distinguishing between the married and single—whose wages ranged from eleven to forty shillings per week, the greater number earning from twenty to thirty shillings.

'The gross weekly earnings of the 131 men amount to 154*l.* 1*s.*, and the aggregate of the sum weekly spent by them in liquor is 34*l.* 15*s.*, or 22·4 per cent. of their wages. On the supposition that these wages and this expenditure continue nine months in the year, 39 weeks × 34*l.* 15*s.* = 1,355*l.* But as the 131 include 12 who entirely abstain from liquor, each of the 119 drinkers expends annually 11*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* in the indulgence of this propensity.† We see there, that taking any 100 or 150 well-employed workmen [except that small proportion who are total abstainers], each of them, on the average, devotes to the pleasures of drink more than 25 per cent. of his earnings; that many married men thus squander 40 or 50 per cent.; and that some are so infatuated as to throw away weekly, in drink, thirty-five shillings out of forty shillings wages. I have minutely examined the official returns by the gentlemen respectively superintending the county, Liverpool, Manchester, Salford, Preston, and Wigan police, and I find that in the year 1846 more than 15,200 persons appeared before the magistrates charged with drunkenness, and upwards of 10,000 more accused of "breach of the peace" and "assaults;" offences implying drunkenness in almost every case. I do not now notice those more terrible offences, manslaughter, rape, robbery, which are almost always produced by the same cause. It is the knowledge of facts like these which renders credible the calculated expenditure in the United Kingdom, in intoxicating drink, viz., more than *sixty-five millions of pounds sterling annually!*‡ *Ten times the usual amount of the English poor rates!* That is, the ignorant and the profligate squander away the means of comfortable livelihood, or independence, and then come in pauperism and shame to seek a miserable support from those who have been sober and prudent.'§

'I would shortly advert to the evidences brought to light by the Preston "turn-out," of the almost incredible expenditure of the industrial classes in drink. Through the courtesy of the chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, I received from the supervisor of this district an account of the consumption of spirits and beer in the borough of Preston during the six months preceding, and the six months of, the strike. From this account it would appear that . . . the diminished expenditure in the ale and beer-houses of the borough, for the six months of the

---

* Report for 1847, p. 18. † Appendix to Report for 1847, p. 45.

‡ This estimate Mr. Clay appears to have had reason, a few years later, to raise considerably. The recorder of Birmingham, in a charge to the grand jury delivered in January, 1855, says: 'The cost of stimulants (alcoholic drinks and tobacco) is upwards of fifty millions sterling per annum. Indeed, according to the deliberate opinion of Mr. Clay, the able and experienced chaplain of Preston Gaol, than whom no man has more carefully studied the question, the true cost to the British nation is little short of a hundred millions, aggravated as it is by the profits of retailers and by those fraudulent additions to the price which are the result of adulteration.'—*Repression of Crime*, p. 387. In a note Mr. Clay appends the following statement founded upon his first and lowest estimate of the amount expended in drink in the British Isles:—'The expenditure in drink exceeds by five millions sterling the *declared value of the exports* of the United Kingdom; and is about *five times* the amount of all *the local taxation of the country, poor rates included!*'

§ Report for 1847, pp. 18, 19.

strike

strike, was about 1,000*l.* weekly! an enormous sum, when considered as the result of decreased drinking amongst those who formed the body of "turn-outs," only 4,050 of whom were males above eighteen years of age! Now, as this weekly thousand pounds' worth of drink was dispensed with by our factory hands during the six or seven months of the strike, it may be concluded that, when in receipt of their ordinary wages, they might easily save the money. Fifty thousand pounds annually "laid up in store" by them would incalculably promote their own happiness and social elevation, as well as the welfare and credit of the town. The contrast between what *might* be done, and what *is* done, in this respect, is very sad; for it appears that in November, 1852, there were only 905 "factory hands, spinners, and weavers" among the depositors of the savings bank, and their accumulated store for, probably, some twenty or thirty years, was only 17,527*l.*! It might have been a million! It moves indignation as well as sadness to think of this enormous waste; to think that a large portion of our harvests —of the bounteous gifts of Almighty Providence to the poor, and intended for their food and sustenance—is made deliberately and systematically the means of their impoverishment and degradation. There is little or no hope of remedy for these things until the really Christian part of the public fully recognises the evil, and with one mind determines to have it removed.' *

We have seen what vast sums of money, which might raise its possessors to a position of comfort, independence, and even wealth, are habitually squandered upon drink. We have yet to present to our readers proofs of the appalling harvest of human woe in which that dread sowing results. The details we have to give are, indeed, revolting, but they must not be withheld. The surgeon who would effect a cure dares not shrink from probing the wound to its foulest depths. We would not, however, have it inferred that Mr. Clay attributed a habit of reckless drinking to the *whole* of our working population, any more than we ourselves would do so. He gladly notes instances to the contrary, and demonstrates by examples within his own knowledge, the benefits which flow from abstinence. But such cases, alas! are few and far between, and only lighten, at rare intervals, the gloom of his mournful experience. Unhappily, too, the very kindness towards each other practised by the working classes, in a degree which may well put the wealthier and more highly educated to shame, but too often results, through the baneful influence of drink, in the destruction of the recipients; and hundreds of the unemployed find their way into prison, victims to such misdirected sympathy. 'Sir,' they have said to Mr. Clay, in tones as bitter as they were sad, 'you can get *drink* given you when you can get nothing else!' †

The report for 1846 shows that almost all the cases of recommittals are attributable to drink.‡ It gives us also the following table, indicating the connection between ignorance and intemperance, from which we may infer, that the latter is often indulged in as the *only* means of relaxation its unhappy victims are capable of appreciating.

---

* Report for 1855, p. 59. † Ibid., 1848, p. 34.
‡ Ibid., 1846, pp. 4 and 8.

'Table

'Table showing the ages of persons led into offence by drunkenness' [committed to Preston Gaol during 1846], 'who are also destitute of all general and religious knowledge.'*

Degrees of Ignorance.	Under 20	20 to 30	31 to 40	41 to 50	51 and upwards	Total.
Unable to read	17	89	42	23	16	187
Unable to name the months .	17	77	34	21	12	161
Unable to repeat a prayer . .	8	57	24	16	11	116

We now insert a special instance, taken from many, of the misery resulting from drink.

'"To make things short, I have been guilty of crimes of every sort except murder. . . . I soon got to drinking, ... breaking the sabbath, going to ale-houses and carding, and meanwhile *clamming* [starving] my wife and children. . . . Since we began to have children, I began to take the oldest to the public-houses with me. It used to stick hold of my hand, and I used to lead it. And when I had gone a-sitting all day [at a public-house], and had been drinking there, my wife would have come, and begged me to come home. And when I wouldn't, she would have said, 'Well, if thou won't come, thou must keep the child with thee.' And then I would have set to, and *fed the child with rum and brandy and all—all sorts of liquor as we had been drinking.* This child is now turned five years old; and if I were to say *that it has been drunk a hundred times—sometimes almost choked, with its mouth open—I don't think I should be lying.* And the mother would have been so badly frightened, she would have sat feeding it with cold water and vinegar to sober it. The second child, thirteen months younger, has been brought up in the same way, *only worse. If I had asked either of those children to act the drunken man, they would have done it on the floor; and then I was just suited—just proud to let people see how well they could do it.* Within this last three-quarters of a year I have learned my wife to drink. When she would have come for me, I would keep pressing drink on her. *Now* she *can* drink; but before, nobody could be more against it. . . . . This is a woeful sight for God to see! Both parents drunk in bed, with their clothes on, in the middle of the day-time; one throwing up on one side, and the other on the other side, *and this in the presence of three children.* The oldest lad would have said, 'Ma'm, art thou drunk? Art thou drunk like my dad?' And this same child has brought me up many a pot of water in a morning, when I have been drunk overnight."'†

This mode of life he pursued for three years, when the offence was committed which consigned him to gaol. He had continued 'full of spite against every one' there for many weeks, when at length that power of affecting his audience which the chaplain possessed in so remarkable a degree, touched even this man's heart.

It is satisfactory to learn that some months after his liberation, notwithstanding many difficulties and temptations, he was persevering in the better course he had chosen.‡

In 1847, Mr. Clay writes of drunkenness:—

'I believe that but for this besetting sin the population of North Lancashire would exhibit virtues of the highest order. . . . An examination of the records which I have kept for many years assures me that the offences for which distress is *pleaded* are exceeded five-fold by those in which drunkenness is *admitted.*

* Report for 1846, p. 36. † Ibid., 1846, p. 43. ‡ Ibid., p. 46.

During

During the last year I have examined more carefully the alleged pleas of distress, in order to note the *fact* rather than the *excuse;* and the tables in the Appendix show that while only *seventeen* felonious offences could be attributed to distress—*that* being in many cases the consequence of drink or idleness—*one hundred and seventeen* were undoubtedly caused by drunkenness.' *

In 1848, he says:—

'The GREAT SIN is still, even in these times of poverty and sorrow, foremost in the ranks of iniquity, or rather foremost as the leader of a host of crimes—heading on a disorderly multitude of brutal passions and vile propensities which, but for its inflaming influence, would remain dormant and harmless. It still rises, in savage hostility, against everything allied to order and religion; it still barricades every avenue by which truth and peace seek to enter the poor man's home and heart.' †

A lad in prison for felony, and whose history proves that parental neglect was the cause of his crime, relates of his father, a confirmed drunkard—

'"At last he got my mother agate drinking, and she would go away for about three days, and leave five children in the house with no one to take care of them, and sometimes no bread. . . . Father began a-selling all the goods till he sold all that we had—only ten chairs and a bed; he also sold the bedstocks, and spent all the money in drink. . . . One night he came home drunk, and laid himself on the bed, and never doffed his clothes; and in the morning he was found dead!" ‡ The youth's better feelings were awakened by a sermon from the chaplain, and his good aspirations were given a practical direction by a second sermon upon drunkards, every word of which doubtless came home to the poor boy's heart. "I thought about my poor brothers, for I knew they was going the wrong road, and I thought I must try if I can't show them the right road, for I knew they would be very willing to learn; for many a time they have said to my mother, 'Mother, why don't you be steady and save your money, and buy some clothes and send us to school?' Then she would have set her down, and began crying, but give them no answer, as if she wanted some one to show her the right way. . . . I think when my mother sees her children praying, and saving their money to buy books with, it will begin and turn her heart."' §

It is pleasant to know that the writer of the foregoing statement was reported as conducting himself well, twelve months after his liberation. ‖

In his report for 1855, Mr. Clay states, with regard to the offences committed by prisoners in Preston Gaol, during that year—

---

* '"According to my experience, at least three-fourths of the criminal charges that are brought to trial, originate in habits of intemperance, and the spending all leisure time in public-houses." Mr. Justice Wightman.'—Report for 1847, p. 17.

† Report for 1848, p. 33.

‡ Ibid., 1848, p. 60.

§ Report for 1848, p. 62. We cite a parallel instance of inversion of duty between parent and child. At a ragged-school in Bristol, 'a little fellow, nine years old, applied to the master for leave to go home. He was asked why he wanted to go home, when he replied, he "must let mammy out;" and on further inquiry it appeared that this poor lad, shortly before coming to school that morning, had found his mother drunk in a public-house; he had contrived to get her home, and then, in order to save her from injury in his absence, he had locked the door on her, and put the key into his pocket. It was now time, he calculated, for her to have so far recovered from her intoxication as to be set at liberty.'—*Suggestions for the Repression of Crime*, p. 365.

‖ Report for 1848, p. 63.

'The

'The highway robberies have been, in every instance, the consequence of drunkenness. After a debauch in an ale or beer-house, it too often happens that some of the "company" are found in the high road or in the streets, the perpetrators, or the victims, of a robbery originating in the sudden and wicked impulses engendered by intoxication. In other but less numerous cases, drunken men are set upon by ruffians, who systematically look out for such prey, and effect their object by the aid of a "picking-up woman," or by the shorter process of the "garotte." ' *

'In the last two years,' he writes 'it has been my melancholy duty to converse with 1,126 male prisoners rendered such by drink;' † and he appends a table showing that upwards of two-thirds of the heaviest offences during one of these years had proceeded from the same source.

'Are these figures to be passed over as dry and repulsive statistics? Surely not. When murders, manslaughters, stabbings, shooting, rapes, burglaries, "and such like," to the number of 250 in one year, and in one county, are traceable directly to *acts* of drunkenness, or more indirectly, but no less certainly, to *habits* of drunkenness, Christian feeling must indeed be dormant if it is not moved to deep sorrow for the crimes, and roused into determination to abate the cause of them.

'Within a few hours of writing the above, the criminal history of Liverpool recorded that a police-officer was called into a house in that town, where he found a girl of eight years old lying dead, and a boy of four years old in a dying state, both naked, their bones protruding through their skin, and their bodies covered with filth; a third child "cowering in a corner, more like a dog than a human being." And who were the perpetrators of this tragedy? Drunkard parents! who thus exemplify the horrible consequences of this national vice almost at the very time when the legislature repeals a law which would have set some bounds to the practice of it.' ‡

In the passage here quoted, Mr. Clay alludes to the rescinding of the Act which restricted the sale of liquor on Sunday. He cites the narrative of a prisoner belonging to a respectable rank in society, who forcibly describes the drinking in which young men of his class—that of shop-assistants—habitually indulge on Sunday, and which had brought him and his companions to gaol.§ Even to persons comparatively well educated, the temptation afforded by drink to abuse the day of rest is often too strong to be resisted; while of the Sunday debaucheries practised by a still lower class the reports afford superabundant proof.

Those who have reflected upon the consequences which must ensue from billeting militiamen upon public-houses will not be surprised to hear that 'the extraordinary amount of militia recommittals is solely attributable to drunkenness; as, indeed, are almost all the recommittals. It is certainly astounding that while the recommittals of males within the year for civil offences are under 7 per cent., those of the militia, chiefly, though not solely, for military offences, exceed 52 per cent.' ‖ We cite this passage from Mr. Clay's concluding report. Its pages are crowded with

* Report for 1855, p. 7. † Ibid., p. 56. ‡ Ibid., 1855, p. 57.
§ Ibid., 1855, p. 97. ‖ Ibid., 1858, p. 22.

cumulative

cumulative evidence of those dire results of drink, which, for upwards of thirty years, he had unceasingly urged upon public attention.* We had intended quoting many passages from this and other reports (in addition to those already given), in which Mr. Clay powerfully advocates prohibitory legislation; but want of space limits us to the following extract:—

'The chief cause which leads to the commission of criminal offences the chaplain still believes to be the ale-houses and the beer-shops. They are answerable, directly or indirectly, for nearly three-fourths of the imputed felonies tried within the last year.—Report for 1832.'

'Eighteen cases of murder and manslaughter, in one year, arising solely in the propensity to, and facilities for, the abuse of intoxicating liquors! Were any *new* cause of crime, prevalent as the one I speak of, suddenly to appear among us, the energies of the whole community would be forthwith directed to its suppression; but we have become familiar with the features of this old destroyer; and, as if crime and ruin were not broadly written upon them, continue insensible to their real hideousness.—Report for 1838.' †

'What can be done,' exclaims an author whose experience of the vices and virtues of working men forcibly corroborates the opinions of Mr. Clay, 'to rid Britain of this besetting sin of her working classes? Will no great soul give to this subject serious thought and persevering effort? Is there no "wise man" who will stretch forth his hand to "save a city," or a nation, by his wisdom in suggesting, and his energy in carrying through, a moral or legislative cure for this corroding disease? Will the day never come when we shall be able to give our working brothers their holiday, their one little green isle here and there upon a sea of toil, without its ending by numbers of them drinking themselves into ferocity or idiotcy?' ‡

The 'wise men' are not wanting, and their 'energy and wisdom' are already stirring to save the nation from the curse of drunkenness. They desire to give the people a Maine law as the only legislative protection which has been found efficient against drink; but until the nation is ready for that vast reform it would be futile to introduce it. A tentative measure, therefore, has been proposed, which shall enable a majority—not less than two-thirds—of the rate-payers of any district to prohibit the traffic in intoxicating liquors in their locality. This measure, known as the Permissive Bill, has been in agitation many months: it ranks among its supporters some of the most enlightened men of our country; and a resolution, urging its adoption by her Majesty's government, was carried by acclamation at the great meeting held in Exeter Hall on the 16th of last February. §

On that occasion Professor F. W. Newman declared that it is the rich, and not the poor, who desire to retain the liquor traffic. We fear there is too much truth in the assertion. The higher classes are restrained by education and public opinion from those

* 'In the first of my reports, of which I possess a copy—that for 1825—it was declared that "the overwhelming curse which debases and ruins the lower class resides in the ale-houses." '—Report for 1858, p. 34.

† Report for 1852, p. 14.

‡ 'English Hearts and English Hands,' pp. 214, 215. London. 1858.

§ 'Alliance Weekly News,' Feb. 26, 1859.

excesses

excesses into which the ignorant are tempted by drink; and though sums of disgraceful amount are squandered by them upon intoxicating liquors, still these bear no comparison with the *proportion* of their income wasted by the lower classes upon the same indulgence. Thus the rich are spared the bitter penalties which drink inflicts upon the poor; and, forgetful of the Christ-like admonition of St. Paul, 'It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak,' there are many we fear among us who, because we can indulge it without self-risk, would not forego our individual gratification to save our brethren from the misery into which, unprotected by the education *we* have neglected to give, drink will inevitably plunge them.

We now conclude our memoir of Mr. Clay. During the long period of his ministration at Preston he was associated with almost every good work set on foot in that town, party feeling or sectarianism never marring his benevolence. In the visitations of distress to which manufacturing districts are subject he was always among the most active friends of the unemployed. He formed the Preston Charitable Society, which sought to detect and punish imposture and to succour the deserving poor; and the Soup Kitchen owed much to his assistance. The Mechanics Institute, as well as the Philosophical and Fine Arts Institutions, also were indebted to him for support.* It was his practice to perform himself the important duties of a Patronage Society in maintaining a correspondence with discharged prisoners, and aiding them with his sympathy and advice;† and he strove to lessen the difficulties which impede their efforts to obtain work by the establishment, in conjunction with a few benevolent friends, of a local association for the employment of liberated convicts.‡

Apart from the valuable documents published by him as chaplain to the gaol, Mr. Clay drew up, in 1844, an able report upon the sanitary condition of Preston, of which Mr. Edwin Chadwick, Dr. Lyon Playfair, and others, expressed the highest opinion.§ Mr. Chadwick also bore testimony to the important service he rendered by displaying, in an able pamphlet, the murderous influence of burial-clubs.‖

We have already spoken of the attack of brain fever, the consequence of overwork and anxiety, which soon after his marriage nearly deprived Mr. Clay of life. A similar affliction, resulting from the same causes, befell him in 1845; and after this illness he never entirely regained his health. His duties at the gaol were

---

* 'Preston Guardian.'

† Inspector of Prisons' Report, Northern District, 1848.

‡ 'Preston Guardian.' § Testimonials.

‖ 'Burial-Clubs and Infanticide in England.' A Letter to W. Brown, Esq., M.P., by the Rev. J. Clay, B.D. Preston.

now too heavy a tax upon his strength; but the efforts made by friends to obtain some preferment of not much less value than the chaplaincy (for he could not afford to forego a modest emolument) failed, and he was compelled to struggle on at his post until the completion of his thirty-sixth year of service should entitle him to a full retiring pension. This, at the cost of health, broken beyond the possibility of recovery, he accomplished. But the hand of death was already upon him when he resigned little more than a year ago. He removed to Quorndon in Derbyshire for the benefit of its fine air; and thence, late in the autumn of last year, to Leamington. Very shortly after making this change he became seriously ill, and only three days later—on Sunday, the 21st November—he died. On the following Friday he was buried at Churchtown, near Garstang, in the same grave in which his wife had been laid five months before.

'Had his country rendered to Mr. Clay but a tithe of the good which he conferred on his country, he might still have been alive, assisting by his counsel, if unable still to engage in active labour; but his spirit and liberality were beyond his physical strength and narrow income. He was allowed and compelled to work beyond his power. No church living, to which he would have done so much honour, was presented to him; and till it was too late, no assistance was afforded him in the discharge of his prison duties, or the means offered to him of retiring on a pension sufficient for his necessities, and the consequence is that Mr. Clay has sunk into the grave before his natural time.

'May his own county and the country at large, as far as still lies in their power, discharge to Mr. Clay's children the debt of gratitude which they left unpaid to the philanthropist himself!'*

Our sketch of Mr. Clay's life and labours is very imperfect, and our notice of his writings conveys a far from adequate impression of their value. To be rightly appreciated they must be studied again and again. It was his intention, had life and health been spared, to have given to the world the collected results of his experience in prison discipline, and he had already amassed the material for his work. Yet although he himself was not permitted thus to crown his lifelong labours, his design will be carried into execution. The son, who has undertaken this pious duty, has wisely chosen biography as the appropriate vehicle for transmitting the precious legacy which, in the noble example of his life, no less than in those facts and suggestions teaching us the most effective treatment of criminals, and surest prevention of crime, John Clay has bequeathed to mankind.

* 'Alliance Weekly News,' Dec. 11, 1858. We quote from a memoir of Mr. Clay, contributed by Mr. Frederic Hill, late Inspector of Prisons, whose official duties (before he resigned that office) brought the state of Preston Gaol periodically under his notice, and whose support in promoting its reform was warmly appreciated by Mr. Clay.

ART. V.—*On Liberty.* By John Stuart Mill. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1859.

ANYTHING from the pen of Mr. Mill must command attention and respect. The clear and concise style, the careful and logical accuracy of thought, and, above all, the calm self-respect and tolerance which distinguish his writings, have gained for him the highest position among our political philosophers. The work which stands at the head of our present article will be welcomed as breaking a silence which Mr. Mill has for some time maintained. In a tender and delicate dedication he discloses enough of the emotion of the past to win from the reader, not only the admiration due to intellectual power, but the kindly sympathy accorded to sorrow and bereavement sustained with a manly and touching dignity.

The purpose of this little volume is to discuss the principles which should limit the interference of the state with individual independence—a discussion as important as any relating to political inquiries, and which involves a determination of conditions as 'indispensable to the good conduct of human affairs as a protection against political despotism.' Perhaps it would better convey the scope of the essay were we to describe it as 'an assertion of the right of individual independence;' for the principle laid down and contended for throughout is, 'that the sole end for which mankind are warranted individually or collectively in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection.' To this, and, indeed, to every collateral principle laid down by Mr. Mill in this treatise, we cordially and fully assent; but it is somewhat strange to find ourselves compelled to differ from his application of the principle in almost every case selected by him for illustration. We are not surprised at this, although we ask ourselves whether we may not be mistaken. It is not always the philosopher who, in his closet, works out by laborious thought some great social truth, who can be accepted as an authority upon the special facts which bring any given social phenomenon within the principle he enunciates. In his little volume of 200 pages Mr. Mill devotes 170 to the consideration of 'Liberty of Thought and Discussion,' 'Individuality as one of the Elements of Well-being,' and 'The Limits of the Authority of Society over the Individual,' and generally carries with him our most cordial acquiescence. But the remaining 30 pages of 'Applications' provoke our strongest dissent. Mr. Mill is deficient in the special knowledge which alone could enable him to pronounce upon some of the questions he deals with in this department.

It is one thing to succeed in establishing a standard to which each act of legislation must conform; it is another to be possessed

of the information necessary to decide as to the fact of conformity. In the first Mr. Mill has succeeded; in the second he has failed. He has unanswerably demonstrated the truth of the general principle for which he contends: he has shown himself unable to apply that principle to particular cases, simply because he has not made himself acquainted with their special characteristics.

It must be admitted as desirable that some general agreement should be arrived at by which to fix a limit to the power of a majority. Unless rigidly guarded, individual freedom may be crushed under a tyranny none the less galling because irresponsible. But the extent to which individual freedom can be enjoyed is itself a question which can be settled, not by an appeal to any external authority, but by society itself alone. In society, absolute individuality cannot exist. Individual liberty is merged in social liberty. The moment the individual meets a companion entitled to equality with himself, his absolute freedom ceases. His rights become necessarily limited by the rights of his fellow, and certain common rights arise which neither may infringe. But mutual agreement alone can decide what these common rights shall be. As the number bound in such a federation increases, the majority must decide in the event of disagreement; and the whole power of the new state, more or less effective in its execution in proportion to the formidable or insignificant amount of dissent, *must* be exerted to prevent any act which infringes the rights which it has been determined shall be guaranteed to all. The most which can possibly be contended for is the best form of society, viz., that which secures the greatest amount of social advantage and protection with the least sacrifice of individual independence. But society alone can determine these relations for itself. Its prime end is not individuality, but socialism; that is, the maintenance implicitly of the guarantees which have been decided to be common rights. Individuality must always be held subordinate; and the vital question appears to us to be, not as Mr. Mill seems to regard it, 'How far *may*,' but 'How far *must* society interfere with personal freedom?' Certain acts *must* be prohibited, or society would cease to exist, because it could not command the implicit faith of its members in its guarantees. In our present society, for example, theft *must* be prohibited and punished by law. Society has decided that individual possession of property shall be one of the common guarantees. It might have been otherwise. A state of society is at least conceivable in which communism and not individual right to property should be recognised. In such a society there could be no theft, and, therefore, no necessity for such an interference with personal freedom as a law against theft. But BECAUSE society has determined in favour of individual property, it becomes its bounden duty to prohibit each and every one of its members from any

any act tending to weaken that common guarantee. If some individual, desiring to possess that which belongs, under this guarantee, to some other, proceeds to seize it, society interposes, and says, 'No; if we permit you to do that, our guarantee is worthless;' and the delinquent forthwith loses all the other guarantees of liberty and property with which he was himself surrounded. Whatever be the rights of the individual, as secured by society, whether to life or liberty or property, he forfeits ALL these rights if he use them so as to make his neighbours' rights insecure. The man who deprives, of malice aforethought, his neighbour of life, forfeits his own; the convicted felon is not only deprived of liberty, but the state resumes possession of, and authority over, the property it had enabled him to possess. We do not say this is the *only* justification of a law against theft or other social wrong, but it is sufficient.

Mr. Mill, however, does not contend for a principle so rigidly defined. He abandons any advantage which could be derived from the idea of 'abstract right,' and acknowledges 'utility' as the ultimate appeal on all ethical questions. But still more distinct and appreciable are the admissions involved in his own statement of his case. In the Introduction he says:—

'The sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection. The only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community against his will is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant. He cannot rightfully be compelled to do or forbear because it will be better for him to do so, because it will make him happier, because, in the opinions of others, to do so would be wise, or even right. These are good reasons for remonstrating or reasoning with him, or persuading him or entreating him, but not for compelling him or visiting him with any evil in case he do otherwise. To justify that, the conduct from which it is desired to deter him must be calculated to do evil to some one else. The only part of the conduct of any one for which he is amenable to society is that which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns himself his independence is of right absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign.

'It is perhaps hardly necessary to say that this doctrine is meant to apply only to human beings in the maturity of their faculties. We are not speaking of children, or of young persons below the age which the law may fix as that of manhood or womanhood. Those who are still in a state to require being taken care of by others must be protected against their own actions as well as against external injury.'

In the course of the further discussion, Mr. Mill puts his view still more strongly:—

'If either a public officer or any one else saw a person attempting to cross a bridge which had been ascertained to be unsafe, and there was no time to warn him of his danger, they might seize him and turn him back without any real infringement of his liberty; for liberty consists in doing what one desires, and he does not desire to fall into the river. Nevertheless, when there is not a certainty, but only a danger of mischief, no one but the person himself can judge of the sufficiency of the motive which may prompt him to incur the risk; in this case, therefore (unless he is a child, or delirious, or in some state of excitement or absorption

absorption incompatible with the full use of the reflecting faculty), he ought, I conceive, to be only warned of the danger; not forcibly prevented from exposing himself to it.'

Our readers cannot fail to see that Mr. Mill, in both these extracts, abandons *altogether*, not as a concession, but as hopeless, any contest for an absolute individual right. Among the cases to which his general doctrine is not intended to apply, the first extract we have given enumerates that of young persons who have not arrived at the period, *itself to be fixed by law*, before which their individuality may not begin; and in the second those persons are distinctly excepted who are *unfit* for the exercise of the freedom claimed. How that unfitness is to be determined, except by an appeal to the ultimate authority of society itself, Mr. Mill does not say.

But if the authority of society over the individual be in principle absolute, and the necessity for its exercise determinable by the will of the majority, it does become a grave inquiry, 'How shall the rights of the minority be saved or protected?' On this point, at least, we have no difference with Mr. Mill. The right of freedom of thought and freedom of discussion is the great protection of the minority. This must be maintained at all hazards. Liberty of thought and speech is the foundation upon which all social and political liberty must rest. The minority must obey, but they may object. It is in every way the interest of the majority itself that such objection should be heard, since all can be benefited by the social embodiment of truth and good, and error may be eliminated by such discussion. The members of the majority to-day may to-morrow be in the opposite position, and must, in their turn, submit to a power superior to their individual will. 'Liberty,' says Mr. Mill himself, 'has no application to any state of things anterior to the time when mankind have become capable of being improved by free and equal discussion.' A sound public sentiment can arise only out of full and unfettered exchange of opinion, and we hail Mr. Mill's essay as a most valuable contribution to the discussion of the vital question we have briefly treated. At present public opinion is wavering and undecided. Definite and intelligible notions on the duty and sphere of government are much to be desiderated; and, with the popular mind thoroughly imbued with the principles contended for by Mr. Mill, personal freedom would be secure. We should, however, anticipate as a result, not the abandonment, but the acquirement of certainty in legislation. Our social evils would be dealt with, not timidly, but unsparingly—with decision, and not with hesitation. The mawkish sentimentality which leads to a jealousy of all law and social control, is even more mischievous than the hasty appeal to legislation which may degenerate into a well-meaning tyranny.

Our

Our object, however, is not to discuss at any length the principles of social liberty as laid down by Mr. Mill, but rather, taking these for granted, to correct, so far as our influence may extend, some of his errors of application. Among the various social movements which to him, as a looker-on, appear dangerous to liberty, Mr. Mill ranks the Maine law or prohibition movement. We unhesitatingly declare our conviction, with every respect for Mr. Mill, that he does so because he does not understand it.

Of course Mr. Mill's first objection to any legislation of the character indicated is fundamental. He declares that no social act should be interfered with which does not involve injury to others; but even if beaten from this position he retires behind another. He may admit that society has an interest in the performance or non-performance of any act, but that the interest is so trifling and indirect as to be unworthy of notice. In legal phraseology, he would say that 'the damage is too remote.' Now the application of either of these arguments to a movement hostile to the trade in strong drink can only be accounted for by the absence of information as to the nature and results of that trade.

We have no desire to evade any of the difficulties of the question. Mr. Mill appears to regard law as a certain inconvenience only to be allowed upon good excuse. Now we venture to declare our belief that acceptance of sound principles of social authority must force the conviction that the prohibition of the traffic in strong drink is an act, not *permissible* to the state merely, but *incumbent* upon it. We hold that government *ought* to do this; and that failing to do it, government proves itself recreant to its duty and purposes. Before passing to the general discussion thus opened, our readers shall judge for themselves whether our charges against Mr. Mill are unfounded.

'Under the name,' he says, 'of preventing intemperance, the people of one English colony, and of nearly half of the United States, have been interdicted by law from making any use whatever of fermented drinks, except for medical purposes: for prohibition of the sale is, in fact, as it is intended to be, prohibition of their use. And though the impracticability of executing the law has caused its repeal in several of the States which had adopted it, including the one from which it derives its name, an attempt has, notwithstanding, been commenced, and is prosecuted with considerable zeal by many of the professed philanthropists, to agitate for a similar law in this country. The association, or "Alliance," as it terms itself, which has been formed for this purpose, has acquired some notoriety through the publicity given to a correspondence between its secretary and one of the very few English public men who hold that a politician's opinions ought to be founded on principles. Lord Stanley's share in this correspondence is calculated to strengthen the hopes already built on him by those who know how rare such qualities as are manifested in some of his public appearances unhappily are among those who figure in political life. The organ of the Alliance, who would "deeply deplore the recognition of any principle which could be wrested to justify bigotry and persecution," undertakes to point out the "broad and impassable barrier" which divides such principles from those of the association. "All matters relating to thought, opinion, conscience, appear to me," he says, "to be without the sphere of legislation; all pertaining to social act, habit, relation, subject only to a discretionary

cretionary power vested in the state itself, and not in the individual to be within it." No mention is made of a third class different from either of these, viz., acts and habits which are not social, but individual, although it is to this class, surely, that the act of drinking fermented liquors belongs. Selling fermented liquors, however, is trading, and trading is a social act. But the infringement complained of is not on the liberty of the seller, but on that of the buyer and consumer; since the state might just as well forbid him to drink wine as purposely make it impossible for him to obtain it. The secretary, however, says: "I claim, as a citizen, a right to legislate whenever my social rights are invaded by the social act of another." And now for the definition of these "social rights." "If anything invades my social rights, certainly the traffic in strong drink does. It destroys my primary right of security by constantly creating and stimulating social disorder. It invades my right of equality by deriving a profit from the creation of a misery I am taxed to support. It impedes my right to free moral and intellectual development by surrounding my path with dangers, and by weakening and demoralizing society from which I have a right to claim mutual aid and intercourse." A theory of "social rights," the like of which, probably, never before found its way into distinct language, being nothing short of this—that it is the absolute social right of every individual, that every other individual shall act in every respect exactly as he ought; that whosoever fails thereof in the smallest particular violates my social right and entitles me to demand from the legislature the removal of the grievance. So monstrous a principle is far more dangerous than any single interference with liberty; there is no violation of liberty which it would not justify; it acknowledges no right to any freedom whatever, except, perhaps, to that of holding opinions in secret without ever disclosing them: for the moment an opinion which I consider noxious passes any one's lips it invades all the "social rights" attributed to me by the Alliance. The doctrine ascribes to all mankind a vested interest in each other's moral, intellectual, and even physical perfection, to be defined by each claimant according to his own standard.'

Here are more errors of fact, and more haste and inaccuracies of judgment than we thought to find in anything from Mr. Mill. Our readers need hardly to be told 'that the impracticability of executing the law' has *not* 'caused its repeal' in several States; that it has been re-enacted in Maine after another experiment with license, and that its obstruction in other States has arisen from technical opposition, quite apart from 'impracticability.'

Nor can they fail to see that the arguments quoted by Mr. Mill are merely individual sentiments, and may or may not justify the agitation which the writer defends. Their demolition would not involve the defeat of the Alliance, for no cause can finally be made to depend on the strength or weakness of a particular advocate. But we do not regard the arguments quoted as in any way invalidated by Mr. Mill. Fragmentary as they are—isolated from their context—the entire consecutive argument of which these passages are merely the fringe, altogether ignored, we cannot discover in them the absurd 'theory of social rights' deduced by Mr. Mill. Security and equality as to public burdens undoubtedly are social rights, and it is as surely a social wrong so to weaken and demoralize society as to deprive the individual of their certainty.

We quote Mr. Mill himself as our authority.

'The fact of living in society,' he says, 'renders it indispensable that each should be bound to observe a certain line of conduct towards the rest. This conduct

duct consists—first, in not injuring the interests of one another; or rather certain interests which, *either by express legal provision or tacit understanding*, ought to be considered as rights: and, secondly, in *each person bearing his share* (to be fixed on some equitable principle) of the labours and sacrifices incurred for defending society or its members from injury or molestation. These conditions society is justified in enforcing, at all costs, to those who endeavour to withhold fulfilment.'

We have perused with some care *the whole* of the correspondence between Lord Stanley and the Secretary of the Alliance, and there is scarcely a point raised by Mr. Mill which has not been anticipated and answered. 'But,' says Mr. Mill, 'the infringement complained of is not on the liberty of the seller, but of the buyer.' Surely here is a distinction without a difference. What right has the buyer which does not equally enure to the seller? The trading, which Mr. Mill admits to be a 'social act,' is not complete without *both* seller and buyer; and it is too much to contend that while the seller may, upon legitimate principles, be interfered with, the convenience of the buyer may compel the provision of facilities which society has determined cannot exist consistently with public good.

Let our readers now turn to the second extract we have made from Mr. Mill's essay, and consider the principle involved in it. The passage itself is perhaps the strongest expression to be found throughout the volume of Mr. Mill's views. No objection is raised to a forcible prevention of any person from incurring an immediate and pressing danger. He is to be left at liberty to incur a *risk*, provided there be time to make him acquainted with its existence, and provided he be not under the influence of some 'absorption incompatible with the full use of the reflecting faculty.' It is strange such an exception should occur to an opponent of the Maine law. Not a line in the whole of this illustration which does not tell against Mr. Mill's application of it. The bridge is supposed to be in existence, but *unsafe*. It is *danger* which is certainly to be apprehended, not absolute *disaster*. It is a '*risk*' which is to be incurred. The traveller *may* reach the other side without harm; possibly, without suspicion of the peril he has passed. But with all this, Mr. Mill thinks his liberty may lawfully be infringed, if he be unconscious of the danger, or unfit to estimate its imminence. The true application of this to strong drinks and to prohibition is too obvious to need elucidation.

Mr. Mill's arguments with reference to prohibition and gambling are so impartial as to deserve full quotation.

'There is another question to which an answer must be found consistent with the principles which have been laid down. In cases of personal conduct supposed to be blameable, but which respect for liberty precludes society from preventing or punishing, because the evil directly resulting falls wholly on the agent; what the agent is free to do, ought other persons to be equally free to counsel or instigate? This question is not free from difficulty. The case of a person who solicits another to do an act is not strictly a case of self-regarding conduct. To give advice or offer inducements to any one is a social act, and may therefore

like actions in general which affect others, be supposed amenable to social control. But a little reflection corrects the first impression by showing that if the case is not strictly within the definition of individual liberty, yet the reasons on which the principle of individual liberty is grounded are applicable to it. If people must be allowed, in whatever concerns only themselves, to act as seems best to themselves at their own peril, they must be equally free to consult with one another about what is fit to be so done, to exchange opinions, and to give and receive suggestions. Whatever it is permitted to do, it must be permitted to advise to do. The question is doubtful only when the instigator derives a personal benefit from his advice; when he makes it his occupation for subsistence or pecuniary gain to promote what society and the state consider to be an evil. Then, indeed, a new element of complication is introduced, namely, the existence of classes of persons with an interest opposed to what is considered as the public weal, and whose mode of living is grounded on the counteraction of it. Ought this to be interfered with or not? Fornication, for example, must be tolerated, and so must gambling; but should a person be free to be a pimp or to keep a gambling-house? The case is one of those which lie on the exact boundary-line between two principles, and it is not at once apparent to which of the two it properly belongs. There are arguments on both sides. On the side of toleration it may be said that the fact of following anything as an occupation, and living or profiting by the practice of it, cannot make that criminal which would be otherwise admissible; that the act should either be consistently permitted or consistently prohibited; that if the principles which we have hitherto defended are true, society has no business, *as* society, to decide anything to be wrong which concerns only the individual; that it cannot go beyond dissuasion, and that one person should be as free to persuade as another to dissuade. In opposition to this, it may be contended, that although the public or the state are not warranted in authoritatively deciding, for purposes of repression or punishment, that such or such conduct affecting only the interests of the individual is good or bad, they are fully justified in assuming, if they regard it as bad, that its being so or not is at least a disputable question: that this being supposed they cannot be acting wrongly in endeavouring to exclude the influence of solicitations which are not disinterested, of instigators who cannot possibly be impartial—who have a direct personal interest on one side, and that side the one which the state believes to be wrong, and who confessedly promote it for personal objects only. There can surely, it may be urged, be nothing lost, no sacrifice of good, by so ordering matters that persons shall make their elections either wisely or foolishly on their own prompting, as free as possible from the arts of persons who stimulate their inclinations for interested purposes of their own. Thus (it may be said), though the statutes respecting unlawful games are utterly indefensible—though all persons should be free to gamble in their own or each other's houses, or in any place of meeting established by their own subscriptions, and open only to the members and their visitors—yet public gambling-houses should not be permitted. It is true that the prohibition is never effectual, and that whatever amount of tyrannical power is given to the police, gambling-houses can always be maintained under other pretences; but they may be compelled to conduct their operations with a certain degree of secrecy and mystery, so that nobody knows anything about them but those who seek them; and more than this, society ought not to aim at. There is considerable force in these arguments; I will not venture to decide whether they are sufficient to justify the moral anomaly of punishing the accessary when the principal is (and must be) allowed to go free, of fining the procurer but not the fornicator, the gambling-house keeper but not the gambler. Still less ought the common operations of buying and selling to be interfered with on analogous grounds. Almost every article which is bought and sold may be used in excess, and the sellers have a pecuniary interest in encouraging that excess; but no argument can be founded on this in favour, for instance, of the Maine law; because the class of dealers in strong drinks, though interested in their abuse, are indispensably required for the sake of their legitimate use. The interest, however, of these dealers in promoting intemperance is a real evil, and justifies the state in imposing restrictions, and requiring guarantees, which but for that justification would be infringements of legitimate liberty.'

Here

Here we have an instant explanation of Mr. Mill's difficulties. The dealers in strong drink have a direct interest in their abuse it is admitted, but *because indispensably required for the sake of their legitimate use,* may only be restricted and compelled to find guarantees.

It is not easy to see the distinction in principle between the interference here admitted and that sought by the Alliance. True, Mr. Mill objects to any restriction of number on the ground of removal of temptation or facility; but this objection is entirely opposed to his own admission of interference so far as not 'indispensably required for their legitimate use.' The question between ourselves and Mr. Mill is at once narrowed by this admission. We require no further discussion on principle; all will be settled if we can only agree as to the meaning continually attached to the phrases 'indispensable' and 'legitimate use.' If society should determine that the common facilities for trade are not 'indispensable,' and that the article may 'legitimately' be confined to the shelf of the apothecary, what objection can Mr. Mill raise? If it should turn out that the trade is *essentially* hurtful, and obeys no restrictions, the justification for extreme interference is complete.

The social doctrines upon which a demand for prohibition may be justly based, appear to us to be very simple and intelligible. Because, as we contended at the commencement of this article, society must maintain with certainty its guarantee to each of its members, of liberty, property, and so forth, it must prohibit any employment of liberty or property, by any one, in such a way as to tend *inevitably* to the insecurity of others. Possibly this principle may legitimately be carried even further; but we do not desire to press it beyond the necessity of our present argument. The employment of property in the traffic in strong drink has this *inevitable* tendency. It cannot exist without producing insecurity to all the social guarantees. It is not only a trade—a social act—but a peculiar trade, a specially mischievous social act. It is not merely, as in other trades, that 'the trader has a pecuniary interest in encouraging excess,' that he 'solicits' another to do an act injurious to the common weal, his, the trader's, 'interest being opposed to that common weal,' but that he deals in an article possessing terrible fascination, and operating, irrespective of the trader's interest, in such a way as to induce a physical tendency to excess. We do not say that in every individual using them facilities for the purchase and sale of strong drink create intemperance, but in very many they do, and in all tend to do so, from the nature of the article sold. This peculiarity of the trade is admitted by Mr. Mill himself in his 'Political Economy.' He recommends a taxation of spirits, 'BECAUSE they are more liable to be used to excess;' and although, in the present treatise, he departs

departs from that argument, it is probably due to the exigency of the logic rather than to a change of opinion. Hence, it is plain that no restrictions or guarantees can get rid of the 'real evil' admitted by Mr. Mill, because it arises not from the interest of the trader, but from the trade itself. The mischief is inseparable from the business, because it is a trade in the mischief-maker. As with some of the mysterious deformities of nature, a cure may sometimes be effected, but only at the expense of the life of the patient, so some subtle statesmanship may devise guarantees, and seek to remove from the trade in strong drink its desperate power of social injury, but the trade must certainly perish in the process.

To apply Mr. Mill's principle, and to use his own simile, we say, 'Possibly the torrent of intemperance may be bridged over by restriction and guarantees, but that bridge has been "ascertained to be unsafe,"' and the crowd pressing over are not only unconscious of the danger, although their neighbours are constantly falling through, but it is almost impossible to awaken them to its presence until too late to save them. They do not 'desire to fall into the river.'

One more consideration, and we have done. The whole of Mr. Mill's theory of social government is based on the intelligence of the people. 'Despotism,' he thinks, 'is a legitimate mode of government in dealing with barbarians.' It is no part of our purpose now to discuss metaphysical questions, or to explain the connection between 'intelligence' and the physical organ—the brain. A healthy brain means a healthy mind; a diseased brain, a diseased mind. Now, as is well known, the specific action of alcohol is upon the brain—disorganizing its structure and disturbing its functions. In its mildest operation it dethrones reason and substitutes appetite as the governing power. A trade in such an article must always be a crime-producer—must continue under any restriction to be hostile to the interests of society—and must constantly, by the excitement of an appetite so furious as to 'know no control and acknowledge no natural affection,' induce, to quote Mr. Mill again, 'a delirium' or 'some state of excitement and absorption incompatible with the full use of the reflecting faculty.' The trade in alcohol is mischievous, no doubt, because it is the interest of the trader to promote excess; but it is vastly more mischievous because it is constantly undermining the intelligence and self-control of the people, its results being dependent on the inexorable physical laws which govern the operation of the thing traded in. We commend this last view of the subject to Mr. Mill's further consideration.

Nor can Mr. Mill for a moment contend that the interest of society in the promotion or check of intemperance is remote or indirect. If there be any force in the argument last used, it is a vital

vital question, since all considerations must give way before the necessity for preserving the healthy action of intelligence. All the results which, from a consideration of the probable operation of such an agent in society might be expected, have been fully experienced. The trade in strong drink is the great social disturber. Crime, pauperism, insanity, disease, death, follow its development. It creates the necessity for taxation and public burdens, while those profiting by it bear no adequate proportion of those burdens. This is certainly not adjusted on the 'equitable principle' contended for by Mr. Mill. Corruptions, political and social, gather round the public-house as a centre, and justify appeals to the law of self-preservation as applicable equally to society as to the individual.

It appears clear to us that Mr. Mill's examination of this question has been but cursory. He has clearly heard and seen nothing of the recent suggestions put forth by the United Kingdom Alliance. We have discussed the question in the present article without allusion to the so-called Permissive Bill. Of course the same principle is involved in that as in a general enactment. It is not, as some fancy who have thought but loosely about it, an escape from the difficulties which to such minds as Mr. Mill's encircle the 'Maine law' question; it is merely an avoidance of practical legislative obstacles, enabling the principle it involves to be readily applied to the circumstances of society. The rights of the majority are as much involved in the prohibition of the trade throughout a parish or county as throughout the nation. It is difficult, however, to understand upon what definite principle of social rights and duties it can be denied that a preponderating majority may, if so minded, prohibit a social act which results in the greatest amount of social injury. Whether it may be prudent in any case to exercise that right must depend on the extent and power of the majority, and as applicable to the traffic in strong drink upon public opinion as to the nature and results of that trade. If that trade be, as we believe it to be, a social act justifying and demanding the severest repression, it is sheer cowardice to avoid the acknowledgment, and to shrink from the labour involved in securing an expression of the social will.

ART. VI.—OUR FRIENDS IN COUNCIL.

*** *This space in the Review is open to our Friends in Council. Brief papers on questions of Social Science and Reform will be inserted. We do not endorse the opinions of our Correspondents.*—ED.

Prison Discipline.

SIR,

WILL you permit one who has for very long felt a keen interest in the subject to offer a few observations on the first paper of your last number, viz., that on the progress of Prison Discipline?

All who have read it must have been strongly impressed, no less by the familiarity with the subject which the writer has shown than by his earnest goodwill in the great cause of the diminution of crime.

With the writer's admiration of the improvement of prison discipline, suggested, but not, alas! carried out, by Howard, we must warmly sympathize, as also, in some degree, with his regret that some of Howard's followers should have rushed into the opposite extravagance of unnecessarily costly prisons built at the expense of the honest.

With his general approval of the separate system—at least for the first and more directly punitive part of the sentence—we would heartily concur. He fairly describes what transportation might have been had we studied the interests of the transports (who, though misguided, had not lost all right to be treated as men and brothers), or of the countries to whose shores we deported them. He describes, also, what transportation was, as guided by a mere wish to rid ourselves of certain discomforts—ignoring the fact that those discomforts had souls, or that they might be injurious to those on whose shores they were carelessly cast.

But such things are now past. The colonies—America long ago, Van Diemen's land of late—have all refused to receive our criminals; all, with the exception of West Australia, which can take but few; and we must fairly face the difficulty of having to consume our own crime.

He then states that Colonel Jebb had resources at hand, viz., his 'new plan of release on order of license,' and he wonders much how it ever came to be called 'Ticket-of-leave;' though, had he read Colonel Jebb's report for 1851, he would have found, at page 130, 'Regulations for holders of tickets-of-leave,' showing that the plan was not new in 1853, but only imported from the colonies, with, indeed, some considerable changes. Whether these changes may account for the plan which worked so well there not having been equally successful here, each man must judge for himself.

The original plan, as established, I think, by Sir G. Arthur, was this: a convict who, by his behaviour in prison, gave hope that he would behave well if at liberty, was not thereupon pardoned and allowed all the privileges of a free man; but he was permitted, if he could find a place of work, to go to that work, and continue there, supporting himself, *so long as he behaved well;* but the most careful watch was kept upon him, and any comparatively slight offence, as drunkenness, idleness, keeping bad company, or the like, occasioned at any moment the withdrawal of the license. In England, on the other hand, the convict being merely discharged to shift for himself, with no watch kept upon him, no helping hand to guide him in his newly-acquired liberty, was exposed to all the difficulties and temptations which beset a man searching for work with either no character at all, or one which, if known, would be worse than none.

This, indeed, the writer of the article appears to deny. He speaks of 'the proof which each prisoner must have given of his having profited by his training previous to his obtaining his license' (p. 312). He regrets that, since the system was abandoned, prisoners are released 'without special superintendence" (p. 113).

Now, sir, it would be presumptuous in me, who have never had to deal with convicts, to correct one who has apparently so much experience, were it not that Colonel Jebb, in his Notes on Captain Crofton's plan, expressly states that he objects to any such supervision, and urges strongly that the only course to be taken with released prisoners is that of 'dispersion' (*vide* Colonel Jebb's 'Observations on Captain Crofton's

ton's Notes,' chap. iv.); because, as he says (in the 'conclusion' of the 'observations'), 'it would be impossible in this country to carry out any general superintendence over discharged prisoners by the police without interfering with the means of their obtaining employment.'

Now, either the discharged convicts are watched or they are not. It would be very desirable to know which method is followed. A statement, indeed, was made by a convict official with whom I some time ago had a correspondence in the 'Standard,' which gave a very curious explanation, viz., that when a convict was sent forth with a nominal ticket-of-leave, a sum of money owing to him was retained. This he might receive by applying to the police at intervals of six weeks, three months, and five months after his release; the police inquiring, and satisfying themselves that he was living creditably. This is a very pretty plan, subject only to the following objection, viz., that if the convict, as will occasionally happen, should intend to continue his evil courses, the police would know nothing about him, and have no chance of checking him; while, if he intended to do well, he must apply to the police, and thus invite that supervision which would, according to Colonel Jebb's views, interfere with his obtaining employment. What we want to make a ticket-of-leave a tolerable safeguard to the employer, is that the discharged convict should be watched; and if he show symptoms of a return to evil courses, should be recalled to his prison; in fact, such a ticket-of-leave as is described in Colonel Jebb's Report of '51.

But there is another point, of no less importance than the ticket-of-leave, viz., the intermediate prisons. This invention the writer of the article claims for Colonel Jebb, as the founder of Portland. This is strange. I think Colonel Jebb has never claimed for himself the invention of the Portland system, and the Portland system is very unlike indeed to what is usually called the intermediate system. Colonel Jebb has enough to boast of (were he given to boast), without claiming what belongs to others. Under his superintendence the treatment of convicts has changed from a system of hulks—as bad as could well be—to a system of Pentonvilles and Portlands, which I, at least, believe to be, *so far as it goes*, excellent.

But what is called by ordinary mortals the intermediate prison is a perfectly different thing from Portland, being, in fact, intermediate between that and liberty. Colonel Jebb may, I believe, claim some share in originating even this in the case of his admirable Refuge for Women only at Fulham; but the carrying it out on a large and practical scale for men has been the work of Captain Crofton, in the 'novel experiment' to which the writer of the article alludes at p. 315, in which he well describes the convicts as being 'thus gradually permitted to associate with other men,' and having 'their conduct tested by the various temptations to which they are exposed.'

Now this appears to us to be precisely the thing we require—to afford to the public some ground of hope that the liberated men will be honest, not only under the eye of the Portland officers, but also when trusted with far more of freedom. The writer, indeed, thinks that this is practicable in Ireland, but not in England; because, as he says (p. 316), 'while Mr. Organ describes Irish criminals as not being in any respect of mind, morals, or feelings, inferior to those of their class who have not been convicted,' 'English criminals, as a class, differ widely and unmistakeably from the rest of society.' Is this so? My own experience of some thirty years would say that it never has been quite so in my time, but that it is far less so now than it was twenty years ago. But the convict official of the 'Standard' correspondence—a man evidently of great experience—writes: 'As far as I have learned of prisoners convicted of graver offences, infinitely the largest portion of them are *men of one crime*, whose general tone of feeling and morality is very much on a par with men outside the prison walls.'

If this be as true a description of English prisoners as Mr. Organ's is of Irish ones (and probably two men better qualified to judge could hardly be found), the system which succeeds so well with the latter might have every hope of success if tried with us.

But, again, the writer says (p. 317), Captain Crofton's system was 'possible in Ireland, because the late lord-lieutenant gave an amount of aid which would not be tolerated on this side the Channel.'

Channel.' This might stagger the advocates of Captain Crofton's system in England, were it not kindly answered, three pages later, by the suggestion that 'the powers of the lord-lieutenant might be intrusted to a secretary of state;' and, no doubt, so it might.

His objection to the associated sleeping-rooms is scarcely more tenable. He says they were tried at Portland, and failed—ergo, they can never succeed elsewhere. But, with all due deference, is one failure a proof of impossibility? The experiment requires, no doubt, tact and judgment. It was tried at Portland and failed. (We might ask, If the Portland convicts were not fit to live together in an iron hut, were they quite fit to be turned loose to shift for themselves without risk to society? But let that pass.) The experiment failed at Portland. It has succeeded, and is succeeding, in Ireland. One success will surely prove a possibility even in the face of ten failures.

Have I not, as I said, pointed out some inconsistencies in the article which ought to be cleared up?

I remain, sir,
Your obedient servant,
T. B. L. BAKER.

Hardwicke Court,
March 10, 1859.

ART. VII.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

BOTH Parliament and the country are just now too excited upon political questions to give any very decided attention to the subject of social reform. The dark clouds which appear to overhang the future of European diplomacy, and the rapidly-increasing intensity of agitation at home upon the question of parliamentary reform, absorb the watchfulness and energy of our public men. At the same time the Legislature has not been idle. The amendment of the law, by the introduction of a Bill to improve the law of insolvency and bankruptcy, and of measures to consolidate our criminal code, as well as to simplify the conveyance of landed estates, are under the care of the law-officers of the Crown. Acts to regulate the sale of poisons and to prohibit and prevent the adulteration of food are likewise in various stages of progress. The uncertainty which appears to exist as to the fate of Government and the duration of Parliament renders it almost impossible to predict the fate of any one of these measures. It is difficult to say, also, in what shape the various Acts may emerge from the Committee of the House of Commons; and it will probably be convenient—especially having regard to the very limited amount of space available in our present number—to postpone until our next issue any discussion upon the features of each suggested measure.

We must not omit, however, to remind our readers that among the promised social reforms of the Government was to be a 'Bill for the better regulation of Beer-Houses, and for the Prevention of disorderly assemblages therein.' The precipitate retirement of Mr. Walpole from the Home Secretaryship, in face of the Government Reform Bill, seems to have delayed, if not set aside, this intention. The Government has certainly declared that the Bill will not be abandoned, but introduced; a very general feeling of anxiety exists, however, to see the matter fairly laid before Parliament.

The United Kingdom Alliance has declared its intention of promoting an amendment on the Government measure, by the insertion of a clause conferring on the ratepayers of any district the power, by their votes, to prevent the granting or renewing of any licenses within their boundaries, and this amendment has received the most emphatic sanction of towns meetings in Huddersfield, Leeds, Sheffield, Hanley, and other places.

It is so constitutional and sensible a proposition that we heartily wish it success.

ART.

ART. VIII.—LITERARY REVIEWS.

The Coronet and the Cross; or, Memorials of the Right Hon. Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. By the Rev. A. H. New, Author of 'The Voice of the Bible to the Age.' Sixth Thousand. London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

MR. NEW has done good service to the Church by producing, in a popular form, a biography of this excellent lady, whose influence on the revival of religion in the eighteenth century was so extensive. He has made good use of his materials, and his style is so clear and so graceful, while his earnest manner and evangelical unction are so impressive, that we do not wonder at the issue of the sixth thousand of his work. Such a book, showing what a person of rank can do for her country, is fitted to be a handbook to persons of quality, of wealth, or of leisure, to direct them to works of usefulness; while it will encourage and stimulate all to be workers in the vineyard. The life of Lady Huntingdon stretched over nearly the whole of the last century; hence her memoir is an important contribution to the social and religious history of that period.

A Journal of the First French Embassy to China, 1698–1700. Translated from an Unpublished MS. by Saxe Bannister, M.A. London: Newby. 1859.

THE introductory essay prefixed to this volume attempts to dispel a long-established belief, namely, that the Chinese discouraged foreigners. Mr. Bannister, without hesitation, declares that this is a great mistake. He reviews the various missions sent from this country to China, and their results. Finding many grave errors in our foreign policy in relation to such nations as the Chinese, he takes occasion to examine our colonial administration where the same policy, he thinks, prevails. He blames that department with many of the evils which have arisen in our colonies, and suggests the policy for the future. The French Journal is interesting, and is a contribution to the literature of commerce—yet only a fragment among us. We hope Mr. Bannister may be induced to bring out similar works relating to our own country.

The History of the Temperance Movement in Scotland, with special reference to its Legislative Aspect. Edinburgh: Dickson. 1859.

THE temperance reform is highly entitled to a place in history. It presents most interesting aspects of social progress, and has engaged some of the most devoted philanthropists. In Scotland, too long famed for its drunkenness, there has been an active temperance party for several years. Earlier than in England, and almost than in America, some of these saw the necessity for legislative prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating liquors. By their untiring efforts, combined with the religious portion of the people, the Forbes Mackenzie Bill was obtained, which prohibited the liquor traffic one day in seven. The same party are moving onward in efforts to secure prohibition during the other six days. It is to be deeply regretted that, in a movement so important as the suppression of drunkenness, there should be division in the camp. This volume reveals this sadly, and traces its influences. The author has collected his materials with great industry, collated them with care, and argues from them with the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*. Most of the history will be new to many, and it explains recent animosities.

Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. 1858. Edited by G. W. Hastings, LL.B. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1859.

THIS valuable work having just come into our hands, cannot, in this number, receive a review proportionate to its merits; but we hope to return to it. Meantime we recommend it to our readers as containing a vast amount of matter affecting social science in all its departments.

The Politics of Temperance. Monthly Papers of the United Kingdom Alliance. Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

THESE penny pamphlets discuss the new phase which the temperance question is now assuming, with argumentative, legal, and literary ability which do honour to their authors, as they must advance the cause for which they are written. We trust it is no self-praise

to say that two of the papers are reprints from our own columns. They should be widely scattered over the country.

Lectures. By Hugh Stowell Brown. Vol. II. London: Partridge and Co. 1859.

MR. STOWELL BROWN has for a considerable time been in the habit of addressing the men of Liverpool on Sunday afternoons. He does not profess to preach, and seldom or never takes a text of Scripture as the foundation of his remarks. The line of a negro melody or of a popular song, a well-known proverb, or a slang phrase, serves his purpose. His addresses contain much practical wisdom and not a little gospel, and were listened to by thousands. Though somewhat irreverent for Sunday discourses, yet, as tracts for the people, they are possessed of much worth, and likely to advance social reform.

The Young Men of the Great City. London: Jarrold and Sons.

THIS tract deserves to be put into the hand of every young man in our large cities.

The Scottish Temperance League Register and Abstainers' Almanac for 1859. Glasgow.

THIS publication, now in its eleventh year, is valuable to the temperance public of Scotland, and contains a list of all the members of the League. In the present issue there is a review of the temperance movement, which is rather too much controversial. We think that, for eighteenpence, an annual might contain more information and be more available for general use. Deducting the list of subscriptions, members, and the almanac, there are not thirty pages left for literary matter and social statistics.

The Popular Lecturer for 1858. Manchester: Heywood.

THERE are twenty-nine lectures professed to be contained in this volume, but several are mere newspaper epitomes, which we much regret. If the lectures could not be fully reported, they had been better omitted. There are, however, some excellent lectures, such as 'Geographical Botany,' 'Modern Chemical Discoveries,' 'Emmanuel Kant,' 'Daniel Webster,' 'Preventible Disease,' 'Total Abstinence,' &c., where the authors get full scope for the discussion of their subjects. As a whole, the 'Popular Lecturer' is a cheap publication of a high class, and fitted to improve the intelligence of the working classes for whom it is designed.

The Temperance Penny Song Book. Edited by the Rev. A. Dewar. Manchester: Bremner.

THIS combines sacred with secular pieces, and avoids, in general, the reckless parodying of popular songs and hymns which has scandalized Temperance melodies. Containing ninety-four pieces, at the cost of a penny, and possessing sterling merit, this little work is worthy of being a handbook of song in Bands of Hope and Temperance Societies all over the land.

The Healing Art the Right Hand of the Church. By Therapeutes. Edinburgh: Sutherland and Knox. 1859.

THE author of this work longs to strengthen the church, to widen her influence, and render her truly helpful in the great moral social movements of the age. He would effect it thus:—'Restore,' he would say, 'the right hand, lopped off so many centuries since; in other words, re-establish the healing art as an ordinary function in the Christian church. There are officers appointed by her to teach—to deal with the souls of men; let men be appointed to tend the body also—to heal as well as to preach. Jesus Christ, the great Founder of the church, dealt with man as man—as a being possessed both of body and soul. He gifted his apostles and evangelists to heal as well as to teach, and, thus equipped, sent them forth on their mission. Let this "complement of the Christian ministry" be supplied. Then the church will stand forth the mightiest engine of social and spiritual progress.'

Such is the drift of the author in his earnest and interesting book. Whether the arguments adduced warrant the appointing of another permanent office in the Christian church may fairly be questioned. Much the same reasoning might establish a *jus divinum* for several other offices and practices sanctioned only for the time as suitable to the exigencies of the church. Had the author contented himself with a less sweeping conclusion, and aimed at covering only the church's evangelistic function, his arguments had hit with greater

greater force. It would be difficult indeed to prove that the church, in her missionary efforts, whether at home or abroad, has followed, as she ought, the example of the Saviour; nor would it be easier to maintain that His commission to the Seventy at least, and, we may add, to the apostles also, as evangelists, 'heal and preach,' has ever yet been abrogated. If that composite charge be still in force, and if both common reason and experience convince us that healing the sick is at once the safest and most telling commendation of the gospel to ignorance and degradation, why, it may fairly be asked, is the healing art not adopted? Much may be found in the work under review to stir thought on the great subject of medical missions. The author has read much, and thought much. Proofs and illustrations of his subject have been carefully gathered from many a writer, both ancient and modern. The medicines of the Jews, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and of ancient nations generally, have been examined with the faithful, patient zeal of the Christian and the physician. The result is a large collection of most interesting facts, accessible to a very small portion even of reading men.

The whole subject of medical agency, in its application to the masses, merits serious inquiry. Of late years experience has proved its value abroad, but scarcely an effort has been put forth to apply it at home. Only in one instance, so far as we know, has the attempt been made. We refer to the Medical Missionary Dispensary in Edinburgh. Here the success has been most encouraging, although hitherto the effort has been almost a private one, and has, in consequence, lacked the influence of numbers. An eminent physician visits daily —medical students, anxious to do and get good, accompany him—the poor gather round the healers, and hear from them the words of the Great Healer. The patients are then examined apart, prescribed for, and handed over each to the care of a student, who visits at their homes, and reports to the physician. The confidence of the poor in their benefactors, the kindly interchange of feeling, the influence of the Christian doctor for good, are evident and most cheering. Suppose similar institutions extended over the country, under the influence of the body of Christian philanthropists—suppose them attached to our City Missions, or made to take the place of poor-law medical relief—proportionate results might be expected. The moral effect of legal relief is at present zero, at least for good. Whatever it may be called, it certainly is not felt to be *charity* in any sense. On the contrary, too many trust to it and look for it as a *right*. The most stringent measures are necessary to prevent abuse —measures which are far from humanizing to any party. After all the inspector is ever being deceived. Now it would be difficult to devise a system of inquisition more effective or more welcome than the visitation of the medical missionary. He has means of seeing into the very heart of the pauper family. The undeserving could not long remain unknown. Moreover, he is enabled to deal with crime, or at least with one of its most fruitful sources, as no other man. He alone knows aright the pathology of intemperance. There can be no doubt that drunkenness becomes a disease. At a certain stage moral suasion is useless, perhaps only aggravating to the evil in proportion as the victim feels his impotence. It calls for physical treatment. Eighty per cent. of our criminals are criminals through intemperance. Doubtless there are not a few of these who would help it, if only they could — would save themselves from ruin, their fellow-citizens from burdens, and their children from hereditary taint. We know of no agency more likely to supply them with the help they need—physical and moral —than the medical evangelist.

Our Moral Wastes, and how to reclaim them. By the Rev. J. H. Wilson. London: Partridge and Co. 1859.

THE author of this little work has, for some years, been well known to those who have been interested in territorial missions for recovering the masses that have ceased to attend the ordinances of religion. He has here given a short narrative of his labours, and several very touching individual histories; and he has added an exhortation to Christians generally to promote similar missions. The book can scarcely fail to interest all who peruse it, which we earnestly wish our readers to do. Mr. Wilson found the scene of his labours in the most degraded condition. Every vice abounded. Public-houses and low theatres tempted the people, and throve on their sins and infamy. Now by

temperance

temperance societies, which Mr. Wilson ardently promoted, by the preaching of the gospel, and by various economic arrangements, the wilderness is reclaimed. A beautiful church is on the site of the penny theatre, schools have taken the place of public-houses, and an active missionary agency has transplanted the tempters to vice. Her Majesty has for several years taken a lively interest in Mr. Wilson's philanthropic labours, and has subscribed to the mission. Many others have done the same. We trust that this stirring and useful work will be extensively circulated, and that many Christian congregations and single-hearted individuals will be encouraged by it to follow the example of this 'good Samaritan.'

Christian Exercises for every Lord's Day Morning and Evening in the Year. By Jabez Burns, D.D., Author of the 'Pulpit Cyclopædia.' London: Houlston and Wright. 1859.

THE volume before us is designed to make the house a Bethel when its inmates are unable to attend public worship, and otherwise to aid in keeping holy the Sabbath-day. It consists of expositions of, and meditations on, texts of Scripture. Terse, unctional, and evangelical, they are fitted to instruct, edify, and refresh the soul. The hymns appended to each portion, while they will not add to the doctor's fame as a poet, will greatly aid the devotion of his readers. The themes are singularly free from controversy, and the remarks of Dr. Burns are as devoid of sectarianism. His book is, therefore, fitted for the Christian people at large, and may be appropriately introduced into every home.

The Sunday-School Question Book, Bible Class Manual, and Family Catechist. By William Roaf. London: J. Snow.

THE title of this work is fulfilled in its contents. Containing an admirable epitome of sound doctrine and morality, and made useful to teachers and parents by a series of apposite questions and Scripture references, it is fitted to become a handbook of biblical teaching in Sunday-schools and Christian families.

Sketches and Lessons from Daily Life. By Felix Friendly. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1859.

DAILY life is, in this book, made the vehicle of much solid and practical instruction, conveyed in a most agreeable manner. It is admirably adapted to the busy and careful, and may lead them to realize a higher end in what they do than the work that wearies, or the anxieties that fret them.

Ernest, the Pilgrim. A Dramatic Poem. By J. W. King. London: Partridge and Co. 1859.

THERE is a spark of true poetic fire in Mr. King. His poem is well conceived, and elaborated with considerable success. His love of rural scenery, acquaintance with nature, and felicity of expression, make his verses rise far above mediocrity. There is a sweetness about his rhymes: they ring like the chimes of village bells. Love is depicted in a purity worthy of admiration. Piety receives its place of honour and meed of praise. Courage, too, is lauded; and the descriptions of Inkerman, Balaklava, and the winter before Sebastopol, as related by the returned soldier, are splendid pieces of martial poetry. The woes and wants of society receive from the author a touching description; while the duties of each class are declared in words fitted to awaken responsibility without arousing bitterness. Mr. King has in 'Ernest' produced a poem which needs only to be read to be appreciated.

Instauration. A Poem. By R. S. R. London: Partridge and Co.

A REVERENT spirit breathes through this somewhat long poem; but there is lack of force, arising from its extension. True poetry is impatient of delay. It condenses thought, and illustrates it with natural descriptions or fanciful allegory. If R. S. R. would follow the advice of Horace in his 'Ars Poetica,' something more worthy of his mind, and more likely to give him a niche in the temple of fame, would be the result. We must, however, acknowledge that there are many beauties and much good sentiment in 'Instauration.'

Heart Struggles, and other Poems. London: Partridge and Co. 1859.

POETRY, published anonymously, must possess superior merit to repay the outlay. We fear L. F. will be a loser by launching his little bark on the perilous sea of authorship. But 'even his failings lean to virtue's side;' and the reader of 'Heart Struggles, and other Poems,' may find much with which his own experience will accord. This has been the object of the author, as enunciated in a brief preface.

Meliora.

ART. I.—*Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, 1858. Edited by George W. Hastings, LL.B. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1859.

THE Sciences are slow in their formation. They are not preconceived theories which speculation has propounded, but the classification of results which observation has recorded. They are not the prophecies of the ingenious, but the experiences of the investigating. Hence long pursuit, patient research, careful observation must precede systematic arrangement. Before the days of Bacon, philosophers imagined Science to be perfect. Everything was allocated by a logical necessity to the Procrustean place it was to fill. Aristotelian order had arranged the Sciences for ever. But the Baconian method revolutionized the knowledge of antiquity, and destroyed the systems which had been built upon imaginary or false foundations. It sent the philosopher to first principles, to record his observations, and collect his facts, and then to construct a science according to truth. There were some departments of research already systematized. Geometry was as correct in the days of Euclid as in those of Newton. Algebra was known in Arabia early in the Christian era, and became a science in the dark ages. The principles of pure science were then clearly defined. But since the days of Bacon, *à priori* reasoning passed away from the schools of Natural Philosophy. Facts displaced fancies, and principles supplanted speculations. New candidates for a place in Science have also arisen, and have astounded the world by the splendour of their discoveries. Chemistry, Geology, Botany, Anatomy, and Natural Philosophy have, under the numerous investigations and careful syntheses of their students, expanded into sciences, most of whose laws have been fixed and their numerous subjects classified.

The Science of Mind is not so speedily realized as that of Matter; but its disciples have been numerous, and their earnest efforts to systematize have been largely successful. The influence of Bacon on this department was not less than on the Physical Sciences. We are indebted to his example, and to Locke and those who have followed him, for the Philosophy of Mind as it is now.

What ought to be, is the great subject of Moral Philosophy. But its facts have not been soon, or very successfully, arranged in scientific order. Greek sages cultivated it in their several schools, and it owes much to Plato. Some time after his death, it became the scene of contests between the rival sects. Grecian schools were closed by Justinian, and ancient philosophy expired in the land of its birth. But a thousand years passed away before modern philosophy began, and amidst the subtleties of the schoolmen, Ethics made little progress. From the days of Hobbes to our own time, however, this department of study has made great advances, though controversies regarding the nature of virtue itself have retarded its scientific perfection.

Of late years a new department has aspired to the dignified position of a Science. Men of warm sympathies and untiring zeal had been long endeavouring to benefit their fellow-men by social amelioration. Not a few have their names among the illustrious. Howard and Mrs. Fry spent their lives in the reform of prisons and prisoners; Bell and Lancaster improved education, and John Pounds extended it to the ragged children; Wilberforce was a leader in negro emancipation, and Lord Shaftesbury in shortening factory labour at home. Lord Brougham, who, like Bacon, has long made all knowledge his study, has been particularly devoted to Law Reform. We have had Boards of Health for sanitary improvement, and various societies for benefiting the condition of the working classes and the poor. Each department of social reform has been worked with zeal, and reports of progress have been heard amidst the general record of philanthropic intelligence which the month of May issues from Exeter Hall. In the year 1856, however, it occurred to some philosophic minds that these various benevolent pursuits might be associated, and that to the growing field of human knowledge might be added the novel but interesting SCIENCE OF PHILANTHROPY. The idea was a happy one, and is traceable to the Law Reform Association and the veteran nobleman, philosopher, and orator who occupies its presidential chair—Lord Brougham. It was suggested that persons interested in social subjects might form an association similar to that valuable and illustrious assembly for the promotion of science, called the British Association. The subjects were, in most cases, entirely distinct, and of sufficient range and interest to enlist a vast body of members, without infringing on the province of the elder association. The first meeting of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science was held at Birmingham in October, 1857, under the presidency of Lord Brougham. The different departments were under the chairmanship of distinguished personages—Lord John Russell, Sir John Pakington, the Bishop of London, Lord Stanley, and Sir Benjamin Brodie. The attend-

ance

ance of social reformers at this meeting was most encouraging; papers were read on subjects of interest; public attention was largely excited on the questions discussed; and a volume of 'Transactios' containing most of these papers, was issued. The effort thus made to centralize the intelligence of all parties engaged in Social Reform exerted a great amount of influence throughout the country; and when the second annual meeting was held in Liverpool in October, 1858, it was still more manifest in the vast increase of members and of papers, and in the great interest taken in the discussions. The magnificent hall which the town of Liverpool has erected at such vast expense, was admirably adapted to the meeting of the Association. Committee-rooms abounded, and were in most desirable contiguity to each other, while the large hall served to accommodate the two thousand members and associates who had attached themselves to the meeting. One feature of this annual gathering was the commencement of proceedings by a religious service in St. Nicholas' Church, where a sermon was preached appropriate to the occasion by the Bishop of Chester. It was meet that those who had united to advance the cause of social amelioration should thus recognize the divinely appointed and most powerful regenerator of society—the gospel of Jesus Christ—and should seek a Divine blessing on the subsidiary movements which they had especially met to promote. This coincided well, also, with a very marked feature of the meeting, the attendance of a large number of ministers of religion. This is as it ought to be. Religion is essentially ameliorative, and while occupied with matters that are spiritual, cannot properly disregard any effort to improve the social condition of the people. Religious men have sometimes been taunted with their zeal on behalf of the African and the Indian, and their apathy on behalf of the masses that suffer at home. The reproach is undeserved, and such a meeting as that convened at Liverpool last October is sufficient to refute it. But there are, nevertheless, many religious people who seem unwilling to come down from the spiritual height to which they have soared, in order to grapple with the social problems that demand the attention of the philanthropist. We do not believe that spiritual air is too ethereal for lowly work, for men of the most eminent piety are found in the ranks of social reformers. It is of vast consequence to the practical effect of the Association that ministers of religion should countenance and share the deliberations of the annual meeting, become intelligent members, and make themselves acquainted with the benevolent schemes that are discussed or commended. Placed as they are among the people, none have more influence for good; and when allied to those objects of general philanthropy

contemplated by this Association, their opportunities for usefulness will be enhanced, and their accessibility to the people made more easy.*

Another feature of this Association, both at Birmingham and at Liverpool, is the manifest interest taken in its objects by persons of high rank and influence. Members of both houses of the Legislature, and even of the Cabinet, have united with others devoted to philanthropic pursuits, and by the papers which they contributed, the active part they took in discussions, the labour they so freely gave in presiding over sections, have given the strongest proof of their sincere attachment to the cause of social reform. It is true that many ameliorative schemes have been successfully promoted without the patronage or aid of rank or fortune; but it has been a pleasing feature of benevolent associations during recent years, that persons of high position and commanding influence have devoted their energies to the noble cause of Philanthropy. By this Association parties of all ranks are brought together, are enabled to mingle their sentiments on common subjects; and we have no doubt that, in the future progress of social reform, this union will materially promote the success of such schemes as are well matured, unsectarian, and can be put into general practice.

The Association divides Social Science into five departments: Jurisprudence and Amendment of the Law; Education; the Punishment and Prevention of Crime; Public Health; and Social Economy. This seems as good an arrangement as can be suggested; but there are not a few questions that cannot be fully discussed without affecting one or more of these. But we apprehend that due latitude will be allowed in such cases. The arrangement will greatly aid systematic thought among our social reformers, and will educate men of one idea to respect the conclusions of others, while every facility is afforded for propounding their own special schemes.

According to the plan of the Association, papers are invited from members on subjects coming within the range of the departments. These are read in the section, and when of sufficient interest, discussed. Judging from the Report of the Liverpool meeting, there is no lack of papers, as one hundred and seventy-three were read during four days. These were over and above the inaugural addresses, conversaziones, and public meetings. Now, it will at once appear that, in a deliberative body such as

* It deserves to be noticed that at the recent meeting of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, an able report on the *Bothy* system, was read by Dr. Begg of Edinburgh, and an animated discussion followed. This is truly exemplary, and may be commended to Convocation.

the

the Association professes to be, too much time was occupied with the mere reading of papers, and too little opportunity afforded for discussion. Indeed, so much was this the case, that the sections had occasionally to be subdivided during two of the days in order to get through the programme. Were all the papers printed, this might be well enough, as each member and the general public would have future opportunity to consider the subject; but the 'Transactions' would become too bulky by such a course, and in the present issue it has been found necessary to omit one-half. The talented secretary, Mr. Hastings, seems fully alive to this difficulty, and, in the introduction to the volume recently issued, he has given some hints for the guidance of members in preparing papers. It seems to be tacitly understood that a considerable proportion of the papers should be occupied with local matters, in order to give an interest to the meetings in a succession of towns or cities. But great care will require to be taken in the arrangement of papers to be read, so as to give sufficient prominence to great topics, and to prevent repetition.

In the volume now before us there are about ninety papers, and a record of the business transacted in each department. Encased in small type, and stretching over upwards of 700 pages, there is a vast collection of wisdom and experience on subjects of engrossing interest at the present time. It is impossible for us to do justice to these 'Transactions' in one paper; but the volume itself ought to be perused and studied. All that we can do is to take up in a general way, if our space allow us, the five subjects which form the departments of the Association. Before doing so, however, we may advert to the opening address of Lord John Russell, who reviewed the general objects of the Association in his usually clear and able manner. It is interesting to see this veteran reformer so fully abreast of the times on all social questions. Commencing his career when antiquated notions prevailed in the senate, belonging to an ancient though liberal family, early thrust into public life, he has retained few prejudices of the past, and has taken a most intelligent interest in matters which each succeeding era has brought forth. In Jurisprudence and Amendment of the law he is a worker as well as a theorist. Education has been largely indebted to his energies. His political labours do not come under our notice, but it is striking to find him among the most liberal of the day. Literature has been fostered by him, and some of those entirely devoted to it, as a profession, have found him an intelligent admirer, a considerate patron, and a generous friend. It was gratifying to every member of the Social Science Association to see the wiry and animated form of Lord John Russell in the president's chair at Liverpool.

At

At the Liverpool meeting, Lord Brougham had no special office of presidency, but he delivered one of the public addresses. It was refreshing to see this illustrious man moving about the rooms of St. George's Hall with the alertness and nimbleness of a youth, though time had brought the furrows on his countenance and trembling into his step. To use the words of Lord Chancellor Napier, 'He has sped his eagle flight against the dazzling blaze of science with an eye that never winks, a wing that never tires, an eye not dim, nor his natural force abated; with all the triumph of his long and useful life, in which he has won so many battles in the cause of jurisprudence, we have him now with the unabated energy of youth, and the matured experience of age, helping forward the work of this great national association.' The elaborate paper which he read in St. George's Hall was on the Diffusion of Knowledge, in course of which he reviewed the progress of improvement in the circulation of a healthy literature, in a cheap form, among the people of this empire. Lord Brougham commenced this movement by the inauguration of the Useful Knowledge Society, which provided treatises of high scientific value, composed in a simple and intelligible style, and at a very reasonable price—not the least valuable of which was the 'Penny Magazine,' suggested by one of his coadjutors, now also a veteran in social reform, Mr. Commissioner Hill. It was, therefore, with some enthusiasm that his Lordship reviewed the last half-century, and pointed with triumph to the vast circulation of such excellent works as are issued by John Cassell, by temperance societies, and to the popular and cheap treatises on science by the most eminent philosophers of the present day, and to the newspapers which are increasingly circulated amongst the public. Thus he concluded his valuable and eloquent paper—

'It thus appears, that for the treatment of every subject, and to suit the condition, the capacity, and the taste of every class, there is ample provision made in the popular literature of the age; that the means are afforded of encouraging those to read who would else devote their hours of rest to mere listless vacancy of thought, or to dissipated courses; that the opportunity of public instruction is given to all who are desirous and capable of receiving it; that while all are thus greatly improved, some are made fit to improve others; that the instinct of curiosity prevents all risks, converting, when desirable, superficial into solid information, but leaving even partial acquirement to do substantial good; and there is thus the clearest proof afforded of the people's instructors working out the ends of Providence by the employment of the means bountifully placed within their reach, improving the mass of their fellow-creatures through the intelligence bestowed, and the instincts implanted by the heavenly Father, who desireth not that His children should perish in the darkness of ignorance, but rather that they should learn and live.'

The Lord Chancellor of Ireland was the President of the Department of JURISPRUDENCE and LAW REFORM, but was unavoidably detained

detained at Dublin during the meeting. His paper was read by Lord John Russell before the close of the proceedings, and contained some valuable remarks on the great subject of his section.

It is strange that we have been so long without possessing a code of our statute laws. The fact is, we have only begun to set ourselves to it. When a thing is designed to be done, and done quickly, it is marvellous how difficulties fly away and wise improvements are made for the benefit of the community. Lord John Russell referred to a case in point, in the following passage of his opening address—

'To explain my meaning more fully, I will refer to what has been done almost in our own day in two foreign countries. At the beginning of this century the First Consul of France had attained the fame of a great military commander. In his wonderful Italian campaigns he had defeated the most experienced generals of Austria. He had recently seized the reins of power which had fallen from the feeble hands of his predecessors. He had subdued and tamed the remnants of the Jacobin faction, which was still thirsting for blood. He had opened the ports of France to the partisans of the ancient monarchy, who were still panting for a restoration. It was his aim to restore peace to society, to give religion to her altars, to replace justice in her sanctuary. In the midst of these labours he determined to bestow on France a simple and enlightened code of laws. For this purpose he assembled a council, in which the learned lawyers of the days of Louis the Sixteenth sat by the side of the able lawyers of the regicide Convention. There, after his morning inspection of his troops, he would sit from twelve at noon till five in the afternoon, never inattentive, never weary, marking out clearly, without passion and without prejudice, the foundations on which property, marriage, commerce—in short, all the complicated relations of life, and the security of life itself—were thereafter to rest. In discussion, the opinion of the ablest civilian, and not that of the military dictator, prevailed. When the work had been for some time proceeded with, it was sent to all the legal tribunals of France, with a request that any remarks which the judges might have to make should be transmitted to Paris. Thus debated, discussed, drafted, corrected, augmented, and revised, the Code Napoleon, in its different portions, was published, at intervals extending over seven years, as the law of France. And now what is the result? The splendid victories of Napoleon, the rush of armies, the roar of cannon, the masterly decision, the instant obedience, have passed away. The pride of empire, the kings waiting in the antechamber, the sway of a mighty will from Rome to Hamburg, from the Manzanares to the Elbe, have vanished as the baseless fabric of a vision. But the transactions between man and man, the trial of the offender, the adjudication of property throughout the French empire, are still regulated, and probably will long be regulated, by the statutes of the immortal legislator.'

His Lordship referred to the Code of Real Property Law in the State of New York, already noticed in this Review.* What we want in this country is a similar result of consolidation and amendment in the various branches of our laws—a few volumes which would really contain the consolidated wisdom of our legislature, and which every Englishman is supposed to know. This would greatly facilitate legal studies, and prevent many cases going through the expensive career of the law courts.

---

* 'Meliora,' vol. i., p. 123.

The

The Jurisprudence Department of the Association was very actively engaged at Liverpool. Many papers of merit and importance were read, and several resolutions of practical moment were adopted—specially with reference to the reforms required in the administration of bankruptcy law. On this subject there was great unanimity in the sections, where many delegates from Chambers of Commerce throughout the kingdom were assembled. This is a case illustrative of the influence of the National Association. At Birmingham, when the question was discussed, Lord John Russell remarked the difference of opinion among the delegates. But during the year, a special committee had prepared a bill which, at Liverpool, met with the unanimous approbation of the mercantile delegates. The result was, the appointment of a 'General Committee on Mercantile Legislation,' whose influence will be brought to bear on Government, or other parties connected with the preparation of bills on this subject. This department is therefore likely to advance most effectually the consolidation and amendment of the Statute Laws.

The Department of Education was presided over by the Right Hon. W. F. Cowper, M.P. This was a very apt appointment, as it gave one who had been, and may be again, called upon to distribute the 'Grants in Aid,' now so extensive, all the advantage of a full and frank discussion of the several schemes propounded to improve education, and to further a national system. Mr. Cowper's introductory address broke open the subject in an able and conciliatory manner. He referred to the existing evils in the insufficient style of the education given to the middle classes, and the vast number who are left destitute of its blessings. There is too much pretension and show, without solidity, in our middle-class education, as was sadly disclosed by the Oxford examinations last year, when, out of 1,200 of the best pupils, 'half failed to pass the preliminary examinations in English and arithmetic. Many of these had made progress in Latin and Greek and mathematics, but they had no accurate knowledge of their mother-tongue, and had not even mastered the art of spelling.' There was a great outcry at the time, by the principals of schools, that justice had not been done to their pupils; but we trust they have been taught a salutary lesson of the folly of their system of instruction, and that when a new opportunity of testing their pupils arises, more satisfactory results will appear. We conceive that the character of middle-class teachers is at stake. Their deficiencies have been revealed. It remains for them to prove their excellencies in the preparation of their pupils for passing honourably the Oxford examinations. Hitherto these schools have not been to any extent in England public institutions, and have been free from inspection. Their merits

merits have not been tested, and the only stimulus which teachers had was the brilliant appearance which their scholars could make before admiring papas and mammas on an exhibition day. Our middle-class schools require to be reconstructed. For this purpose the gymnasia of Germany suggest many improvements. These formed the subject of a valuable paper read at Liverpool by Dr. Ihne. If, in connection with the present system, the Committee of Council could encourage gymnasia in all public towns, an incalculable boon would be conferred on middle-class education in this land. It could be done without any State expense, as the middle classes are quite able to pay for the education of their children. This would necessitate thoroughly-trained and competent masters, insure inspection, and afford stimuli to the instructors of youth to aim at advancement both in personal attainments and scholastic efficiency. Attached to this advantage might be another—the examination of all youth entering the gymnasia. Such a course would keep up the standard of education within these high schools, and tend to stimulate masters and pupils in the common schools. An excellent paper on Middle-class elementary Education was read by Dr. Knighton, a gentleman whose large experience entitles him to speak with authority. His account of the schools now under review is by no means flattering. He notices three very serious defects, 'firstly, want of skill in the teachers; secondly, want of machinery and method in the schools; thirdly, the excessive influence of injudicious parents on the schools.' The remedies which he suggests are such as we have above hinted at—the necessity for better trained teachers, especially assistants, who are at present so unskilled. This is a subject that deeply concerns all the rising middle classes in England, and eminently deserves the annual consideration of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science.

The other great deficiency in education is the absence from school of so large a number as 1,800,000 children. These are absentees without necessity or justification. The common schools of England have of late been largely multiplied, vastly improved in teachers, in teaching, in buildings, and in apparatus; but they have not overtaken the mass of ignorance. The numbers beyond the beneficial influence of schools at present open are quite alarming. The causes are probably two:—the indifference of the parents, and the demand for juvenile labour. But these causes of neglected education result in the demoralization of youth and the danger of the commonwealth. It is, therefore, a fair question to consider how far the State ought to step in and discharge parental duty. In the case of factory children, the legislature has ordained that a certain quantity of knowledge shall be possessed by the juvenile worker. In the case of juvenile crime, the legislature has

has also interfered, and insisted that the child be sent to a reformatory and instructed. Public opinion has also decreed that the vagrant child should not be allowed to grow up ignorant, for he may be vicious, and has established ragged schools, which the State has to some extent encouraged. Thus we have factory, criminal, and ragged children educated whether parents approve or not. We have admitted a compulsory system thus far. But well-nigh two millions of youth, between the ages of three and fifteen, are absent from school 'without any necessity or justification.' Are these not in a dangerous condition, and likely to endanger society? Ought not the legislature to ordain that where parents are able to educate they should be compelled to do so? There are strong antipathies to such a system. Many seem to think it is an unwarrantable interference with the liberties of Englishmen—as if that was a liberty worth possessing, the privilege of neglecting the education of our future citizens. Others are afraid of the want of supply for the labour market; but a million and a half at least are now neither at work nor at school. In the factory system the demand for labour is fenced by the necessity for education, and why should other branches of trade not have a similar advantage? Universal education is not to be reached by a national system, however desirable that system may be. In America and in Ireland it does not reach the outlying mass; but in Prussia, where a compulsory enactment prevails, every child is taught. And why not, in this United Kingdom, where we are so protected by rights and privileges, that this one restriction for the public benefit could not be felt to be a burden but a blessing? Among the many papers read at Liverpool—and they were all of high merit—there was a very short one on this subject by the Rev. William Fraser of Paisley, a gentleman who has devoted a great deal of attention to the subject of education generally, and who published last year an exceedingly able and candid examination of 'Our Educational Enterprises,' being the result of a tour taken with the express object. We had the pleasure of hearing the compulsory system argued by other persons interested in the extension of education at the meetings of this department at Liverpool, and we are not aware of any serious objection to the plan. The benefits to be derived, far more than overbalance the supposed sacrifice of liberty. Did our space permit, we could have desired to draw attention to papers read by eminent educationists, but we must refer the reader to the printed Report. There is, however, one point of considerable importance—Education in common things—in the industrial pursuits of boys and girls after leaving school. Mr. Barwick Baker read a paper 'On Industrial Schools for Villages and Small Towns,' which described an experiment

experiment of his own. His plan was to have a piece of land attached to the school, to be cultivated by the boys, the produce of which should form part of the schoolmaster's salary. This would lighten the burden of parents for the schooling of their elder boys, and train the lads to industry. Mr. Baker acknowledged that one of his chief difficulties was to find a schoolmaster who did not despise a spade! But of higher importance than this is the industrial training of girls in domestic economy as a part of village-school education. That this is a serious want in young women is universally felt. Ragged schools have in this a great advantage over ordinary schools. The girls are, in the former, taught domestic economy, and are fitted to go to service when they leave the institution. But why should not the daughter of the working man, who can afford to pay for her education, have the same advantage as the ragged scholar? Why might not washing and ironing, cooking and cleaning, be attached to common schools? The expense would be small, and the advantages very great.* Very many do not know how to clean, or wash, or cook, who have these things to do all their lives. By a few lessons at the school, this science of domestic economy might be learnt, and more useful and thrifty servants of the middle classes, and wives of working men, would be the result. It has been calculated that the outlay for fittings and utensils would not exceed 10*l.* or 16*l.*, which would be increased if a cow were added.

PUNISHMENT and REFORMATION form the third department of the general objects contemplated by the Association. The Earl of Carlisle presided. This distinguished nobleman has evinced a warm interest in these subjects, and, both in his baronial domains and in his high official spheres, has endeavoured to promote them. His address manifested considerable intelligence and practical philanthropy. When in Ireland, he observed with care, and countenanced with his patronage, the efforts that are there being made to filter into society the criminals who had been dangerous to its well-being. These we shall notice immediately. The business of this department of social science is how to prevent crime, and how to reform criminals. Both questions received very ample elucidation and discussion at Liverpool. The first was considered in eight papers, of which four are published, some of them bearing directly on the crime of Liverpool. The Rev. T. Carter introduced the latter subject, and presented an analysis of the crime in the town. He was followed by others.

* See an admirable tract 'On Industrial Training for Girls in Village Schools,' and an able paper, by the Rev. J. Armistead, of Sandbach, Cheshire, read at Liverpool, and since republished.

During

During the discussion on this subject 'a strong opinion was expressed against the present law for the licensing and regulating of beer-houses, and in favour of a more active interference by the magistrates in putting down disorderly houses.' This was resumed in a conversazione, when a very masterly address on the prohibition of the liquor traffic was given by Mr. Pope of Manchester. There can be no doubt that the public-house, because of the drink there sold, leads to a vast amount of crime; and if the sale of intoxicating liquors were prohibited, a corresponding decrease in crime would be the consequence. We are rather surprised that the relation of Intemperance and the Liquor Traffic to Crime was not the subject of a separate paper, as we observed one or two societies connected with Temperance ranked as corporate members of the Association. No subject is of greater moment to social reform; and we trust that at the Bradford meeting this year, it will not be lost sight of by the Temperance party. Indeed, the rising influence of Temperance reformers ought to be attached to the Association by as large a proportion of individual members as can be secured, and especially by corporate membership of the large societies, to which so many of the smaller or provincial societies are affiliated. *Verbum sat sapienti.*

The next group of papers read was on the subject of 'Discharged Prisoners,' a question of great importance, and which led to a 'long and animated discussion.'

'Prison Discipline' was introduced by Captain Crofton, C.B., the Chairman of the Board of Directors of Irish Convict Prisons. This philanthropist has inaugurated a new system by the establishment of intermediate prisons, through which the convict is filtered into society. In his paper Captain Crofton attempted to answer the three following questions:—'What are the difficulties of the convict question we are called upon to solve? Why have we not solved these difficulties? What shall we do to solve these difficulties?' Under the first he stated that the difficulties are, 'To devise a course of treatment consistent with humanity, which shall either amend the offender or tend to render him less noxious to the community: which treatment shall at the same time have the effect of deterring others from the commission of crime.' He showed how we had failed hitherto; that we had not been anxious to reform our convicts when we had the opportunity of sending them to the colonies. Nevertheless, we have learned two lessons by transportation: 'That employment is a most powerful agent of reformation; and, secondly, that notwithstanding all the evils attendant on a bad prison system, there was still a large impressible class, who were willing to work when employment was obtainable, and who, beyond doubt, gave satisfaction to their employers,

employers, and ultimately became useful and industrious colonists.' These lessons must now, however, be practised at home, as our power of expatriation is narrowed. At home a compassionate community has been most unwilling to employ liberated convicts, who, however well behaved in prison, where they did not meet with temptation, might not be trustworthy as servants.

Captain Crofton's plan is to separate the impressible from the unimpressible, to place them in a probationary course subject to temptations and under surveillance, and thus gain the confidence of the public on behalf of the convict, when he is ultimately set at liberty. This system has been explained in a former paper in this Review ;* but we are anxious, on the present occasion, to show how large has been its success, and how it appears to us, to use the words of Mr. Recorder Hill, to have solved the problem—'What shall we do with our criminals?' By this system the mind of the criminal is enlisted in his own reformation, while the discipline through which he passes operates to deter him from the commission of crime. During the last three years, 1,327 have been discharged from the Irish intermediate prisons, 511 of whom were discharged unconditionally, and 816 in license. Of the 511, only 5 have returned to convict prisons, or 1 per cent. Of the 816, only 30 have been recommitted, or not quite 4 per cent., and 15 more have lost their licenses from failure to report themselves, drunkenness, &c., &c.† These are striking facts, but they are further corroborated by the following encouraging statements made by Captain Crofton at a recent meeting in Bristol :‡—'Employers who had taken men for three years still continue to apply for others on their liberation. Those who at first had been induced to give the convicts on ticket-of-leave a fair trial had ever since been employers of convict labour.' 'He had received hosts of letters from employers testifying to the value and good conduct of convict labourers, and he had had the strongest testimony of the soundness on which the system was based.'

The results of Captain Crofton's scheme, and its superiority over any other yet tried, induced the department of the Association under whose cognizance they were brought, at Liverpool, to pass the following resolution :—

'That it is the unanimous feeling of the Section that the attention of the Legislature be urgently invoked upon the following subject :—The expediency of so prolonging the sentence passed in serious cases of crime as to admit of consider-

* 'Meliora,' vol. i., p. 315, where the writer criticises the Irish scheme rather severely.

† Captain Crofton's notes on Colonel Jebb's report.

‡ 'Bristol Mirror,' Feb. 26, 1859.

able

able periods of fixed confinement, followed by a proportionate period of probationary detention, part of which should be open to remission in consequence of good behaviour, under the liability of such remission being revoked in consequence of bad behaviour while the prisoner was at large.'

We trust that the system which has worked so well in Ireland may be tried in England. 'The same determined purpose, unflinching zeal, and never-tiring industry' shown by Captain Crofton, may reform our adult criminals; and, aided by reformatory schools for the young, contribute to deliver the country from the large class of persons who now endanger property and life, occupy so much of the time of our courts and judges, and cost such vast expense in their conviction and punishment. Captain Crofton, as it appears to us, has most satisfactorily answered the many objections—some of which were made in our own pages—which have been urged against his system. He has shown that there is no greater readiness in Ireland than in England to employ convicts: that the association of the convicts in the intermediate prisons is not productive of abuse either as to language or conduct; that the practice of giving the men a certain portion of their gratuity, with the privilege of spending it in certain ways, has not endangered but aided their self-command; that there is no indulgence offered by the diet of the prison, which is the lowest allowed by the medical officer; that those liberated from the intermediate prisons have felt ashamed of their criminal character; that they do not object to register themselves, but regard it as a privilege and a protection; that the system generally is most economical, and can be made, in the work of the convicts, very serviceable to the State.*

'I could,' said Captain Crofton, at Liverpool, 'give many bright and startling examples of well-doing coming under my own personal observation, which would shake the scepticism of the greatest unbeliever in adult criminal reformation. I could tell of men reared and steeped in crime changing their course, and prosecuting a career of honest industry, under the most trying circumstances and the most distasteful labour—men who have at times almost starved than again be sent to prison. I could tell you of discharged criminals transmitting money to others to go to lands where reformation is easier, because employment is less scarce. I could tell you of letters from Lucknow and Delhi, and from other parts of the world, from those who as soldiers have, by their good conduct, been raised to non-commissioned officers, imploring their late companions to turn from the paths of sin and evil. No suspicion of hypocrisy can rest here, for, as is obvious, there is nothing to be gained.' †

Nor is it Captain Crofton himself, or Mr. Organ, the able and devoted lecturer at Smithfield, who advocates this system. Lord Carlisle unhesitatingly spoke highly in its favour after personal observation. Mr. M. D. Hill, a well-known prison reformer, Mr.

* Condensed from Captain Crofton's speech, 'Bristol Mirror,' Feb. 26, 1859.
† Paper read at Liverpool. 'Transactions,' p. 381.

Barwick

Barwick Baker, and many others have urged its adoption in this country. Besides, the opinion of the National Association is of the highest value, and will, we trust, induce Government to improve upon the plans of Colonel Jebb for the reformation of English criminals.

Other valuable papers on Prison Reform were read, including one by Mr. Commissioner Hill on German prisons, read in his absence by Lord Brougham, who added some important interlocutory observations. Mr. Hill is well entitled to be heard on a question to which he has devoted a long and useful life. We hope that in the evening of his days he may have the satisfaction of seeing our prisons made reformatories, and our convicts, by such a practical scheme as Captain Crofton's, sent back to society honest, industrious, and pious members of the community.

On the subjects of Reformatories and Refuges many papers were read. Mr. Hanbury, M.P., led the way in reporting the operations of the 'Reformatory and Refuge Unions,' which have been of great service to social reform. 'Adult Reformatories' were treated by Mr. T. B. Ll. Baker; and Miss Carpenter, who has consecrated her life to this sphere of philanthropic labour, contributed her portion to the Association in 'The Disposal of Girls from Reformatory Schools.' A very valuable paper was read by Mr. Joseph Adshead of Manchester, on the financial statistics of ten reformatories and as many ragged and industrial schools. After these carefully-arranged figures, nothing can be wanting to prove the economy of prevention as contrasted with the expensiveness of punishment. The Rev. W. Fraser of Paisley advocated large reformatories, as most likely to secure well-trained masters, more thorough education, greater variety of trades, more exciting emulation, besides more economy. This raised a very lively and most healthful discussion. But we may not tarry longer in this department.

The two remaining departments of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science are PUBLIC HEALTH and SOCIAL ECONOMY. They severally constitute most important branches of the science of philanthropy. At Liverpool the meetings of these sections were generally crowded, and the discussions were most animated. So many papers had been sent in, that on some of the days each department had to be divided. Over PUBLIC HEALTH the Earl of Shaftesbury presided, and he delivered an introductory address of great ability, to which even 'The Times' gave the palm. We wish that our space had afforded us opportunity of quoting from it. One of the papers which attracted large attention was by Miss Nightingale, on Hospital Construction. This matter was discussed by the distinguished lady-philanthropist with great minuteness and fulness of information drawn from other countries, and

and with the exhibition of plans for the proper construction of hospitals. The other subjects introduced

'May be classed under two main heads—Drainage and Ventilation. To drain our towns effectually, without polluting our rivers and lesser streams, and to utilize, as far as possible, the sewage-matter—to ventilate in the best way, and at the least cost, our private houses and public buildings, these are the two problems which sanitary reformers at the present moment desire to solve. It is hoped that the facts and suggestions collected in this, as in the previous volume of "Transactions," afford some useful materials for the formation of a sound public opinion on both these important points.'

The Right Hon. Sir James Stephen, K.C.B., was the President of the Department of SOCIAL ECONOMY, and delivered an introductory address on Emigration, which was characterized by his usual fulness of information and felicity of expression. In the outset of his address he referred to a difficulty felt in this section. 'By the term Social Economy we propose (as I understand) to designate all those branches of Social Science for which no appropriate place could be found within any of our four preceding specifications. That those branches are very numerous and widely dissimilar was sufficiently apparent at our last annual meeting.' This was abundantly corroborated by the Liverpool meeting. The subjects were so varied, and the papers so numerous, that it was found necessary to divide the section into two, both on Thursday and Friday. The subjects have been classified thus: first, Economic Science; secondly, Population, Labour, and Capital; thirdly, Condition of the Working Classes; fourthly, Workhouse Management; and, fifthly, Miscellaneous. To these might be added, though we have none of the papers printed, the two subjects which occupied the separate sections, Prostitution and the Currency. There was a large attendance in this department, and many practically engaged in the amelioration of society were ready to afford the assembly the benefit of their wisdom and experience.

The first class of subjects was introduced to the Association by two papers which are printed in the volume before us. The Office and Duty of the Statist were enlarged upon by Mr. J. T. Dawson. This is of highest consequence. Statistics are a most valuable portion of our knowledge, and lie at the foundation of our Social Science. The want of them make some transatlantic schemes of benevolence practically valueless to this country. Figures of rhetoric are not so influential here as in America; but figures of arithmetic tell more powerfully here than there. But observation must lead to reasoning, and the statist give way to the social economist. Dr. Hodgson therefore followed with an excellent paper on 'The Educational Aspect and Necessity of Economic Science.'

On Population, Labour, and Capital, several contributions were read, and four of them, very able and instructive, have been published. Mr. Henry Roberts read a paper on the Dwellings of

of the Labouring Classes, which has been since published separately, and contains a great amount of information, and most useful suggestions on this most important subject. It deserves the careful perusal of all interested in this imperative branch of social reform.

But it is impossible for us, at present, to go over the subjects discussed in this section, many of which suggest and merit separate articles. Brought forward as they were before a large number of social reformers, these questions affecting the welfare of the people must have been ventilated; and we sincerely trust the result will invariably be, that some earnest philanthropists will endeavour to carry out the plans proposed, in their own immediate locality. This had been done in most cases by the persons who read the different papers. Mr. Melly had erected drinking fountains; Mr. Akroyd had established penny savings banks; Miss Twining had taken a share in the Workhouse Visiting Society, which they severally advocated. Dr. Ogle founded his paper on Provident Dispensaries on personal observation, and argued their universal adoption from the advantages which they gave to the people at large; while the Rev. C. Hartshorne gave his own experience of the same in a detailed account of the provident dispensary at Nottingham.

Most encouraging hitherto has been the course of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. Its influence on all departments of Sociology, speculative and practical, has been felt throughout the country. Its position is established, and by judicious management it may become one of the most important institutions of the empire. That which affects man in every aspect of his humanity concerns this association; and while advancing the interests of benevolence in every possible way, contributing to elevate, improve, and bless mankind, uniting all classes in promoting common interests, it is also preparing for the ultimate systematizing of knowledge, by constructing with considerate skill, extensive observation, and abundance of material the Science of Philanthropy.

ART. II.—1. *La vie à Paris.* By Auguste Villemot. 2 vols. Paris: Michel Levy.
2. *Paris intimé.* By Henry de Pène.

DIFFUSION is the law of the age. What was concentrated is now diffused. What was the privilege of the few is now the property of the many. This is more or less the case in everything and everywhere. In all countries, but especially in our own, there has arisen what we designate by the term 'Popular Literature,' or 'Literature for the Many.' That is to say, we associate together,

and provide means for the promulgation of certain truths, for the spreading forth of certain facts, the accurate knowledge whereof was before only attainable by those who were rich enough to pay highly for good education. We teach the population at the cheapest possible rate; and the aim all the democratization (if we may use the word) of literature proposes to itself in this country, is to store the minds of the many, of the anonymous multitude, with a large portion of valuable, because practically useful, facts. This is comprehensible; and it shows the diffusive principle adapted to a most beneficent purpose. Nothing of the kind takes place in France. There is not throughout all France such a thing as a book-club, which proves the indifference of the middle class to general information; while of what we term popular literature—*i. e.*, that enormous amount of printed and published matter whereby the intellectual current is directed from the centre of society to its circumference—our neighbours have not even the remotest idea. A number of the most highly educated—nay more, of the most illustrious—men in France refused to credit a statement made to them some weeks ago by a Scotch gentleman, establishing the fact of sixty copies of Carlyle's 'Frederick II.' being (among several other works ordered in proportionate numbers) provided by a book-club in Glasgow for its subscribers! The informant was forced to bring forward a printed advertisement in a Glasgow newspaper setting forth the figures we have quoted; at which the learned members of the Institute, and other persons present, were utterly confounded, and unable to understand how such combinations were brought about.

Yet the diffusive principle in literature is fully as much adopted in France as in England, and probably the receipts of 'Railway' and 'Shilling' libraries would, if reckoned up, be found, to say the least, to be equal to those realized by corresponding enterprises on this side the Channel. The absorption by the many of what was formerly absorbed only by the few is as considerable in France as in England; but it is with a totally different purpose. Their whole system is at variance with ours. We began by providing for the mass (and we have gradually taught the mass even to provide for itself) as large a sum of real information as was compatible with the limited time for reading of men whose livelihood depends upon their work. We have sought to improve the population; the aim in France is exclusively to amuse it. The difference between the two countries is so radical, that, whereas with us the higher the moral truth inculcated by any work, even of fiction, the stronger its action on the public, and the greater its sale, the exact reverse is the more inevitable in France. Attempt to preach, or merely to teach, and your book, however unquestionable its talent, will be received with suspicion by the French public,

public, and achieve with difficulty one of those tremendous *succès* which are by no means of rare occurrence among our neighbours, and the pecuniary equivalent whereof is sometimes represented by fabulous sums. But take for your object the utmost provision of amusement that you can compass, offer that to the public, and your fortune is made. The many obtain now what was once only the share of the few in France, but the quality of what they obtain has not altered.

The critics and commentators of other countries are vastly given to express their astonishment at the all but inexhaustible riches of French literature in the way of memoirs; and it is a common assertion that French memoirs afford treasures to the historian. This is true. A peculiar and favourite form of French thought—especially up to the Revolution—is that of the minute and personal record, or registration, of daily events passing within the writer's own immediate sphere. From the days of Froissart down to the period of the States-General in 1789, you will find this perpetual system of diary-keeping so much practised, that it would be next to impossible to compile anything like a reliable history of the last three hundred years if you set aside the individual memoirs. During the whole course of the seventeenth century, under the reigns of Louis XIII., Louis XIV., and, above all, through the epoch of the Fronde, people wrote as much as they acted, if not more, and the great characteristic of those days is, that there are as many tales as deeds. Whatever people do in France they talk of: to such a degree is this carried, that it has been said by a contemporary French writer, that 'every man' (he should say Frenchman) 'is in any moment of action composed of two men; the one who acts, and the one who looks on and comments on the action.' This is one of those tenacious particularities of the French national character that no amount of change in circumstances can eradicate. Frenchmen have, at one time or other, trampled upon every law divine or human, and have overthrown every institution by which nations develop themselves; they have, to use the expression of the present emperor, Napoleon III., 'placed the social pyramid base uppermost;' but their national character has, on the point we are alluding to, remained so completely the same that it is impossible to conceive of a Frenchman acting simply and for action's sake, doing what is to remain untold; and you are always left in doubt whether in reality the deed be not done in order that it may be recorded. Hence the extraordinary prevalence of private memoirs in pre-revolutionary times, and hence the substitution for them of a kind of literature unknown in any other country, and the importance whereof cannot be overlooked in France by any

one desirous of possessing accurate notions of the contemporary state of French civilization; we allude to the so-called 'Littérature de Chroniques.'

Great individual existences having been done away with almost entirely in France by the Revolution of 1789-93, and democracy being under one form or the other the constitutive principle of actual French society, it was not to be expected that the same interest would continue to attach to the individual records of individual deeds that attached to them under the pre-revolutionary era. The individual may be said no longer to exist in France; the abstraction, society, is everything; and this is not one of the least evident causes of the enslaved condition of Frenchmen and of the flat and hopeless monotony of French social life. 'L'Etat c'est moi!' exclaimed Louis XIV. Under his particular despotism, though the individual might still attain to a useful degree of development, his power of action and influence had imperceptibly begun to decay, and it continued to do so till the hour when the Revolution in its multiform despotism said, 'L'Etat c'est tout!' So hated is the individual by that tyrannical abstraction termed society in France, that any one who ventures to be himself, to think for himself, and express himself, and not be the thirty-five millionth copy of all his compatriots, has no choice left but to turn his back on his native land—he cannot get on there; the only thing she will do for him is to admit him into her 'Légion étrangère' in Algeria, after having stigmatized him as an 'Excentric, un original,' than which the French tongue knows no worse term of condemnation. 'Our nation,' says one of the cleverest moralists of modern France, Emile Montégut, 'is the only one of the civilized world in which originality is a positive crime—the one irremissible crime.'* This being the case, it may be asked how memoir-writing can be possible, or have any chance of popularity. Here we come to the democratization of the idea; to the diffusion of what was concentrated. The thirst for notoriety, for what a celebrated lawyer called 'famosity,' continuing to be in France what it ever was, and the deed still ranking as non-existent unless told, the collective creature substitutes itself for the isolated unity, and indites its own memoirs; the anonymous memoirs of the anonymous crowd. What flowed in other days from the pens of the Duc de Saint Simon, or of the Cardinal de Retz, flows now from the million-mouthed presses of journals without a name. Society writes its own memoirs; 'the million' writes for 'the million,' and tells 'the million' what 'the million' has been and is about. This is the secret of the enormous success of 'La Chronique,' as it is entitled. No newspaper, great or

* 'Revue des Deux Mondes.'

small,

small, now-a-days in France could pretend to do without a 'Chronique;' the highest witness, the 'Journal des Débats,' cannot escape the necessity, and the most insignificant is obliged to accept the obligation. Now what is this 'Chronique?' and what is the 'Chroniqueur,' as he is called? The 'Chronique' is the diary kept by the million instead of by an individual; it is the memoir-writing of the nameless crowd; the 'Chroniqueur' is no other than the amanuensis of the collective creature termed 'Society,' and his office is to relate to 'everybody' what 'everybody' is doing—to be content to be nobody himself, but to be merged entirely in the vast anonymous social whole.

The appetite for chronicle literature is one of the most voracious appetites of the French public, and its conditions of success are to relate to the public what the public does. Seriously considered, it is a thing that stands perfectly alone in the history of modern literature; no other country, that we are aware of, delights so much in reading the chronicle of what its insignificant, every-day occupations and amusements have been. What increased chance of popularity would a London journal have because it should pay some writer a high price for telling the Londoners how they migrated to Greenwich or Gravesend on such a Sunday, or for describing to all England how it rushed to Epsom or Newmarket? We have no rage for talking of ourselves to ourselves, yet this it is, precisely, which sustains a complete branch of very popular and eminently national literature in France. The French are the only people on the earth who are wild for talking of themselves to themselves, who are never tired of the employment, and to whom it is so necessary, that all political and social circumstances having absolutely altered, and not one component part of what was French civilization existing now as it existed formerly, —this particular tendency of the public mind has subsisted, and still endures. 'Nous tenons la France au courant d'elle-même,' says one of these chronicling scribes, speaking of his occupation.

Now whatever may seem to us to be the futility of such a literature, we cannot disdain or affect to ignore it when it engrosses to so large a degree the public attention of a nation about which we pretend to be curious, and about which we certainly know far less than we have hitherto been disposed to avow. The fact of the triumphant existence of 'La Littérature Chroniqueuse' throws a certain light upon the habits and manners of a country.

Two reasons contribute to the necessity of the chronicles of the press: the out-of-door life of the French, and the intense, incurable idleness of the race. The French are, perhaps, the only people who live out of their own homes more than they live in them, and to whom the theatre, the café, the promenade, or the mere thoroughfare

thoroughfare come more naturally than their own fireside, and they probably are (what is less well known) the idlest people in the world. A distinction must be made between being lazy and being idle. Owing to climate and social conditions, the inhabitants of southern countries—Italians, Spaniards, Greeks, or Turks —are lazier than the French, but they cannot be idler. From high to low, from the élégant of the Jockey Club to the ouvrier, and from the duchess to the lorette, or lady's-maid, every Frenchman or Frenchwoman born has a taste for losing time; and, without being lazy (for they get through a vast deal of locomotion in the twenty-four hours), they contrive to do nothing at a rate and in a proportion that is incomprehensible to any other race. The consequence is, that whatever amuses them without trouble quickly enjoys their favour.

When Madame de Sévigné wrote to Madame de Grignan the news of what was going on in that centre where the business of the country was being transacted, it was of no small interest to those who cared for public affairs to have news of what the King thought; what M. le Prince de Condé had said; what Madame de Montespan had hinted; what Turenne had declared; what Bossuet had proclaimed; what Colbert had planned. You may, by reading over her letters, obtain tolerably accurate notions of what society in France was like two hundred years ago; but if you are desirous of having a pretty true idea of present society in France in its exterior aspects, few things will better inform you than such books as those of Auguste Villemot and Henry de Pène.

Villemot is a first-rate reflector of the civilization that surrounds him: he has sharpness enough to seize upon the hidden sense of events and discover their philosophical bearings; and he is of a sufficiently passive nature not to attempt to stamp his own impress upon things, but, on the contrary, to submit to receive theirs. 'A chronique,' says Villemot, in the very outset of his first one (April, 1854), 'being the expression of society itself, you see what may happen: a pleasant and amusing week is followed by a mortally stupid one, and *vice versâ;* but what is essential in the chronicler is, not so much that he should be a clever fellow, as that he should possess a certain aptitude for comprehending his epoch and for seizing its absurdities, a certain intuition of what is really comical, a certain honesty of character which prevents him from resorting to any bitter personalities, and, above all, the art of clearing the features of the time of whatsoever may mask them or in any way uselessly intervene between them and their observer.'

Villemot acts admirably up to the conditions he himself lays down, and there are but few of the faults and absurdities of the French nation that may not be found registered in his two diverting

ing

ing volumes. You lay hands upon the national defects one after the other, not because an enemy exposes them to you, but because an 'honest' chronicler, discharging faithfully his duty of amanuensis to society at large, simply notes down—often with considerable naïveté even—what society at large has been about, and after what fashion it has amused itself. Remark the following, for instance (we are in April '54, quite in the beginning of the war): 'It is a strange privilege, wars, pests, famines, and no matter what calamities, are all drowned in a new vaudeville, and life, whatever its real aspects, is for ever looked at *en rose*. We did here in Paris, for a short time, make serious reflections upon the eastern war — the accidents whereof are exceedingly picturesque — but people begin by this time to think that it does not pay—the public feels itself cheated.' And again this, apropos to the drought which went nigh, in the spring of '54, to cause a famine: 'Corn is parching, hay is scorched. One universal cry is, "Water!" but the feminine population rises indignant: "Water!" screams out every lady — "a nice invention you have hit upon there to prevent us from opening our carriages, and donning our new gowns."' It is certain that the wealthier part of the population is always proverbially indifferent to the exigencies of the soil; they can always get plenty of Vienna bread, and for anything else, they care little.' *Il y aura toujours de la brioche!* The silly phrase, thoughtlessly spoken by an individual before the Revolution, is now put in action by whole classes, and this is one of the worst signs of disorganization in France. It is quite certain that the vast majority of those who come under the denomination of 'the rich,' do, in France, manifest, with regard to the demands and necessities of agriculture, an indifference that in any other country would appear monstrous. This comes from ignorance, and from the singular absence of the one faculty needed to make men clever political economists — the faculty, namely, of promptly reverting from an effect to its cause. Other classes have risen to power and eminence since 1789-93, but they do the same things and think the same thoughts as did their predecessors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. After an insurrection in Brittany, during which the governor of the province thought proper to hang a rather large number of the peasantry, Madame de Sévigné, who was an excellent woman in her way, and anything rather than hard-hearted, arrives at the wonderful discovery that perhaps these unfortunate wretches were to be pitied, for, writes she, as though propounding some astounding truth, 'they are really men after all!' So they were, but only not being 'men' who had anything in common with Madame la Marquise, she ignored them totally, and could not be expected to interest herself in

in their fate. You may trace this separatist system in every single detail of French civilization; now, as then, it is in the race to be selfish and narrow-minded; personally selfish and narrow-minded, and collectively narrow-minded and selfish. The force of almost every other nation lies in the manner in which all its classes, in one way or another, are made to dovetail. In Germany, for instance, where such strong class-distinctions still exist, there are interests which produce fusion; with us, in England, everything of any importance brings all our classes together for the common weal; but in France, where interests ought to produce fusion as much as anywhere else, for the simple reason that *what materially hurts one large class in the state cannot benefit any other*—in France there is no dovetailing of one part of the community into others, for the mere reason that the French are the slowest of all people to see their own real interests. We return to our smart populations, who would have drought go on for ever, because of their pleasures and vanities. Take the most determined fine lady in all London, and give her the finest gowns she can desire to parade, it will not come into her head to rejoice in drought if rain be wanted by 'the farmer.' She knows better than to say it or even to think it. She has, you will say, a father, or a husband, or an uncle, or somebody belonging to her who is a great landed proprietor. That makes no difference. She would feel the same had she not a relation in the world nor a rood of land. She has a stratum of sound political economy lying at the bottom of her whole intellectual system. She is perfectly unconscious of it; but she, and her mother, and grandmother before her, have, for the last two centuries, imbibed with the milk that fed them physically, the notion that what is very bad for any portion of the community cannot be very good for any other. She instinctively knows that a mysterious chain binds all things together in a state, and that agricultural scarcity will one day bear upon her silk gowns and fineries. The workings of all this may be quite beyond her comprehension, but she knows the result, and her faith is as firm upon the point as it is blind. Now this is just what the so-called 'rich' do not know in France. They believe in social separatism; they, with the exception of a very small number, no longer fancy that the Almighty has chosen a few illustrious houses to govern the state; but they believe in the possible abstention of one set of persons from what forms the dearest interests of another set, which is just as bad. 'Chacun pour soi,' is pre-eminently the French device, and they are ignorant that it is of impossible application. The perfect solidarity of all the component classes of a nation being, on the contrary, the vital principle of modern civilization, that from which there can be no possible escape, and on which the salvation

salvation of modern communities depends. What is the result of the manifestation of these opposite principles, for example, by England and France? Broadly stated the result is: in one, a perpetual condition of restlessness and disease, in the literal sense of the word; alternations of tolerably good governments overthrown by the mob, and of despotic ones submitted to by the educated, who hate them; and in the other, an indubitable certainty that whatever is best for the country will, in the end, be laboured for by all; that what is incompatible with its true interests will be submitted to by none; and that, in any time of emergency, everybody will pull together. Take the history of any insurrection in France within the last twenty-five or thirty years, and of our formidable insurrection just vanquished in India. In February, 1848, and at the Coup d'état of December, 1851, what happened? All the educated classes, all the so-called 'honest men,' in the whole land were unmistakeably opposed to both the populace and the military tyrants, yet both military tyrant and populace succeeded against the whole country; whilst, with us, perhaps, the most fearful rising recorded in history, was put down by a comparatively small number. Why? Because with us no one stopped to ask what he might continue not to do, but hastened to do whatever seemed most urgent, and never thought of whether it was his place to do it or not. 'Everybody' fought as well and fought as much as the soldiers in India; whereas, in France, upon no occasion has any man ever done what it was not his special work to do. Chacun pour soi! Soldiers are there to fight, it is their business; citizens are there to be fought for and protected, 'taken care of;' and the result is, that the nation is made to crouch beneath a yoke, against which it protests, but which it never did anything to spurn, because to do so was 'not its business!' 'Que voulez-vous? ce n'est pas mon affaire!' There is the monstrous answer to all that can be said to them; monstrous even more from its ignorance and absurdity than from its egotism. And all these inevitable consequences are contained in the cry of the fine lady against rain, because she enjoys drought, and deems it 'no business of hers' to mind 'the farmer,' of whom she knows nothing! When a national character is to be judged, it is often the smaller circumstances that more truly reveal it than those seemingly graver. Who can read this at first sight unimportant phrase of M. Villemot's, and not feel that it points at one of the most intensely national and meanest of French defects:—'To speak truly, the present war (we are in the spring of 1855) occupies the Parisian mind chiefly from the theatrical point of view. The play-bills are curious. From Bobino to the Théatre Lyrique, one hears of nothing save "Les Russes," "Les Cosaques," and "Skirmishes on the banks of the Danube,"

Danube," and "Russians painted by themselves," &c. I must frankly confess that the other day I could not help feeling compassion for the Cossacks, who are thrashed beyond all possibility on our stage!'

This is a simple remark, produced by a fact which the chronicler registers, and about which he perhaps thinks no more; but it is the fact that is important, and it subsists, or the remark could not be made and would have no sense. No sooner has the Frenchman an enemy, and does he find himself in any degree favoured by luck against the latter, than he gives way to an amount of boastfulness, childish and pitiful in the extreme, and the proportions whereof are literally inappreciable to any other nation upon earth. A Frenchman is for ever astonished at himself; he is in a perpetual state of surprise at having done something wonderful; and if he were not persuaded by the noise made around him by newspapers, theatres, &c., that his achievements were extraordinary, he would never repeat them. This is the secret of the complete confusion which reigns throughout a French army when once the vein of complete success has been interrupted. They are nothing if not excessive, and their boastfulness is needed to maintain and prompt their valour.

The objects, however, of their hatred or their love are for ever varying; and whilst, two or three years ago, they took the Russians as the representatives of their defeated foes, these same Russians are now transformed into their best and most sympathetic friends. The English are far nearer now to the enemy who is to be abused, and from this view of the case it is curious enough to read the impression of a Chroniqueur upon the announcement of the Queen of England's visit when France and England were such close allies.

'It is marvellous,' exclaims Villemot, 'but it is true all the same, that her most gracious majesty Queen Victoria is coming here with a whole staff of princes, dukes, and lords. She will be well received, for the Duke of Cambridge was so, and she has the advantage over her cousin of being a woman and a queen; but the thing is marvellous, and we are at a fine distance from our past history—from 1815, for instance. In those days, upon our theatres and in our caricatures an Englishman was a species of mis-shaped animal, red as a lobster, and with nothing save the most gluttonous instincts. And Englishwomen; did we make them sufficiently ridiculous! All this would seem effaced. Even the people appear to accept the English alliance as a mariage de raison, whilst the higher classes affect to regard it quite as a mariage d'inclination.'

But when you read this over by the side of the registers of the Russophobia of the same date, and think what Russophiles the same individuals have become, you cannot avoid discovering that the next thing on the cards was the recurrence to the antipathies of 1815, as far as the English were concerned. And so it has been. The mariage de raison, like all such unions, has turned out

out but a lame sort of affair, and the usual results have occurred, which prove the fallacy of such combinations. If we required a proof of how poor a foundation is afforded by the French character for any alliance that should be lasting and fruitful of good consequences, we need only cast our eyes over the following record of French levity and caprice, which is all the more important that it is not written to prove anything but merely to record a fact—

'Queen Victoria comes just in the nick of time; just when public feeling has decidedly taken part against the Muscovite. Everything in fact, from great to small, is a question of opportunity in this world, from revolutions to vaudevilles. The tragedy of "Sylla" ran a hundred nights under the Restoration; it would not be played three times in our days. Such or such a criminal who preoccupied all France at one moment, might not have at another even a frigid "succès d'estime!" See what an important share has opportunity in everything! Some twenty years ago a workman at Lyons was buried in the falling in of a pit. The man had well judged his time it seems, for, for one whole week all France thought of nothing earthly save him. "Have you any news of Dufavel?" "How is Dufavel?" This was what men asked each other when they met in the streets, and sentimental ladies were wretched at the notion that soup was conveyed to Dufavel through a leathern tube, which, they said, must give the soup a nasty taste. "Dufavel was so interesting!" That was the universal cry. . . . Well, now at this present hour,' adds the chronicler, 'there are five workmen in one of the southern departments in exactly the same position Dufavel occupied twenty years back. They have been where they are ten days, and nobody cares what their soup tastes like, or whether they have any or not: they have not come at the right time, they have had no sense of opportunity. . . . Queen Victoria's visit is well timed, it is opportune."

And, unfortunately, the evidences of pure caprice and of levity so clearly shown by all this are discoverable in what grave historians dignify by the high-flown names of patriotism, *sens politique*, and many others. There is in France the whim of the hour, and wonderfully little else. This appreciation of the Queen's visit, so singular and so thoroughly French, recalls to mind the period of our military alliance with France, and of certain opinions which the officers of the British army were compelled in many cases to form of their gallant comrades.

Few things in our day have produced a stronger sensation for the moment than the duel fought last year between Lieutenant Hyenne and M. Henry de Pène. A chronicle of the 'Figaro' lay at the bottom of the whole. But that chronicle lays bare more than one marked characteristic of French civilization. No one will probably have forgotten the duel; no one will, perhaps, remember, if he ever took the pains to examine the cause of it; that cause, nevertheless, is by no means uninteresting to study. It was this: a ball was given by a Russian millionnaire, to which all Paris was invited (we will explain by-and-by what, in similar cases, is meant by 'all Paris'). Of course, M. de Pène 'attended' this fête, as reporters 'attend' parliamentary debates. In giving his readers a narration of it, he took occasion to remark upon the conduct

conduct of some young officers who had obtained invitations, and he registered the fact that 'if ever any master or mistress of a house was induced to ask sub-lieutenants to her parties, it was a thing done once, but never twice, for that these gentlemen carried their barrack habits and the manners of the guard-room into genteel society.' *Inde iræ*, with which it is not our present purpose to have anything to do. The fact set forth here by the chronicler is that of the antagonism, in France, of the army and polite society; and no treatise, however grave or however voluminous, could prove the existence of this antagonism more completely than do the two lines of M. de Pène's chronique, the having written which nearly cost M. de Pène his life. Our limits will not allow of our searching for the remote causes of whatever may attract our notice upon the surface of civilization in France; but the necessity of acknowledging such or such a certainty may put the contemporary historian upon the trace of much that lies at the root of a nation's particular situation, whether at home or abroad. The mere fact declared by M. de Pène being granted—it being granted that between civil society and the army in France there exists a strong dislike, and that the chief reason of the dislike is based upon the peculiarities of behaviour of French military men—(especially in the younger among these)—it may then be worth while to seek for the first causes of the want of good manners in French officers generally. A vast deal might be said and written on the subject, for much in the contemporary history of France is connected with it, and many events have been, and may still be, influenced by it; but all these future researches, leading, we believe, to extremely curious results as far as the social history of modern France is concerned, would be the consequence of a fact recorded by a Chroniqueur whose immediate aim was merely to describe, as graphically as he was able to do, the incidents of a ball given by a Russian Crœsus.

Here, again, in the mere circumstance of the fête itself we strike full against a marked feature of modern French society.

In the pre-revolutionary era, there is no doubt an immense deal to blame in the conduct of the noblesse—there is, indeed, but little to praise; but there is one quality that can never be denied to the representatives of the ancien régime, namely, social dignity. We should be puzzled to say of what use was, politically speaking, a grand seigneur of the century closed by the year 1789; but in some respects he was, morally and socially, a most incontestable gain. Whatever his defects, he was ignorant of what meanness meant. He was boastful (though far less than are his descendants), vain, arrogant, wasteful, debauched, without principle as regards the other sex; but a mean act did not enter into his comprehension.

sion. His principle was to owe no one anything; neither a service nor a sword-thrust. He was never *en reste* with any living creature, and could not have borne to feel himself a debtor to one of his equals, let alone his inferiors—the bare notion whereof would have been intolerable. The aspects of French civilization have so totally altered, that perhaps meanness, in all its various modes of manifestation, may precisely be said to be the one great characteristic of even what is termed the highest society of France. As to money matters, it is no revelation to proclaim Frenchmen en masse (of course we admit exceptions in this as in everything) as far from entertaining our notions upon pecuniary obligations—between what is merely honest and what is 'the right thing;' in these transactions there is an abyss which a Frenchman too rarely clears with perfect grace. But this is not all; there are small, delicate, social obligations which, if not nicely felt and nicely cancelled, do serious mischief, in the end, to independence of character. Here it is that the modern Frenchman, and especially the Parisian, is so sadly deficient. The descendants of the really proud grands seigneurs of other days will accept benefits, favours, or civilities —anything, from a bow to a ball—from persons whom they regard as their inferiors, and to whom they never dream of returning the equivalent of what they receive. The utter absence of dignity of French society in this respect is literally not to be believed. There is a floating population of foreigners, the object of whose very existence in the French capital seems to be the 'getting-up' of fêtes and other diversions for the sole gratification of the Parisians. Americans and Russians are the principal contributors to the pleasures of the Autochthones, and the latter spare their purses, and strive to lessen their ennui at the cost of some twenty or thirty opulent mediocrities, who consent to open a sort of select Cremorne for the convenience of a set of impertinent, ill-bred people, who never regard them as more than the mere innkeepers of society. There is in every large town in France a class of individuals who 'get up' whatever may be needed in the way of public diversion, from the fireworks to the flowers; they undertake to provide everything, including enthusiasm; and they go by the name of entrepreneurs des fêtes publiques. The other gentry we have just alluded to do the same thing, but on a narrower scale: they are the entrepreneurs des fêtes privées. Like their 'colleagues,' the contractors for public rejoicings, their individuality is completely lost in the amusement they are held to furnish to their customers. And in the case of the former there is, at all events, this to be said, that some price is paid by the consumer for the pleasure he obtains, some equivalent is given; whereas, in what takes place in the so-called 'grand monde,' there is a consumer who gets as much of everything as he possibly can, without paying for

for it; a customer, who, if he will not allow you to say that he swindles the dealer out of his wares, at all events remains his debtor to all intents and purposes, seeing that he never so much as says 'Thank ye' for all he makes away with.

For the most part, these foreign party-givers are persons whose position in their own country is not of the very highest respectability; and the archives of the Parisian great world contain a list of some of the most noted scamps in the whole universe, who have at different epochs had the honour of keeping open house for the stingy representatives of the most disdainful, but most undignified nobility on the continent of Europe. All nations are there, and all trades. You will find bankrupt grocers from New York; imitation princes from the Danubian provinces; Russian serfs, the illegitimate sons of great men, but whose mothers are unknown; Austrian Jews, who are pitilessly banished from the 'crême' in Vienna, and who burst with joy at 'receiving' the most illustrious names of the old French monarchy; Portuguese jewellers; Mexican brigands; Havanese slaveholders; Greek pirates; Heaven knows who and what you may not find, for the 'fishy' portion (be the word forgiven!) of every country on the globe furnishes its contingent to this army of open-housekeeping, humble pleasure-purveyors to the French aristocracy, or what answers to the name.

French 'exclusives' may paraphrase the speech of the pasha who wondered men danced for themselves, instead of being danced for; and instead of 'entertaining,' they may coolly say, 'We get these things done for us by other people.'

It is hardly possible to read through the essays of any chronicler without falling upon the description of one or other of the fêtes given to Paris society by these most disinterested undertakers of its amusements; and it is, we repeat, a feature of modern French civilization well worthy to be studied. The part least easy to comprehend in the comedy is the humility of the leading actors; they are more determinedly 'battus et contents' than even those diplomatists painted by the Prince de Ligne, who smilingly ratify by their signature at a congress the definitive cession by treaty of some province that has been only temporarily wrested from their country by arms. Why they should crouch so Shylock-like before the haughty, jibing Antonios of Paris fashionable life is really not easy to understand; but that they do so is certain; and if anything can excuse the thoroughly undignified, mean conduct of French grands seigneurs and grandes dames, who consent to remain the debtors of people whom they despise, it is the still meaner attitude of the individuals who, while favours are uniformly accepted from them, consent to be themselves treated with the coolest contempt, and seem instinctively to feel and proclaim that they deserve nothing more.

This

This is a peculiarity of French manners to be dwelt upon, and we need only read M. de Pène's narration of M. de G——'s monster ball—for which the partition walls of half a story at the Hotel de Louvre were knocked down—to form an accurate estimate of what the state of good breeding is likely one day to become in a country where what is called 'la société' rests upon such shifting and slippery foundations.

Montaigne, in speaking of the faculty possessed by fine writers of transforming and embellishing almost any act, however wrong in itself, makes use of the quaint expression: 'Le *disant* a sauvé le *faisant*.' Now, with a large degree of talent in the chronicler, you might suppose he would frequently gild the ugliest details so as to seduce you into letting their ugliness pass by unperceived. It would seem natural that 'the teller should rescue the doer of the deed,' as Montaigne says. No such thing! In the first place, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, the narrator is on a level with his narration, and discerns nothing that ought to be palliated. Neither his moral nor his critical sense is in any way shocked by what he has to record. He is, as we have said, the amanuensis of the million, and in his complex nature of both 'teller' and 'doer' he has no more fancy for preaching to the public, whereof he is a component part, than the public has for being preached to. He wishes neither to disguise nor to improve what comes under his notice; his business is only to record it, and it is from the simple fact of its 'being' that the more philosophical reader may draw inferences and conclusions. If this were otherwise, la littérature chroniqueuse would be worth infinitely less to the foreign reader.

In a more restricted and conventional sense, much profit might be reaped from the 'Lettres Parisiennes' of the late Madame Emile de Girardin, who, in her famous 'Courriers de Paris,' in the 'Presse,' was the ostensible founder of the genre chronique; but you rarely met the clever authoress of 'Lady Tartuffe' in any regions save those hedged in by the stiff limits of polite society, at a time when society in France thought limits of some kind necessary. Before the Revolution of 1848, all traditions of individualism were not totally lost, and what one man did who was 'distinguished' had still a kind of superiority over what was achieved by 'no matter who.' This has altered since 1848, and the sentence attributed to M. Villemaine is perfectly true, 'Il n'y a plus d'hommes distingués, nous vivons sous le règne du premier venu.'

The English term of 'no matter who' hardly renders truly the intense contempt implied by the French expression of 'le premier venu.' When you have said of anybody that he is 'le premier venu,' you have stigmatised him as a complete nonentity; as a person not to be consulted, or referred to, or cited; as one, in short, who is not

not. It is, at the same time, not taking an exaggerated view of things as they stand at the present hour in France to say that this 'no matter who,' this nonentity, this 'premier venu,' is the ruler of the day, and this will, in some degree, help to explain the prodigious development under the imperial government of the chronicle literature of this perpetual every-day record of the infinitely small deeds of infinitely small people. The policy of the Emperor Napoleon III. is not to encourage the production of great citizens or distinguished men; his manifest interest, on the contrary, points to the increased influence of the mass of the ignorant, imbecile throng: every great citizen or distinguished man who should rise up in the state, as the state is now constituted in France, would be a frondeur, or, if he possessed the talent and courage adequate to the task, an accuser, like Montalembert; consequently, the formation of such men by sound education, and their development by vigorous institutions, is to be opposed by every possible means; and the imperial government certainly, in this respect, discharges zealously what it regards as a duty to itself, as an act of absolute self-preservation. But the social results of the system are more serious, and worse than might even be supposed. No encouragement being afforded to distinguished individualities, the individual instinctively, inevitably, tends towards insignificance, and instead of aspiring to a superiority which would isolate him from the crowd, relapses, on the contrary, into perfect resemblance with the mass of anonymous nullities around him. He ceases easily (alas!) to be himself, in order to become one of the many; and in this way, 'any one man being the equivalent of any other' (the Emperor Louis Napoleon's pet theory), the thoroughly undistinguished, unoriginal human creature is the equal of the greatest genius in the world; he is as important as the latter, and possesses the same amount of power and weight; he is a fraction of that sovereign-swarm, that is taught to believe it controls the destinies of France by the establishment of universal suffrage. This brings about 'le règne du premier venu;' there can be no doubt of it: and it is, morally, intellectually, and socially, under that reign that contemporary France is now living—this is also an indubitable fact. Now, the chronique, as we have described it, is to the public such as the imperial régime has contributed to make it, the representative of what were the individual records of two hundred years ago. 'Chronicles' are the mémoires of the existing governors of France—of the omnipotent premiers venu. No one must despise them who wishes to attain to an accurate appreciation of contemporary France; they register the deeds of the 'million' that now constitutes la société, as the Memoirs of Sully or Richelieu did those of the really distinguished men who once guided to such far more useful aims the destinies of the French race.

ART.

ART. III.—1. *Good Times; or, the Savings Bank and the Fireside.* By C. W. Sikes. London: Groombridge and Sons.
2. *Mechanic Institutes as Preliminary Savings Banks.* By C. W. Sikes. 1850.
3. *Savings Bank Reforms. A Letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.* By C. W. Sikes. 1856.
4. *A Deposit Book for Huddersfield Preliminary Savings Bank.*
5. *Plain Papers on the Social Economy of the People. No.* II. *Penny Banks.* By J. Erskine Clarke, M.A. London: Bell and Daldy. 1859.
6. *Scheme for the West Riding of Yorkshire Provident Association and Penny Savings Bank.* By Edward Akroyd. 1856.
7. *Rules of the West Riding Penny Bank.* 1858.

THE working man has long been the pet of the English public. It has spoken for him, written for him, and acted for him. All classes have vied with one another in degrees of unbending fussiness and officiousness, and clergy and laity have been alike conspicuous in devotion to his interests and betterment. Kind country squires have torn themselves from the pages of genial Urban, their agricultural journals, the newest system of manuring, or the last treatise on the rationale and cure of pleuropneumonia in cattle, and shut themselves up in their libraries, in hermit-like seclusion, to elaborate an address which shall guide the provincial society, of which they hold the presidential seat, in matters relative to the enlightenment of the working classes. Members of Parliament wax eloquent, during the Christmas vacation, upon popular education, societies, and literature. The working man has been coaxed and fondled like a very spoilt child. We have usurped his place in committees to improve his status for him, have decided upon the character and mode of his amusements, and have prescribed the bounds of his literature for him in the most patronizing manner. He is delicate, and must be prevented from doing too much for himself; he is a sort of minor, over whom it behoves the public to exercise a most rigorous guardianship; he is unfit to rule himself, and must for ever be under the sway of a regency.

Our zeal and theorizing have fairly carried us away. Less enthusiastic than our Gallican neighbours, we have caught their poetic tinge, and busied ourselves in developing, under a variety of phases, a purer taste and a more thorough enlightenment, as specifics for the social, moral, and physical depression induced by our rapid civilization amongst a labouring and urban population. 'Darkness and chaos were one,' writes Lamartine, 'before the budding forth of the material world. Darkness and chaos cleave

 together

together in the development of the moral world. Clear up, therefore, the intelligence of the masses, and you will have order, broad daylight, and progress in laws and manners.' This Englishmen have implicitly relied upon, manifesting much surprise when their theory has been refuted by the decadence of institutes and improvement societies, the emptiness of reading-rooms, and the unabated misery and degradation amongst those whom they fondly hoped they had petted into improvement. Here, as in other movements, excess of zeal has blinded us. We have striven to enlarge the sympathy and cultivate the intellects, regardless of the circumstances of common and social life, and its many adverse conditions.

The recognition of much manliness and probity, struggling, often vainly, against barriers they can neither shiver nor overleap, from which this pettism sprang, and the general advocacy of mental culture, are not, by reason of their failure heretofore, in themselves impertinent or useless. As adjuvants of more practical schemes they cannot be justly decried: it is when they are selected to do battle together, as the most puissant of available forces, that we would condemn them. Our artisans, blunted as their perceptions may be, immediately discern the bearing of such schemes; rebounding from the servility of patronship, and from what might increase their sensitiveness and leave undiminished external hindrances. They dislike to see their taskmasters and spiritual teachers deliberating over their concerns in committees. It deadens their aspirations, revives acrimonious memories, and induces a watchful and deceptive caution. They own the liberality of their superiors, but motives by no means disinterested appear to crop out, and apparent inconsistencies in the conduct of their patrons afford material for much unpleasant and irremovable distrust.

The sturdy workman is not to be petted into improvement and good behaviour. He must be shown the necessity of self-confidence and self-improvement. By inculcating industry, temperance, and frugality, we should strive to make him a man in the fullest meaning of the term. His path must be cleared by all that science and art can furnish, by all that temperate laws can effect and devise, and in familiarity with the lives of such men as Jacquard, the silk-weaver of Lyons, and Palissy, the potter of Santonge, all their dormant virtues may be stimulated into vigorous and courageous life. Once let a man gather up his strength, and, like a Saxon marcher essarting a forest, fling forward his axe, saying, 'So far will I make my way,' and all the trees and roots of a primeval forest cannot resist the might of his will and the brawn of his arm. This self-confidence must be evoked or implanted ere the mind can have its legitimate overruling power.

Conservative

Conservative habits must be induced, and the whole forces of the heart and head be made to gravitate towards the on-coming years. We know of few media by which this real, earnest living can be better secured than by our Penny Banks.

The modesty and simplicity of their means seem hardly commensurate with the magnitude of their aims. Popular craving demands something entirely and singularly novel, and cannot believe in the revivifying powers of institutions that have been unobtrusively working for half a century. Only warm enthusiasts, like Mr. Sikes and his follower Mr. Clarke, can recognise beneath this almost primitive scheme the broad and massive powers which can effect a revolution amongst our working classes.

Traced back to their origin, there is certainly a quiet order about the movements of Savings Banks which may be thought to augur little for their sterling utility. No flourish of trumpets or royal salutes announced their entrée, but gently and noiselessly, like the cold gray of the dawn, did they have birth and form. In a few advanced minds, surveying mankind from their observatories with keenness and fidelity, the idea seems first to have originated. Jeremy Bentham and Malthus, as political economists, were the first inculcators of such a scheme. The Rev. Joseph Smith of Wendover, in 1799, commenced a plan of receiving small sums from his parishioners in the summer, and returning them at Christmas, with an addition of one-third to the original sum as a stimulus to such prudence and forethought. This is the earliest approximation to the Savings Bank on record. At Tottenham, in the previous year, encouragement had been given to the frugality of poor children by some similar kind of depository, and proved so fruitful, that in 1804, Mrs. Priscilla Wakefield extended its previous narrow basis so as to include adult labourers, female servants, and others. It was then termed the Charitable Bank, and paid five per cent. interest to depositors. A like institution was formed in 1808 at Bath, by several ladies of that city. The interest of philanthropists had become excited. In his scheme for poor-law reform, in 1807, Mr. Whitbread had proposed the formation of a national institution, 'in the nature of a bank, for the use and advantage of the labouring classes alone.' It was to be situate in London, and a certificate was to be necessary from a country justice to state that the depositor subsisted by his own labour. The smallest amount receivable at any one time he fixed at 20*s.*, the largest in one year at 20*l.*, the whole sum allowable at 200*l.* This was to be laid out in Three per Cent. Consolidated Bank Annuities, or other stocks, and all dividends under 10*s.* to be re-invested. It is much to be regretted that his scheme did not meet with national acceptance.

Scotchmen, with that thrifty bias which characterizes them in

their Highland cots, and follows them to the wilds of Australia and the backwoods of America, were the next to seize upon and adapt the idea. The Highland Society issued a report on the nature of Savings Banks, and the Rev. Dr. Duncan, of Ruthwell, in Dumfriesshire, founded a Parish Friendly Bank, in 1810, and soon after published an essay, advocating their extension, and giving the rules and results of the one beneath his immediate notice. A Savings Bank was at once started in Edinburgh, and general attention was fixed upon the working and future of these institutions.

In 1817, the English government passed 'An Act to Encourage the Establishment of Banks for Savings,' taking upon themselves the responsibility of their funds, and paying four per cent. interest thereon. This marvellously extended their popularity and number. Still there were some who regarded this Act as a mere tub thrown out by a timid government to distract the minds of an excited and desperate populace, as is recorded of cautious whalers by Dean Swift, in his preface to his famous 'Tale of a Tub.' Cobbett thus writes of it in his 'Register':—

'What a bubble! At a time when it is notorious that one half the whole nation are in a state little short of starvation; when it is notorious that hundreds of thousands of families do not know, when they rise, where they are to find a meal during the day; when the far greater part of the whole people, much more than half of them, are paupers; at such a time to bring forth a project for collecting the savings of journeymen and labourers to be lent to the government, and to form a fund for the support of the lenders in sickness or old age!'

The increase in the number of Savings Banks and depositors, at such a crisis, demonstrates their real value and adaptation. Various subsequent Acts extended their privileges to Scotland and Ireland, reduced the rate of interest to about three per cent., and made several amendments in the laws. In something like thirty years there were nearly 600 institutions in the United Kingdom, over a million depositors, and interest of 16,254,109*l.* paid upon the gross amount received of 31,275,636*l.* The number of depositors has since steadily increased, justifying the most enthusiastic dreams that such a zealot as the author of 'Good Times,' practical man though he be, can conjure up, with a table before him, showing the compound interest, for any number of years, of various sums from a shilling to half a sovereign.

The Savings Bank scheme speedily passed over to America, and in November, 1816, the first establishment was opened in Philadelphia. Boston, New York, Baltimore, Salem, New Bedford, and Lowell followed, and bid fair to outrival all our own banks. In the last-named place, the operative deems it his bounden duty to avail himself of these banks, and provide for the future. The annual reports and statements are hung upon the factory walls, and become thoroughly incorporated with the lives and

and minds of the workpeople. The youth economizes towards housekeeping, the maiden for her marriage-dowry, the family man for his age. The population in 1854 was 38,000, and the number of depositors 9,219; the sum total deposited amounting to 391,217*l.*, or about 10*l.* 6*s.* for each individual in the city. Such a remarkable instance of success could not well escape the mingled accuracy and ardour of Mr. Sikes. He makes comparisons between Lowell and Manchester, which are by no means creditable to the workpeople of the latter place. With ten times the population, and occupations varying but little in character, the entire sum deposited in the Manchester and Salford Savings Bank is only double the amount of that in Lowell, and equal to the sum of 2*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* per individual. A little temperate expostulation is then indulged in by our chivalrous reformer, which we hope the working men of Manchester will ponder well and wisely. A city so conspicuous for commercial advancement, and containing so many living witnesses within it of the success of courage and industry, ought to lead the van in so humanizing a movement.

Nor is Mr. Sikes content to stop with this single antithesis. Whenever any broad examination is possible between England and America, the sister country invariably has the best of it; and it must be regarded as a redeeming feature in the new race, that, with all the glaring abuses of their social system, the lower framework of society is in such a healthy and vigorous condition. Here is his evidence given before a Select Committee of the House of Commons. It deserves to be well pondered over by every zealous anathematizer of whatever is American—

'In the city of New York, the population in the year 1856 was probably 850,000 persons; the aggregate amount of deposits in seventeen Savings Banks in that city in the same year was 3,465,512*l.*; the withdrawals were 2,707,261*l.*; making an increase in 1856 of 758,251*l.* Assuming the population of the metropolis of London in 1856 to have been 2,600,000, and taking the entire deposits in all the Savings Banks in the counties of Middlesex and Surrey as the basis, there were in 1856, 1,617,044*l.*; withdrawals, 1,965,584*l.*; making the decrease in that year 348,540*l.* In New York, the average receipt per head of the population was 4*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*; in London, 12*s.* 5*d.*; in the West Riding of Yorkshire only 5*s.* In New York, the average repayment per head was 3*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*; in London, 15*s.* 1*d.* In New York, the total amount of deposits accumulated on Dec. 31, 1856, was 7,564,569*l.*, an average of 8*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* per head for the entire city. In London, including all the banks of Middlesex and Surrey, the total amount accumulated Nov. 20, 1856, was 5,776,125*l.*, an average of 2*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* per head. In New York, the number of depositors is 167,250, being one in five of the population; in London, 274,361, being one in nine and a half.'

It is necessary a distinction should be made between the ordinary Savings Banks, the history of which has been given to show what can be done with a more extended plan, and that of Penny Savings Banks, which we have chosen as the title of this paper. Both are of like utility, but whilst operating in the same direction,

direction, have separate spheres of action. The usual one is shown by statistics to be most employed by the better class of workmen, small land-occupiers, and domestic servants. Out of 339,333 depositors in the Manchester bank, 20,417 were domestic servants.

The amount received at a single deposit is too high, and the difficulties connected with its withdrawal, and the limited period allowed for transacting business, place them out of the reach of those whom it would most elevate. The pale and soiled artisan dislikes to mix with the well-dressed and blooming labourer—an unpleasant recoil takes place. A variety of dangers beset him, and the unlucky shillings, ere they can be transferred from the cracked teapot, the old stocking-foot, or a private drawer to the safe custody of a bank. The fact of a surplus in hand, and easily got at, creates temptation and weakens the power of resistance. A popular holiday or personal jollification remains in the foreground as long as ever the chink of odd shillings falls upon the tympanum of the ear. It is true it might be drawn out were it in the bank, but reflection and caution are not so easily got rid of; these say it is far better where it is.

Mr. Clarke is a director both of the Derby Savings Bank and the Penny Bank, and emphatically asserts that the existence of the one does not supersede the necessity of the other, but rather shows its utility. The Savings Bank has been in operation fifty years, and has in the present year 8,674 open accounts, with an average per individual of 20*l.* 12*s.* The Penny Bank has been organized for half the same number of months, and shows 2,645 depositors, and an average of 8*s.* 6*d.* each. One Saturday evening's receipts stand thus:—

——	Amount Deposited.	Number of Depositors.	Sums under 5*s.*
	£. *s.* *d.*		
Savings Banks . . .	54 14 3	49	6
Penny Bank	20 1 6	242	221

The minimum received at the ordinary Savings Bank is one shilling, and the majority of the sums received at the Penny Banks are below that amount. There is a form to fill up in withdrawing money, which Mr. Clarke states is simple enough but very perplexing to the illiterate; and whereas in the one bank a fortnight's notice is required for sums over five pounds, and a week for lesser ones, in the other the money is paid on the Monday evening of the week succeeding the notice. The routine of business is so much simpler in the Penny Banks that five hundred depositors can have their business transacted in a couple of hours. There is no risk, so often complained of, in being detained so long as to lose a dinner-hour

hour or half a day's work, and the very fact that the deposit of small sums will give no singularity to a man is provocative of good. No man likes the amount of his actual savings to be met by ill-looks from the accountant or derision from the bystanders; it touches him in a most sensitive point, and is a great obstacle in the way of his social advancement.

The immediate response on the part of the people, where these institutions have been opened, is a strong proof of their acceptability in the eyes of the labouring class. If the space over which such an influence must have worked to have produced so astonishing results can be roughly estimated, we may safely affirm, that the area is thrice as large as it is possible to cover by the most energetic literary society, be it named Athenæum, Zetetic, or what not, in the whole United Kingdom. In some instances there has been a perfect rush the very first night of opening. The seven years' existence of the Birmingham bank has resulted in the total receipt of 52,354*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*, the payment of 47,921*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*, and the balance in hand, Dec. 31, 1857, was 4,432*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.*; and this in conjunction with a very efficient Savings Bank.

The thoroughness of their working is nevertheless impeded by many restrictions that demand removal. We have only space to point out a few of the more important points. The first striking one is, that a guaranteed security is necessary for all deposits. This Government has undertaken to give upon all property in their hands; but as remittances in transitu, and sums retained, however large, to meet local demands, are not included, a panic like that of 1844 may come, and, as it did then, utterly ruin many depositors. Moreover, as the sums allowed to be deposited in the Penny Banks are not sufficiently large to be invested in Government funds, and local gentlemen are mostly the only security, great care should be evidenced in the selection of those whose integrity is unsullied by a doubt. In his letter to Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, Mr. Sikes suggested a General State Guarantee Fund, with the main office in London, and a rigorous system of inspectorship. His proposal is an admirable one, and emanating from one so thoroughly master of the science of banking, deserves to form the basis of any future remodelling of the present plan which the Government may think necessary. A much larger extension of these banks is also demanded, so that no town with a population of 10,000 shall be without one; a uniform lowering of the receivable deposit, so as to include the smallest savings, some of the Penny Banks presenting the anomaly of a fixed deposit no lower than a shilling; daily banking hours; district banks in large towns and cities; and quarterly statements, showing the total amount of every separate depositor with his number and initials only. Simplicity in the transaction of business, so as to detect the smallest inaccuracy

inaccuracy and promptly despatch the depositor, is worthy of more attention. We might compare the systems of York, Huddersfield, and Derby, but such a proceeding might be wrongly construed, and lead to no good results. Let the founders of such institutions peruse Mr. Clarke's pamphlet, where all three are given, and judge for themselves. The rules of the West Riding Bank are so admirably constructed as to meet every emergency of death, insanity, or imbecility which may occur to the actual depositors. In rule 22, we are pleased to find it necessary for every depositor to disclose his 'profession, business, occupation, or calling,' and this is a classification which, if our statistics are to be of real service, must be more generally adopted.

Mr. Sikes has advocated the establishment of preliminary Savings Banks in connection with Mechanics' Institutes; and he argues justly that the institutions, whilst thus sanctioning and facilitating prudent habits, would be redoubled in interest and practical good. We can hardly desire the connection of a sort of bank with every large manufacturing establishment, as is often the case in America, from the temptation to which it would expose many of the heads of firms, and the insufficiency of the security in the eyes of the operatives, but we are of opinion that manufacturers might beneficially guide and assist their workpeople in their attempts to provide for the future. The late Ambrose Brewin, Esq., of Tiverton, set an example of a high and rare kind. He bequeathed to each of his workpeople who had been in his lace manufactory for five years, a month's wages, which was placed in the Western Provident Association, with an earnest request that they would constantly add to it their savings.

The utility of these Penny Banks cannot well be overrated. We do not assert that they will induce so radical a change in the condition of our labouring class as an enthusiastic mind could desire, we even doubt that in many things they would be entirely inoperative; but inasmuch as they would implant the first principles of advancement, we may justly anticipate from them more beneficial results than from any other scheme a fertile brain has yet devised. Here they will behold the successive heights up which they may climb, and the means to be employed as auxiliaries. As penny by penny their savings run on to pounds, so step by step, slowly and constantly, must they toil up the rugged path. No bold leap, no destruction of recognised barriers, no misanthropical envy, no burning hatred of their superiors, but a steady, active persevering spirit, commanding both sympathetic and neutral forces, working inch by inch in firm faith of the ability of their own manliness and integrity to elevate and ennoble their condition. A common notion amongst uneducated persons is, that if some one, or something, be it fairy, genii, or troll, would but lift them

them to a locus standi above their present one they could maintain it unimpaired. And this the working man often nestles and nurses in his heart. He allows feeling and imagination to run riot until the possibility of such a thing appears a probability, and he looks up to, and makes a god of what he calls luck, forgetful that it denudes him of all healthy exertion, and must inevitably terminate in misanthropy and the bitterest disappointment. A slow growth is ever favourable to permanence and stability. The kingly oak that spreads its knotted arms to the storm, has been hundreds of years attaining maturity from its diminutive acorn-seed. Such must be the growth of the man of toil—a slow expansion, a steady progression, a sturdy opposition.

The Penny Bank will not only give the aspirant a grand impulse to work with, but it will break and extend itself into several minor ones. Here is a man living entirely for the future, providing for the manhood or womanhood of his children, and his own age. His sympathies and feelings are renovated and strengthened. He is proof against many things which disturb the peace of his fellows. A hopeful spirit diffuses a rich glow over his whole life. Secure from the fluctuations of trade, from the dread of sickness, and what is often its cause, from everything save national bankruptcy, he can front calmly and conqueringly the grim demon of despair which has destroyed so many of his kind. Around his home are woven new attractions, around his fatherland new ties. With increased interest in the former, in books, fireside reading, and the appendages of home, he is won from less pure resorts, and having something at stake in the latter, he is a truer and better citizen, the friend of order, justice, and national rights. He receives impressions in a variety of ways. He must sign his name to receive his money or its interest, must be able to read, or his deposit book and the yearly or half-yearly reports are worse than Palanque pictures to his eye; he must calculate and busy himself with the intricacies of compound interest and exchequer bills. His children are trained in the most frugal and provident habits. 'Videtur ex se natus' is the motto of the father, operating continually and unconsciously upon the minds and hearts of his children. All are taught the dignified virtue of self-confidence and energetic striving. Fichte or Hegel, wrapped in their philosophical cloud-robes, might say, 'I think; therefore I am a god;' but the true worker, however colossal may be the difficulties around him, so long as his courage is unshaken, may more justly affirm, 'I struggle; therefore I am a man.' And we have it upon the testimony of a friend who was not fervid enough to exaggerate, nor sufficiently dishonest to tell an untruth, that in those parts of America where Savings Bank depositors abound, there is a noble and manly look about the workmen which is as marked as is the fine

fine contour of the Circassian from the sleepy effeminacy of the Turk, or that of the peasant of the northern from the inhabitant of the southern Tyrol.

It behoves all true philanthropists to carefully examine for themselves the utility of these institutions we have suggestively advocated; and if they find in it the materials which have been sought for in more winning and poetic theories, as eagerly as gold by alchemists in 'lion-red' cinnabar and 'lily' antimony, we may hope to see our islands and its possessions covered with such a network of them, that no man who is disposed to aspire may fail from want of opportunity.

ART. IV.—1. *On the Degeneracy of the Race.* By M. Morel. Paris: 1857.

2. *Intellectual Education: its Influence on the Character and Happiness of Women.* By E. Sherriff. 1858: Parker.

3. *Annales Medico-Psychologique.*

THAT the type of crime has wonderfully changed within the last century, and has become essentially one of craft and cowardice, is a fact which to the philosopher affords matter for reflection and speculation, and to the philanthropist cause for profound pain and perplexity. The boldness which characterized the robbers of ancient days has passed away, and the name and deeds of Claude Duval and Dick Turpin are remembered only in the melo-dramas of our minor theatres. Our modern thieves hesitate to bid travellers 'Stand and deliver,' but three or four spring on a single man from behind, and throttle him as well as they can. We have given a name to this un-English and detestable crime, and garotte robberies form a large item of the offences tried before the judges of our land. The contests between gamekeepers and poachers are not so frequent but more deadly, being fought less with blows and bludgeons than with knives and guns. Meanwhile the fish is netted, the game drugged, and the roosting pheasant is brought down with an air-gun. When we wish to remove an obstacle in our path we insure our victim's life and administer strychnine. Terror did at one time rise to the height when it becomes deadly, and a panic ensued; so that in 1856 there were more men hanged than we care to count. Burglaries are less common; but educated villains embezzle thousands and leave the aged, the helpless, and the thrifty poor to bewail their incredulity. Infernal machines are preferred to the dagger or the sword. Colt's revolvers, which economize time and multiply death with frightful accuracy, are the fashionable weapon. 'Such is the genuine

genuine use of gunpowder, that it makes all men alike tall.' Mere animal courage is an article of much reduced value in the market. Not that we wholly reject the national bull-dog; but we make him pass through a competitive examination. Palmer and Dove, Sadleir, Paul, Strahan, and Redpath represent the present type of crime—and it is not a pleasant one to contemplate. Our craft has eaten up our courage. Suicide, a sin of moral cowardice, is on the increase. When the mind is enfeebled by drink, anxiety, excitement, or terror, and ceases to receive the stimulus which bodily health affords—in a word, when a man has mentally no hope, and physically no strength, suicide is the natural result. The deaths from this cause in the middle ages were few in proportion to those in the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth it began to spread, urged by the sensuist doctrines then in vogue. Rousseau, Goethe, Lamartine, and Chateaubriand presented phases of this sickly turn of mind in their writings. It is a vice accompanying civilization, for no one ever heard of a savage or an animal committing suicide. That the Greeks and Romans commended it there is no question; and most of our readers will remember the words of Epictetus: 'The door is open; do not be more fearful than children; but as they, when the play does not please them, say—"I will play no longer," so do you say—"I will play no longer," and go.' But though the ancients killed themselves from pride and tedium vitæ, and our Gallic brethren do so from ennui and caprice, an Englishman rarely does so unless under the influence of an amount of terror, desperation, and hopelessness which breaks down his mind even as it nerves his hand.

'Ah, death! thou art acceptable to him that despaireth and hath lost patience!'

Even our minor vices have changed. Precocious boys indulge in the use of tobacco, and men drug themselves with it. In 1821 the total consumption of tobacco in Great Britain was 15,598,152 lb. In 1851 it had risen to 28,062,841 lb. Among our manufacturing population, opium-eating is increasing to an appalling extent. In 1839 the quantity imported into this country was 41,000 lb. In 1852 it was 114,000 lb. That the ancient type of crime differed completely from all that we have just described is patent to the most careless observer. One hundred and fifty years ago bloodshed and rapine were abroad; might was right; the strong arm won, and the weak went to the wall. War was not then, as now, a scientific and deadly duel of nations; but physical force was at a premium, and ignorance of the grossest kind no disqualification. The audacity which was the characteristic of a semi-barbarous warfare is foolishness to the present generation; for why should we grapple with a savage when at a distance of half a mile we can pick him off with a Enfield rifle? Our feeble frames and excitable nervous syste

are unable to stand the enormous amount of intoxicating liquor which the iron constitutions and slow brains of our forefathers bore with but slight inconvenience. Not that delirium tremens is decreasing, on the contrary—only it follows more quickly in the steps of intemperance. We append the number of deaths directly from this cause, as shown in the report of the Registrar-General :—

	Deaths.	Population.
1838	182	15,407,477
1848	518	17,340,492
1854	551	18,618,760

The more thoughtful among us dare not drink themselves mad in these days. They only smoke themselves stupid.

We have given a slight sketch of crime as it was and crime as it is, and we now desire to call the attention of our readers to the similar alteration that has occurred with respect to our diseases, and show that the asthenic form of disease predominates at the same period and in the same proportion as the asthenic form of crime. Few can have failed to observe that medical treatment is diametrically different to what it was one hundred years ago: that it has of necessity, from scientific observation and experience, changed to conform to the new state of things. Fevers now are principally of the low typhoid type, while acute inflammatory diseases have grown rare in comparison. Cholera and influenza have established themselves among us as periodical visitors, while apoplexy, epilepsy, paralysis, hysteria, insanity, and idiocy are increasing far too rapidly. The progress of delirium tremens has been already alluded to, and the statistical returns of the deaths from the other diseases will be seen to correspond :—

	Deaths from Epilepsy.	Deaths from Apoplexy.	Deaths from Paralysis.
1838	1,093	5,630	4,975
1840	1,098	5,451	5,490
1848	1,573	7,602	6,671
1855	2,136	8,645	8,905

Paralysis is also frequently complicated with insanity. In 1839, out of 164 patients that died insane in France, 125 were affected with general paralysis. That the increase, in evidence from the above extracts of the report of the Registrar-General, is not to be accounted for by the additional population, is proved by the fact that other diseases of an opposite description have been stationary, and, in some instances, even decreased; as, for instance, small-pox, consumption, &c. :—

	Number of Deaths from Consumption.	Number of Deaths from Small Pox.
1838	59,025	16,268
1840	59,923	10,433
1855	52,290	2,525

The proportion of those who become insane grows larger each year

year. The deaths referred to insanity are appended, and those to disease of the brain from insanity:—

	Insanity.	Disease of the Brain.
1838	367	1,407
1848	380	3,130
1855	494	3,580

Idiocy, or congenitally defective intellect, is more commonly met with than formerly. This has been, in many instances, traced to habits of drunkenness in the parents. The principal feature noticeable in the above returns is, that diseases of the nervous system, arising from debility, are largely preponderating, and that the organ which appears to suffer to the greatest extent is the brain, while certain zymotic diseases have decreased, owing to improved ventilation, drainage, and other sanitary reforms.

The mortality per cent. does not appear to be greater, nor is the average duration of life lessened; but our old men are less hale, our young men less robust; almost every one has a relative that is insane or paralyzed. The premature decay in brain and health of the men of most promise in the present day is a feature too visible and too sadly significant to be overlooked by those who seek to gauge the real strength of England. Why is it that our wits and poets, our musicians, our artists and statesmen, break down before they have more than half accomplished their mission among men? Either death bears them from us, or disease cripples them, or reason fails them, and a once glorious intellect lies shattered and in ruins. 'My brain is burning. I can bear life no longer.' And with these words on his lips Hugh Miller passed away. And his brain was as powerful as his spirit was kindly, but he exacted from it more work than it could perform under the conditions. It was the tale of bricks—the full tale—but the material part, the straw, was given with a niggardly hand; and the ill-used servant retaliated; and the master mind perished by his own hand. Canning, Byron, Scott, Keats, Kirke White, Laman Blanchard, Douglas Jerrold, Angus Reach. Is there no moral to be drawn from this terrible list of those 'who by the roadside fell and perished?'

To take the highest honours of our universities now demands not only a well-developed and early-disciplined brain and steady industry, but a certain calibre of mental power, and a good and sound working constitution. They may be obtained by means short of these, but at a perilous expense. The health or intellect breaks down inevitably after the struggle, and a valetudinarian or a madman can reap little fruit of his unwise labours. Roger Bacon lived to the age of seventy-eight; John Wesley, eighty-eight; Titian, ninety-six; Herschel, eighty-four; Lord Coke, eighty-five; Michael Angelo, ninety-six; Rollin, eighty; Waller, eighty-two

eighty-two. In those days there were giants. It is related of Lord Brougham that he once worked—read, pleaded, &c.—for five days and nights consecutively; then rushed down to his country-house; slept Saturday night, all Sunday and Sunday night, and was ready for business on Monday. But such superhuman feats are hardly within the grasp of the children of this generation. Our medical men know this, and act accordingly. To reduce the system was the necessity with our forefathers, when disease assailed them. To keep it up, at any price, if life is to be preserved, is the aim of our modern practitioners. The lancet is virtually abandoned. The enormous purgative drenches formerly given are unheard of. Wine—as claret, champagne—brandy, and a most generous diet, are administered, or a fatal termination ensues; for otherwise, when the fever has left, the power of reaction has departed, and the patient sinks beyond recovery. Contrast this with the apothecary's system one hundred years ago. The pole which to this day adorns the barber's shop was then a sign that phlebotomy was there practised. The patient grasped the pole, a vein was quickly opened, and the blood spirted out against the wall. Yet no one seemed to die of it, and many robust individuals underwent the operation every spring and autumn. The distich ascribed to a certain 'mad doctor,' as they were termed, is not yet forgotten:—

> 'I bleeds and physics and sweats 'em.
> If after that they chose to die,
> What's that to me? I lets 'em.'

As may be naturally concluded from all this, our smaller habits and practices are in accordance. A mind naturally of irregular impulse, of apprehensive turn, or excitable, and ambitious in its tendency, is joined to a body not unsound, but in some respects feeble. The first is worked early and late, the other is left to chance. Some domestic trouble, or worldly mischance happens; and dyspepsia, sleeplessness, and a general gloominess of spirits follow. Nervous irritability once induced, a craving for sedatives, stimulants, or narcotics is experienced: spirits, tobacco, or opium, are quickly called in. The evil is staved off for a few hours, to return more peremptorily, for these victories are more costly than certain defeats. If the man be also a father, this nervous irritability is transmitted to the next generation, and often accompanied, singularly enough, by a distinct and early desire for the very drug or stimulant in which the parent indulged. The medical man is consulted, but his utmost efforts can ill repair the reckless waste of nervous power. The sea-side is advised; tonics, quinine, wine, iron, are prescribed, and the advice followed for a time, more frequently than in ancient days; for in times of rude health we were wont to revile the doctor, and throw physic to the dogs; but

but an instinctive sense of the frailty and debility of the modern tenement induces a certain docility, not to say cowardice, in these matters. So our friend is patched up for a time, until he forgets the words of the wise man, and again plunges into speculation, study, ambition, and anxieties, which are the duty of his life, the meat and the bread of his family. Then comes the warning-stroke of paralysis or palsy; and in a little time longer, if that warning be not attended to, death or second childhood closes the troubled scene. When the man who was once happy becomes habitually troubled and gloomy; when the original thinker finds his imagination sterile; when the acute reasoner discovers that he can no longer command his coherent and undivided attention, it is time to stop the works, and put the machine into repair. It will have to be done: it is only a case of sooner or later; but the first cost is the least. The truth is, that ever since the dawning of the wonderful power which mind is destined to exercise over matter, the physical education has been neglected, and, as a matter of course, the body has been to a certain extent sacrificed. That there is a greatly-stimulated activity of head-work spreading among all classes we do not deny. But activity is of two kinds—the one is healthy, and springs from power; the other is, in truth, only irritability, and its root is in weakness. Let it be distinctly understood, we do not depreciate the advancement of learning or the cultivation of the intellect; but we affirm that the physique ought also to be sedulously attended to, and that a certain portion of time applied to the study and practice of the laws of hygiène would be an excellent and valuable remedy for the effect of the cramming system. Sharp wits and subtle intellects are highly-prized qualities in the present day; but the possession of them, unbalanced by other influences, has occasionally cost the owner a voyage to the new world. There is a habit of correct and dispassionate judgment which is rarely acquired except on the condition of a healthy and well-organized body. We often see such a man, not of brilliant capacity, it may be of even a little slowness of apprehension, and with a scanty store of book learning, but distinguished beyond his fellows for a calm, sound judgment, one who is naturally relied on, and consulted in preference to others of keener abilities. On this principle the whimsicalities and eccentricities of many of our men of genius can be explained, and the morbid views of life generally apparent in the crippled, the deformed, and the diseased. Much irritability and want of charity, many a rancorous word and vindictive deed, have owed their existence to a disturbed balance of the bodily health. 'Without this accursed bile we should gain no great battles,' said Napoleon. It is the fashion to exalt the mind, and despise the body; and yet when the romantic or the purely intellectual, the Platonist, the ascetic, and the mystic have lavished

lavished much scorn and abuse on the body, the undeniable fact remains: a body man has, and that body is part of himself, and, if abused, has power, nay, more, is by the laws of nature obliged to inflict on the mind the most severe retaliation. This overpressure has not been directed to bear on the stronger sex alone. In one of the books on our list* there is laid down, by a lady of unquestionable talent and power of thought, a system of study before which the university curriculum for our highest honours positively grows pale and insignificant; and this is to be pursued by young girls from the age of fourteen to eighteen, when the unmatured brain can ill bear such excessive strain. To give an idea of the plan we will merely name what is indicated in history alone: Plutarch; four books of Herodotus; two of Thucydides; four of Xenophon's 'Anabasis;' one half of Plato must be mastered, at the least; as many of the Greek dramatists as possible; Livy in the original; a little of Cicero and Tacitus. In modern history —but we are almost afraid to give a list in this department, lest we should not be believed: Sismondi, Niebuhr, Robertson, Hume, Ranke, Macaulay, Thiers, Voltaire, Burke. These are to be inlaid with innumerable memoirs, such as Madame de Motteville's, Foster's Lives, Mrs. Hutchinson, Southey's Nelson, Segur's Russian Campaign, Botta's History of Italy, Blunt on the Reformation, Lacratelle's Religious Wars, Madame de Sevigné's works. This is in one branch alone; but the names of Adam Smith, Bossuet, Paley, Mackintosh, Butler, and Whately, indicate that the mysteries of political economy and the evidences of Christianity are to be an A, B, C to the unfortunate young woman. What time, we ask, will or can she have to think? It is very sad to be an animal, but it is worse to become a machine. Such a system is sheer oppression of the weak, which an adult would resist, but to which the health and intellect of those who are younger succumb and break down. Every effort of thought expends a portion of the living material. That material is supplied by the blood, and the blood is sent in greater quantities to the brain during thought. Hence, habitual hard brain-work first increases vascularity, and then wears out and destroys the vascular system. The mischief does not end here; the next generation are doomed sufferers by the laws of inheritance, which will be afterwards discussed in connection with the present physical degeneracy; for the puny and bloodless children now so numerous are but the natural result of these offences. It is a significant fact that, while we have raised our standard for examinations, we have found it necessary to lower our regulation height. There is, however, another phase of our times, which, accompanied by mortal pangs

* 'Intellectual Education,' by Emily Shirreff.

and

and throes, though reviled by prophets of evil, and witnessed with uplifted hands and averted eyes, is, nevertheless, one of great and undeniable consolation. We allude to the increased development of moral earnestness; and this not only among this party or that sect, but as evinced by large, united, and simultaneous movements in the moral, political, and religious world. The courage has not been found wanting, which is, indeed, the highest moral effort, to leave a creed or party when falling, not because it is a losing side, but because it is believed to be a false one. Sir Robert Peel lived only to see his work accomplished; he earned, indeed, the applause of his enemies and the thanks of his country, but he gained the bitter opprobrium of his political partisans, and the enmity of some of his oldest friends. It is not the right or wrong, the wisdom or folly of the repeal of the corn laws, which has the slightest bearing on the question here at issue; the point is, the moral earnestness of the man who did not fear to retrace his steps, and, rejecting his precedents, proclaimed to the world, and, harder still, to his followers, his conversion. In the Tractarian movement there have also been evolved distresses of no ordinary description. Traditions have been trampled under foot; the pure faith of our most gifted and chosen has been suffered to slide from their grasp; the solution of new problems has been sought by them, amid the bitterest struggles, and found in darkness and sorrow and sacrifice. Yet, be it remembered, they deserted the church of their forefathers for no hope of worldly gain; they left their fellowships, and preferments, often their homes and families, to embrace poverty and slavery of the saddest description, the slavery of the soul. Mistaken as we must ever think they were, the moral earnestness and fearlessness with which they trod their thorny path must ever command respectful attention. It is not for those who sit in the seat of the scorner to judge these men. The movement within the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, sixteen years ago, is another instance of the same kind. If Oxford shook ours to the centre, the Disruption rent in twain that of our brethren. It was regarded at first lightly, as the factious discontent of some few combining with the diseased or morbid imaginations of others. Statesmen did not hesitate to assure the highest personage in these realms that it was but the 'mutiny of certain malcontents—thirty or forty at most, your Majesty.' Faction grasps at power with the right hand, but the left is ever stretched forth to seize the bag. Yet the day and hour came, and between four and five hundred Scottish ministers, for conscience' sake, joined the Free Church. The Presbyterian clergymen are rarely drawn from among the wealthy upper classes; therefore, it is clear that these men left the Established Church with the distinct knowledge that they thereby abandoned their only means of subsistence—a prospect

which, to a man no longer in the vigour of youth, and burdened, in most instances, with a wife and family, is not one to be lightly faced. Right or wrong, the fact of their doing so is one of deep significance.

In the development of that school, which has been happily characterized as 'muscular Christianity,' is another important feature. Dr. Arnold's great and acknowledged object was to arouse and cultivate in his boys the sense of moral thoughtfulness, and in this school we see the result of his labours. The boys have become men—the seed so sown has blossomed, though the fruit has yet to be gathered. Medically speaking, and apart from all other considerations, there can be little doubt that it is the healthiest of the present schools of theological teaching. In the development of this sentiment, women, too, have taken their share. We have still among us, no doubt, fine ladies who must get through life, and hardly know how to do it (for the quiescent state of neither toiling nor spinning was meant not for mortals, but for lilies of the field), who laboriously hunt down pleasure, with a perseverance which success ill repays, for they need not furnish daily labour for daily bread, and ennui pursues them till they would escape if they could, not only from themselves, but from each other. But another race is rising among us. The names of Florence Nightingale and Mrs. Chisholm have become as it were household words, and many others of minor note are silently treading in their steps. That these ladies are by some dispraised and scoffed at is, to the shame of men, true; but a mind that can perform these deeds can face the scorner, and generally does so effectually. The publication of such works as Mayhew's 'London Labour and the London Poor' has unfolded a vast mass of information, which has served as a fresh stimulus to exertion; and lastly in evidence is the amount of attention and thought which has been expended on that question known as the 'social evil.' That the solution of this difficult problem, the real remedy for this one reproach—our parti honteux—has not yet been found, perhaps will not be discovered in our time, does not bear on our argument. That the evil is acknowledged and lamented, that its cause is in course of investigation, are too widely known to need proof. It is not within the scope of our present object to enter further into the question. The modus operandi of our government has been likened to that of the man who cut a hole in his shoe wherever it pinched. We often legislate from hand to mouth, in a most careless self-sufficient fashion. We make a law that will not work, and are dismayed to find that it creates another evil, against which we instantly provide a fresh bill; and so we go on, cutting fresh holes in the national shoe, and patching up the old ones. We closed our churchyards before we provided our towns with cemeteries.

teries. We have perfected our drainage, and turned the Thames into an open sewer; and now we are in grief and astonishment at its concentration of pestilential odours. We cleared away the rookery of St. Giles, and knocked down wretched houses into miserable cellars, before we erected lodgings for those thus rendered homeless, and we may see the result in crouching unfortunates about the Adelphi arches. In those dark depths, where no life is safe save those of the habitués of the place, there are beings, we are told, unclothed, even in rags, and unable from that reason to leave, whose food is the refuse of their fellows, who never breathe pure air, or see the blue sky, but here live and die and rot. We have endeavoured to examine the present type of disease, and its corresponding type of crime,—our physical condition, and its result mentally. In considering the remedies, we must not legislate for Utopia; we make laws for men, not for angels; and though our aim can scarcely be too high, or our principles too pure, in practice we must be human. Religion, pure and simple, can take no account of the shades between minor or major sins; sin is sin, and a new life, and nothing less, is necessary; but humanity and science may and must do so. We cannot banish evil, but we can diminish its intensity. The effects of the Adamite curse must ever be on us, but it is in our hands to check its activity. As certain conditions produce certain diseases and miseries, which diseases and miseries are invariably followed by a large increase of particular crimes, it is clearly for those who have money and influence, time and talents, to employ them to ameliorate or alter those conditions. Our efforts should be directed to two points,—to arrest where it is possible the hereditary taint of the disease, mental or bodily, and to counteract the physical degeneracy of the race. By this means we diminish the number of the 'ethically unfree,' those who seeing do not perceive, and hearing do not understand. The second point is to educate people to health, to a greater hopefulness, and a stronger courage. It is a well-ascertained fact, that there is a point of physical degradation in the human species which results in utter sterility, and further propagation becomes impossible. It is well that it should be so; but between this limit and the original type of man there are many degrees. Dr. Lucas, in his 'Natural Inheritance,' proves how terribly some diseases are perpetuated—that there are children born with instinctive cravings for the vices of their parents. And beyond all question, many a man has to thank the fact of his having had a drunken father and mother for his being for life a mental cripple, and, so far as moral power goes, an imperfect and defectively-organized being. The seed is sown long before the child is brought into the world, and we may read the result in our prisons, our asylums, and our hospitals, in our old-old children,

our stunted and precocious youth, and our sharp-witted and short-lived men. 'The city Arabs, the dangerous classes'—these are adopted phrases of the day; and what do they signify, except that we have created a race where the unnaturally-stimulated brain exercises a power wholly uninfluenced by moral principle—difficult to catch, more difficult to hold—hard to lead, and utterly refusing to be driven. The reason of all this involves the question of hygiène. The studious man neglects his health; the greedy man 'maketh haste to be rich,'—he increases his risks, and while tossed on the restless sea of troubled thoughts, is struck down by apoplexy or madness; or he loses all, and, if he escapes crime, spends his days and closes his eyes in a workhouse. Among the lower classes there is a constant tendency to forsake our hills and plains, our beautiful villages and lanes, to congregate in crowded cities—to exchange fresh air for mental advantages, and physical toil for head labour. In a word, we earn our bread rather by the sweat of the brain than by the sweat of the brow. To counteract these habits and inclinations, we should all lend steady aid. We have spoken of the 'ethically unfree,' and we apprehend there is a large class of minds which are able to perceive a difference between right and wrong when it is explained to them, but are utterly incapable of understanding any moral reason why one should be preferable to the other. And the defectively-organized and perverted little beings, who are the unfortunate offspring of parents habitually demoralized, drunken, and diseased, are those who furnish the chief portion of this class. To them a system of rewards and punishments is valuable as a means to excite them to good and to deter them from evil. They form a large margin of wavereers, and need a helping hand to lead them to keep honest and cleanly and temperate. Through the feebleness of their moral nature they have a craving for notoriety, and are especially prone to imitation. As a physical epidemic, as cholera, always attacks those predisposed by asthenic health, so a moral epidemic, such as suicide, murder, or theft, seizes more swiftly the asthenic moral nature. Not long since, in France, a little boy, aged 12, killed himself by means of a small copper cannon, a mere toy. He wrote on a stone beside him, with a burnt stick—'Je me suis brûlé la cervelle exprès.' And in Paris if a sensation is made by a suicide in the morning, the day rarely closes without more being added to the list. Palmer poisoned Cook, and the weak brain of Dove followed suit. Our authorities wisely interdicted the play of Jack Sheppard at our theatres when they had evidence of its terrible practical results, from the imitative powers of this class. Without any leaning to materialism, we are borne out in asserting that the man who is cleanly, temperate, and sound in health and limb, is less liable to fall into crime than he who has lost all self-respect, by

by habitual dirt and drunkenness, and whose diseases often engender irritable and foul thoughts. We must teach, if we can, that talent is unable to command a position without conduct, and that it will be practically useless without health. For, indeed, a man may have every gift of intellect under the sun, but if he has no working constitution, he is sure to break down in the fierce hand-to-hand struggle with the world; he is a poor unfortunate, for whom there is no place in the busy strife of our crowded cities; he is to all useful purposes laid on the shelf. If he is a good man, he resigns himself; if he is a bad one, he takes to craft, and becomes a villain.*

There are other points to which the education of the present day should be directed:—a greater manliness of thought, and a pervading hopefulness of spirit, instilling moral courage as well as physical, so that what the world says shall not have power to make a man miserable for life, nor the prospect of moneyed loss be able to drive him to despair, so long as he has hands left to work with. And then, in the day of domestic bitterness or misconduct—of poverty, perplexity, or trouble—he will not betake himself to the river, to the chemist's shop, or the public-house; or, in a higher class of life, he will not write a letter to the wife whom he is coward enough to leave, load his pistols, and blow out his brains; but will act a man's part, and try for a man's reward. It has been well said that Judas Iscariot might have done better than hang himself.

The building of model lodging-houses, baths, and washing-houses, the establishment of ragged schools, reformatories, play-grounds, and reading-rooms, the early-closing movement, and the Saturday half-holiday, are all steps in the right direction. Fresh air, plenty of water, and wholesomely-prepared food, an occasional walk beneath the blue sky over the greensward, go far to exorcise the demon of despair, and its attendant curse the gin-bottle. The healthy girl makes the better mother; and the boy who thoroughly enjoys his play may not turn out a brilliant scholar, but he has a chance of becoming a strong man and a good one, as far as the common purposes of life go.

* The increase of fraudulent offences for 1858 is three per cent. in excess of the average for 1857.

ART. V.—1. *An Act to amend the Law for the Inspection of Coal-Mines in Great Britain.* 18 *and* 19 *Vict., cap.* 108. 14th August, 1855.

2. *Reports of the Inspectors of Coal-Mines to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the years* 1855 *and* 1856.

3. *Evidence taken before the Coroner's Inquest at Wigan relating to the Explosion of Gas which occurred in the Ince Hall Coal and Cannel Company's Arley Mine Pit, February* 18*th*, 1854. *With Introductory Remarks.* By James Darlington, the Company's Mining Engineer. (For private circulation.)

4. *The South Staffordshire Colliery District: its Evils, and their Cure. Two Letters, one of which appeared in the 'Times' of April* 18*th*, 1855. By the Rev. Charles Girdlestone, M.A., Rector of Kingswinford, Staffordshire. *To which is prefixed, by permission, the Letters of Messrs. Walker to the 'Times' on the same subject.* London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THE publications referred to above, and the reports of colliery accidents appearing in the newspapers from time to time, are quite sufficient to prove that there is but little, if any, diminution in the loss of life in coal-pits since the year 1851; that the Act of Parliament 18 and 19 Vict., cap. 108, is to a very great extent ineffective, as well as partial, in its enactments; that government inspection of coal-mines is very incomplete and unsatisfactory; and lastly, that more stringent measures ought to be enforced by the legislature, and a large and efficient staff of inspectors appointed for the protection and safety of colliers or miners in general.

It is true that explosions like those at Lundhill, Cymrier, and Ashton, are not constant occurrences; yet during the intervals of such wholesale destruction it repeatedly happens that three, six, eight, or twelve men are killed at one time, either by explosion, the slipping or breaking of ropes and chains, falls of coal and roof, or falls in shafts. Taking all the fatal accidents into account, it appears from the inspectors' reports that the deaths resulting therefrom during the six years prior to 1857, average nearly 1,000 per annum, the numbers employed in getting coal being about 220,000 men and boys. For the purpose of more ready reference, we arrange them as follows:—

1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856
984	986	957	1045	963	1027

The inspectors of coal-mines tell us that, in proportion to the coals drawn, there is a considerable decrease in fatal accidents. Of

Of the truth of this we are not yet convinced; for in the year 1851, with 216,217 employed in coal-mines, 984 were killed, or 4·5 in ever 1,000 employed. Allowing, for the sake of argument, that in 1856 there were 220,000 working, which would be an increase of nearly 4,000, the number killed (stated in the inspectors' report to be 1,027) was 4·6 in every 1,000. A casual perusal of the inspectors' reports may lead to a belief that fatal accidents have decreased in number; but if the totals given by each inspector be arranged and considered, our doubts will be found to be sustained.

We append a summary of deaths occurring through accidents in coal-pits since the year 1851, giving particulars of the way in which such persons were killed, so as to distinguish the principal dangers to which colliers are exposed in the different coal-fields of Great Britain:—

SUMMARY of DEATHS occurring in COAL-MINES since 1851.

DISTRICT.	Explosion.	Falls of Roof.	In Shafts.	Miscellaneous, under Ground.	Miscellaneous, on Surface.	Total.
1851.						
Scotland	62	52	28	4	4	150
Northumberland, Durham, and Cumberland	57	32	15	27	12	143
Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, and Leicestershire	76	30	21	3	5	135
Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales	70	48	39	18	6	181
Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Worcestershire	41	111	75	12	6	245
South Wales, Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire, and Somersetshire	15	54	41	9	11	130
Total	321	327	219	73	44	984
1852.						
Scotland	5	23	24	8	1	61
Northumberland, Durham, and Cumberland	38	44	28	24	19	153
Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, and Leicestershire	22	35	28	19	4	108
Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales	91	56	57	20	5	229
Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Worcestershire	25	134	46	6	8	219
South Wales, Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire, and Somersetshire	83	57	26	39	11	216
Total	264	349	209	116	48	986

Summary

Summary of Deaths occurring in Coal-mines since 1851—*continued.*

District.	Explosion.	Falls of Roof.	In Shafts.	Miscellaneous, under Ground.	Miscellaneous, on Surface.	Total.
1853.						
Scotland	15	31	27	8	..	81
Northumberland, Durham, and Cumberland	19	58	29	30	14	150
Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, and Leicestershire	10	32	36	8	9	95
Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales	99	71	40	20	7	237
Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Worcestershire	35	115	65	13	3	231
South Wales, Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire and Somersetshire	36	63	39	15	10	163
Total	214	371	236	94	43	957
1854.						
Scotland	16	46	32	4	6	104
Northumberland, Durham, and Cumberland	11	43	27	28	16	125
Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, and Leicestershire	14	50	50	16	4	134
Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales	129	59	74	22	15	299
Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Worcestershire	22	122	65	12	9	230
South Wales, Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire, and Somersetshire	18	69	42	17	7	153
Total	210	389	290	99	57	1,045
1855.						
Scotland	7	19	26	16	..	68
Northumberland, Durham, and Cumberland	21	51	25	51	..	148
Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, and Leicestershire	16 ..	45 3	39 3	13 ..	.. 2	113 8
Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales	45	59	54	41	..	199
Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Worcestershire	38	116	49	24	..	227
South Wales, Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire, and Somersetshire	21	106	39	25	9	200
Total	148	399	235	170	11	963

Summary

Summary of Deaths occurring in Coal-mines since 1851—*continued.*

District.	Explosion.	Falls of Roof.	In Shafts.	Miscellaneous, under Ground.	Miscellaneous, on Surface.	Total.
1856.						
Scotland, Western	3	26	11	5	..	45
Scotland, Eastern	5	18	13	8	3	47
Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham, North	..	36	13	24	..	73
Durham, South	3	25	8	26	..	62
North-East Lancashire	24	22	22	16	..	84
West Lancashire and North Wales.	12	39	22	30	..	103
Yorkshire	7	19	19	4	3	52
Derby, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, and Warwickshire	3	21	16	6	..	46
North Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire	8	19	22	21	..	70
South Staffordshire and Worcestershire	21	88	37	10	..	156
Southern Gloucestershire	13	30	12	9	1	65
South Wales	136	56	15	17	..	224
Total	235	399	210	176	7	1,027

From these tables it will be seen that, during the six years named, 5,962 men and boys have been killed in coal-mines.* How many of these deaths might have been prevented?

When explosions such as those at Wigan, Blaina, Cymner, Lundhill, or Ashton are heard of, the public mind is aroused for a season, but very soon the poor collier is forgotten. The public generally suppose that fire-damp is the greatest destroyer of life in pits; but the tables already given point to falls of the roof as the principal, and descending or ascending the shaft as the second danger which the miner has to encounter. To be more correctly understood, we add another list of the number killed, and the way in which they met with death, since the year 1851:—

Killed between January 1st, 1851, and December 31st, 1856, in Coal-pits, in the following manner:—

By falls of roof and coal	2,233
In shafts, either in descending or ascending, by falling out of cage or skip, breaking of ropes, chains, &c.	1,399
By explosion of fire-damp	1,392
†Miscellaneous, under ground	728
Miscellaneous, above ground	210
Total	5,962

* It must be remembered that this number does not include those who have been killed in iron-stone pits.

† Including those run over by corves or skips, &c.

Or

Or stated thus:—

——	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	Total in Six Years.
By explosion	321	264	214	210	148	235	1,392
Falls of roof and coal . .	327	349	370	389	399	399	2,233
In shafts	219	209	236	290	235	210	1,399
Miscellaneous, under ground	73	116	94	99	170	176	728
Miscellaneous, above ground	44	48	43	57	11	7	210
Total . . .	984	986	957	1,045	963	1,027	5,962

Some districts are more fatal than others. Staffordshire and Shropshire, for example, largely swell the number of the slain. By the census of 1851, we learn that there were 32,449 men and boys employed in coal-pits in Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Worcestershire, or about one-seventh of the number of colliers in Great Britain. More than 1,300 lives have been lost in that coal-field; 686 fatal accidents have occurred, during the period we have been investigating, through falls of roof and coal, 337 in shafts through the breaking of chains, or ropes being drawn over pulleys, or through men falling out of skips in ascending or descending the shaft. The loss of life in the Staffordshire coal-field is nearly fifty per cent. above the average.

In his report for 1856, Mr. Brough, the inspector, refers to the high rate of mortality, and suggests different modes of operation as being, in his opinion, accompanied with less danger. He severely condemns, and that justly, the old-fashioned mode of drawing; the old and inefficient engines employed; and also the great distance at which many of them are placed from the pits. In alluding to the great number killed by falls of roof and coal, Mr. Brough well observes that the statement of eighty-eight persons in that district alone having lost their lives in this manner, during the year 1856, is so startling as to demand more than usual comment, especially as out of that number fifty-five of the deaths have taken place in the thick coal—a measure peculiar to Staffordshire and Shropshire, varying in thickness from five to fifteen yards. We agree with the inspector in the opinion he expresses that this measure is too lofty to be wrought as one mine: 'The difficulty of setting timber to the extreme upper measures, and the danger of removing it if so placed, must be evident to every practical miner.'

The greater portion of shaft accidents occur through the bad material used for chains, or the defective machinery employed. It is a mournful thing to state that iron-masters and coal-masters have been morally, if not legally responsible for the death of many

of

of their workmen. We read of an employer who fixed to one of his pits a wire rope only half an inch in diameter, the breaking of which caused the death of one man and the serious injury of a second. Single-linked chains are often used for the purpose of drawing from a considerable depth. All persons acquainted with mining operations are aware of the insecurity attending such a practice; and the public are from time to time made partially acquainted with it by hearing of the loss of men's lives. Mr. Brough speaks out boldly but truly when he says, that, 'With the knowledge and experience of the present day, the use of such material is positive inhumanity.' The most appalling calamity occurring through the use of a single-linked chain was in the Old Park Colliery, Dudley, belonging to Lord Ward, on June 20th, 1856. As eight men and boys were ascending the shaft after completing their daily labour, and when within a few yards of the surface, the chain snapped, and the poor unfortunate fellows were precipitated to the bottom. Six were killed at the time, and the remaining two died after a few hours of severe suffering. At the inquest, the inspector explained the danger of a round or single-linked chain, and pointed out that though it may be of unusual strength when new, and forged of the best iron that can be procured, it is nevertheless liable, by percussive action, to an alteration in its molecular arrangement. By rattling over the prop wheels and pulleys, loss of fibre takes place, and the result is a crystalline structure of the iron, in which case its original strength can no longer be relied on.

'This deplorable event,' says Mr. Brough in his Report, 'has not been followed by any perceptible diminution in the use of these dangerous single-linked chains.' The recklessness and inhumanity of masters using them appear almost incredible. It must not, however, be supposed that the single-linked chain is the only one accompanied with risks. To our knowledge many of the treble-linked or wooded chains are equally unsafe. It occurs to us at this moment, that at a pit we well know, where from thirty to forty men descend and ascend morning and night, but a few months since a treble-linked chain was in use, although at the same time quite unfit for that or any other purpose. It was made up of odd pieces of chain, many of which had been cast aside as unsafe by other owners. This chain was often breaking. On several different occasions the skip of coal fell to the bottom of the shaft. Then the chain was repaired, and the lives of eight poor men intrusted to it. Again and again it was broken and repaired, till at length some of the poor men became alarmed and left the pit for employment elsewhere. The pit referred to, it is true, does not belong to any of the large proprietors, but only to a charter-master, yet at the same time we have reasons for believing that

that something of the same sort may be met with in the collieries of those who are yearly adding thousands to their already extensive fortunes.

Herbert Mackworth, Esq., Inspector of the South Wales District, refers to the breaking of a guide chain in the Forest of Dean, by which two persons were killed; and also states that at the inquest 'the bailiff admitted that the chains had broken and fallen down the shaft twenty times before.' *

Every district yields its quota of shaft accidents; but where guides and conductors are used, although the engines are on the first motion the accidents are much fewer than where the skip hangs on a single-linked chain, or is allowed to swing to and fro in the shaft.

To obviate the disasters occurring in shafts, Messrs. Foudrinier have invented a very ingenious apparatus. It is lowered and raised in the usual way by a rope from the top, but it also slides in vertical grooves at the sides of the shaft, and these grooves afford means of safety, in the event of the rope breaking, by means of two levers which are thrown out, and which catch the guide rods. Another more effectual method we could mention but space will not allow.† In the employment of such apparatus there may be difficulties at times from the drawing of the shafts, but these might be surmounted if all shafts were built up with solid masonry.

Explosions of carburetted hydrogen gas originate

'1st, Through an insufficient quantity of air in the mine, arising from the airways being too small, and the ventilating power insufficient; 2nd, Through neglect, in not conveying the air to the fosse by brattising; 3rd, Neglect of a careful examination by proper firemen before the workmen enter the mine; and 4th, Inattention, in allowing fire-damp to lodge in cavities above or below the workings, which might be prevented or liberated safely by drill holes, or removing the intervening stratum, thereby avoiding outbursts; and also in allowing fire-damp to lodge in any hole in the roof, or in workings whence it may be driven out by a fall of the roof, or by a concussion of the air, or otherwise, or be inadvertently or wilfully entered by any person.' ‡

We believe that nearly all the explosions which have occurred may be traced to either one or other of the causes enumerated, and we are supported in this opinion by inspectors, colliery owners, managers, ground bailiffs, viewers, and colliers themselves.

On a careful examination of these causes it will be perceived that they belong to that class over which the working man has no control. He is not allowed to dictate to those by whom he is employed as to the number of shafts, size of airways, or quantity of air which may be necessary for the proper ventilation of the mine.

---

* Report, 1855, p. 110.

† Allusion is here made to Owen's Patent, which is a great improvement, and secures perfect safety to the poor collier in ascending or descending.

‡ *Mr. Dickenson's* Report, 1856, pp. 33, 34.

The

The Act of Parliament referred to at the commencement, 18 & 19 Vict. cap. 108, s. 4, states that

'An adequate amount of ventilation shall be constantly produced at all collieries, to dilute and render harmless noxious gases to such an extent as that the working places of the pits and levels of such collieries shall, under ordinary circumstances, be in a fit state for working.'

Mr. Mackworth very justly observes that 'to determine and prove what are the ordinary conditions of the ventilation of a colliery would require several visits from the inspector.'* Had there been a certain amount of air allowed for a given number of men, or the extent of roads and working places, the Act would have been much more efficient. In this respect the Belgian Government has set us an example worthy of imitation. The regulations of March 1, 1850, applicable to the ventilation of coal and other pits are as follows, in Belgium:

'Article 1st. In every underground working, every part of the work accessible to the workmen shall be rendered healthy by an active and regular current of pure air. The velocity and abundance of this current, as well as the area of the galleries, every part of which must be readily accessible, shall be regulated according to the number of the workmen, the extent of the works, and the natural effluvia of the mine.

'Article 2nd. The ventilation shall be effected and maintained by means that are efficient and free from all danger.

'Article 3rd. Every current of air considerably vitiated by the mixture of deleterious or inflammable gases shall be carefully separated from all working places and travelling roads. The extent of the different working places shall be so far limited and in such a manner as to protect the workmen placed in the return current from the injurious effects of air which has become foul.'

With defective ventilation, the various functions of the body can only be maintained by an unnatural effort, and ultimately asthma or inflammation and premature death must ensue. The legislature of our land has done something for the safer and healthier working of coal-mines by the appointment of inspectors and passing the Act previously mentioned: our regret is that more has not been accomplished. Before the employment of inspectors, the poor collier was without any redress, but now he can lay his complaints before the inspector of the district, who will immediately examine the colliery respecting which complaints are made, and suggest such alterations as he may consider most desirable. Mr. Morton, in his Report to the Home Secretary, says that 'Several angry quarrels have broken out between masters and workmen relative to the bad ventilation or management, and alleged danger of mines in my district.' Mr. John J. Atkinson, inspector of the southern portion of Durham, states

* Report, 1855, p. 118.

that

that during the year 1856 he received complaints from workmen employed in the Trimdon, Moorsley, Framwellgate, Hart-bushes or Wingate, Keepier, and Heugh collieries, respecting the bad ventilation or dangerous condition of each. The inspector examined all the collieries mentioned, and proposed and enforced such alterations as were thought necessary for lessening the risks of those employed.

At first the working men shunned the inspectors, and even hated them. A change, however, has taken place. The colliers see that the inspector is their friend, and consequently offer their assistance. We wish that this co-operation were more extensive. It is, however, to a large extent prevented from becoming universal by the combination of employers against the men who may give evidence.

Mr. Mackworth says, in reference to the Cymner colliery explosion—

'That little benefit has accrued to the district from the verdict of manslaughter passed against the manager, overmen, and firemen of the Cymner colliery; and that it has little influence on the management of other collieries has been illustrated by a combination to prevent certain colliers, whose evidence implicated the management of the Cymner colliery, from obtaining work. One of them, with a large family, and who distinguished himself by his courage and activity whilst underground at the time of the explosion, applied to me for pecuniary assistance, in consequence of being refused work for ten weeks and more after the explosion.'*

Such a course is not only cruel but foolish. 'The proprietors,' says Mr. Darlington, 'have a real interest in every feature of the mine, whether it be ventilation, the discipline, or the system. Defective ventilation and lax discipline are as ruinous to the owner as they are prejudicial to safety, for it is a notorious fact, that security and economy go hand in hand, and that an improper system is commercially ruinous and unwise.' The Cymner explosion serves as an illustration of the difficulty of convicting the responsible parties. This arises from the vagueness of the Act of Parliament. Sometimes it is thought that the owner is the responsible party, sometimes that the responsibility rests with the manager, viewer, or ground bailiff; but each of these, in turn, throw all upon the shoulders of butties, underground viewers, and firemen. Hence it often happens that when a case is carried into a court of justice both judge and jury are confused.

After the coroner's jury had carefully examined the evidence given respecting the Cymner explosion, which occurred on the 15th July, 1856, and caused the death of 114 individuals, they returned a verdict of 'manslaughter' against the manager, Jabez Thomas, Rowland Rowland, overman, and the three firemen. This, however, was set aside at the Swansea assizes, when Mr. Baron Watson, in his address to the grand jury, stated—

* Report, 1856, p. 124.

'That

'That inasmuch as Mr. Jabez Thomas was the above-ground manager, and did not go underground, he could not be held responsible; and that as regards the other men, no direct cause of omission was brought against them, and he could not see how they could be guilty of manslaughter.'

Notwithstanding these observations of the judge, the grand jury returned a true bill. After the evidence had been given, his lordship directed the jury to return a verdict of not guilty against Jabez Thomas, and added, that the law required that there should be an immediate personal default before a conviction of manslaughter could take place.

The evidence given before the coroner by Mr. Mackworth, and his report, are sufficient, one would think, to implicate the manager or owners (see Report, 1856, pp. 118—128). Mr. Mackworth says—

'On July 8th, 1852, a short time after the Cymner colliery had been commenced, I addressed to Messrs. Insole a letter containing a report of the causes which led to the Middle Dyffryn explosion, by which 65 lives were lost, and requested their serious attention to the dangers which might result from insufficient ventilation, weak and imperfect stoppings, doors in the main intakes, the non-isolation of districts, and the want of printed rules and strict discipline.'

The inspector could do no more, as the Act 13 & 14 Vict, c. 100, did not empower him to give a caution respecting a mine unless fire-damp had been detected. On the 28th of March preceding the date of Mr. Mackworth's letter, he inspected the Cymner colliery. At the time of the visit, Mr. Jabez Thomas, the manager, was absent through ill-health, and Mr. David Evans was acting for him. Mr. Evans, with Rowland Rowland, accompanied the inspector underground. Mr. Mackworth communicated what information he thought most desirable for the future working of the colliery with safety, and he informs us that he left a complete record of these recommendations at the colliery by marking on the plan kept in the manager's office (to be communicated to him and the owners) the way in which the ventilation should be carried into effect, and in addition to this, Mr. Mackworth states—

'I also gave, on a sheet of paper, the drawings and dimensions of other improvements which might be carried into effect. I also find, from my notes, that I pointed out the risks which would ensue from using naked light in places where sudden emission of gas might occur, such as pillar workings, or from bringing the air from any old workings through the working places.'*

Every person unacquainted with the tactics of many coal-owners would be ready to think that all the recommendations were valued and acted upon by the manager and owners. They were disregarded *in toto*.

---

* Report, 1856, p. 119.

After

After two years had passed away, Mr. Mackworth was obliged to write to Messrs. Insole again for the purpose of calling their attention to Act 18 & 19 Vict., 108, sec. 6, which declares that special rules shall be drawn up in connection with the general rules for the use and direction of all persons engaged in each respective colliery.

We append the particulars of Mr. Mackworth's proceedings in reference to Cymner colliery, and leave them with our readers.

March	28th, 1852	Mr. Mackworth inspected Cymner colliery.
July	8th, 1852	Sent cautions to Messrs. Insole, the proprietors.
May	24th, 1854	Recommendations to overman and manager's deputy for future working of the mine.
Sept.	6th, 1854	Inquired respecting compliance with my recommendations.
Oct.	20th, 1854	Proposed special rules to Messrs. Insole.
Sept.	5th, 1855	Repeated my recommendations to Mr. Hay, the under-ground manager; gave him another copy of the rules.
Sept.	6th, 1855	Verdict of the jury.* Mr. Hay promised to carry out my suggestions.
Dec.	30th, 1855	Repeated recommendations in my amendments to Mr. Insole's rules.
Jan.	1st, 1856	Wrote to Mr. Evans.

The accident of July 15th, 1856, occurred after Mr. Mackworth's removal from the district. At the request, however, of the Home Secretary, he examined the colliery after the explosion, and gave evidence before the coroner, in which he stated that if his recommendations had been followed, in all probability the explosion would not have taken place.

We refrain from repeating the details of Mr. Mackworth's experience with the Cwmbach colliery, Aberdare, another case which suggests the necessity of the proprietors, or their deputies, being considered responsible for the ventilation and working of their pits. If the sole management of the colliery rests with the owner's deputy, be he viewer, ground-bailiff, or charter-master, it is not unreasonable that such person should be looked upon as responsible for carrying out the requirements of the Act of Parliament.

As a further illustration, we may refer to an explosion mentioned by Charles Morton, Esq., inspector of the Yorkshire district, as having occurred on the 19th July, 1856, in the Strafford colliery, near Barnsley. On examination after the explosion, Mr. Morton discovered that only 9,000 cubic feet of air per minute passed through the pit. Considering this insufficient for the purpose of enabling 40 men to continue their work with safety, he suggested certain alterations, which had no sooner been completed than the quantity of air passing through the pit was increased from 9,000 to 14,000 cubic feet per minute. Mr. Morton is

* The death of one man. The great explosion occurred July 1856.

of

of opinion that this amount may be still further increased. In such a case as this, to whom ought the blame to attach, if not to the proprietors or their manager? An explosion occurred at Grange Lane colliery, near Rotherham, on September 23rd, 1856. In reference to the condition of the pit, Mr. Morton states that it 'was devoid of ordinary artificial ventilation; inflammable gas pervaded it to such a degree for several days prior to the fatal accident, that the colliers were compelled to abandon their labour.' From the evidence given before the coroner, it is very clear that the owner himself was the party responsible for the safe working of the pit. It is true that one John Fox was intrusted with the working of the coal-pit in question, as well as six iron-stone pits; but at the same time 'he loaded iron-stone and coal waggons, mended roads, filled water-barrels, and carted hay; underground, he was expected to build stoppings, to fix doors, to lay and repair tramways, to remove falls of roof, to design and examine the various drifts and works connected with seven pits, to be responsible for the adequate ventilation thereof, and to supervise the persons employed therein.' Mr. Morton says that 'John Fox had not time nor opportunity—he certainly was not furnished with suitable apparatus—and probably did not possess the requisite skill to enable him to displace the fire-damp by a current of air.' The coroner's jury, in returning the stereotyped verdict on colliery accidents, 'accidental death,' expressed an opinion that the pit was in a bad state of management, and very defectively ventilated.

If moral justice had been satisfied, the proprietor in such a case as this must have been convicted of manslaughter. 'The proprietor,' says the inspector in his report, 'was unquestionably guilty of the most reprehensible avarice, laxity, and indifference concerning the safety of his workpeople. He knew the dangerous condition of the mine, and yet he made no effort to improve it; and it is not too much to say that he was morally, if not legally accountable.'

The only power which, under the Act of 1855, is in the hands of the inspector, so far as we can learn, is to summon the owners or managers to the office, and if his suggestions are disregarded, to summon them before a justice of the peace, who may inflict a light fine. If inspectors are needed, we maintain that they ought to be empowered to make alterations where it is evident that the lives of men are endangered, at the expense of the proprietary. It must not be understood that we wish that absolute authority should be put into the inspector's hands. Contrary opinions may be given about the same thing by different inspectors. In such matters as an unsafe chain or rope, an inspector might be empowered to replace it; but on such a question as ventilation, where

a difference of opinion may exist between the inspector and owner or manager, we would suggest that an equal number of inspectors and viewers might be called in to arbitrate.*

On reading the Act, one is surprised at its leniency towards proprietors. This surprise vanishes, however, when Mr. Mackworth tells us that at the meeting in London, during the sittings of the Committee of the House of Commons on Mine Inspection, colliery owners were represented by 49 of their number, while colliers mustered only 4, and government inspectors 6.

Mr. Mackworth informs us, in his report for 1856, that during that year he obtained 35 convictions of owners and managers for violating the general and special rules. Forty violations of the rules were met with in the Ebbw Vale collieries, 20 at the Rhymney collieries, and 25 at Mr. Levick's collieries, notwithstanding that previous notices had been sent. Thousands of violations of the Act occur daily in the coal-fields.

Mr. Darlington tells us that 'a commercial necessity suggested the idea of working a hundred acres to each pit, instead of five or ten, and it was the ability of practical and scientific viewers that agreed upon a system commensurate with the difficulties involved.' It may be well for a mining engineer to tell us what a commercial necessity suggested, but safety for the men ought to be the first thing considered by proprietors and managers.

We have conversed with managers, ground-bailiffs, and colliers, all of whom confess that the danger increases in proportion as the work is extended. It seems to us absolutely necessary that something should be done to check unlimited extension of area; we should not then hear of such tremendous destruction of life as at Wigan, Cymner, Lundhill, or Ashton-under-Lyne. That method of working a pit which commences getting the coal close to the bottom of the shaft first, has long since been condemned, and we are surprised that any owners should continue to adopt it, after the fearful carnage and desolation it has caused in mining districts. We are aware that the question is one of pounds, shillings, and pence. The proprietor's justification is, that the sinking of the shaft or shafts is an expensive affair, and that it is necessary for them to begin to draw coal at their earliest opportunity. Even this 'commercial necessity' is but a shallow excuse for reckless disregard of human life. If the roads were driven to the extremity of the mine, and the coal procured on the homeward journey, explosions would occur but seldom, and when they did, they would not be so destructive, as the top would gradually sink, and thus prevent the possibility of gas being held in chambers.

* If the owners or managers agree with the inspector, and delay carrying out the improvements, the latter might have full power.

It

It is strange that the Act makes no reference to iron and lime-stone pits, of which there are thousands, and in which tens of thousands of men and boys are working daily. Justice requires that the iron-stone pits should be placed under the same law as coal-pits, as in Belgium, for example. During the year 1856, as many as 35 persons lost their lives in iron-stone pits in South Staffordshire alone; and we believe that a large number have been killed in the same kind of pits during the same year throughout Britain.

The partiality of the Act is seen in the eleventh section, where employers are spoken of as rendering themselves liable to a 'penalty of not exceeding five pounds,' while the working man, for a violation of the special rules, is liable to a 'penalty not exceeding two pounds, or to be imprisoned, with or without hard labour, in the common gaol or house of correction for any period not exceeding three calendar months.' This clause has rendered the Act more unpopular among colliers than any other of its provisions. At this we need not be surprised, when we remember that the violation of the general rules by employers, which may endanger the lives of a hundred, or cause the death of twenty persons, is punished by a fine of five pounds only; while the collier, for some slight omission or excess of duty, or for leaving his work without a fortnight's notice, is liable to imprisonment for three months. Had a penalty been imposed upon proprietors commensurate with their responsibilities, they would have been more likely to arrange and carry out their works with a due regard to safety. As the law stands, colliery owners, if summoned before magistrates, pay the fine, but refuse to reform their conduct.

The inspectors have little leisure for inspecting collieries, the greater portion of their time being consumed in attending coroners' inquests, and examining those pits in which accidents have occurred. So much time is actually consumed in these matters, that it is absolutely impossible for some of the inspectors to go over their district in a less period than from two to three years. It is thought desirable that school inspectors should visit every school in their different districts once during each year, and factory inspectors are expected to visit all factories under their charge. Why should it not be the same with inspection of collieries? If the thing is worth doing, it is worth doing well.

What is needed for the safer working of mines in general is an Act of Parliament, drawn up after an equal number of owners, inspectors, and miners have been examined. The defects of the present Act would be by such a process completely established, and evidence elicited as to the framing of another and better. The Act, however good in itself, would not be sufficient. A staff of intelligent inspectors would be requisite, to see that it was carried into effect. For the benefit of our colliers, a sufficient

number should be appointed to visit once at least during each year every pit in their respective districts, both above and below ground.

Our remarks have already exceeded the limits assigned for this paper; at some future time we may recur to the subject, for the purpose of calling the attention of our readers to the social and moral condition of the colliery districts of Great Britain.

ART. VI.—1. *The Duty of the Church.* By the Rev. Charles Stovel. A. W. Bennett: London.
2. *Our National Education.* By Mr. Frederic Hill. 1836.
3. *New Statistical Account of Scotland.* No. II.
4. *Sur l'Homme et le Développement de ses Facultés.* Par Mons. Quetelet. 1835.
5. *Monthly Papers on the Politics of Temperance.* Partridge: London.

IF a question possess any buoyancy, and can float upon the waters of public opinion, it is sure to be tossed into some notice when those waters are disturbed by the stormy winds of an election. During the contest which has just been terminated, candidates have been tortured and perplexed in a great variety of ways. Subjects of little moment and of great import have been placed before them by ardent advocates, and the politician has been expected to be ready with an opinion upon any topic which might be suggested.

While there is much in all this that is amusing, there is something to provoke serious reflection. General questions of politics are freely discussed; but on many of the greatest social problems, gentlemen seeking to become legislators have thought but little, and have the crudest, if any opinion.

The United Kingdom Alliance, an organization, as our readers know, devoted to the agitation of 'prohibition,' as relating to a trade in strong drink, seized with energy and propriety the opportunity which the late election afforded, to bring its views before the attention of the public, and of parliamentary candidates in particular. With several exceptions, entire ignorance of the subject characterized the replies given. A great evil was admitted —its vital and overwhelming importance acknowledged—but no intelligent remedy had ever been considered. Education was the refuge for the destitute. The politician who had never thought of the nature and results of national drunkenness could always safely fall back on that. 'I admit the enormous mischief, and I depend

I depend on education for the cure.' This is a sad, because a mischievous fallacy, and we propose briefly to discuss it.

Let us not be misunderstood, however. We are the friends of the highest and most attainable education, regarded as one of the chief ends of society, and of course advocates of freedom from that excessive and degrading toil which is incompatible with that end, as with all true enjoyment of life.

Knowledge, be it observed, is not directly operative upon the organic and moral nature of man. It is at best but a directing power, not a motive force. Mr. Buckle, in his 'History of Civilization in England,' has shown by a large induction of facts, indeed, that science and knowledge have created and destroyed many of the institutions of society, and altered many modes of social action; but he confesses that they have little or no direct action upon the subjective nature of man himself, who is therefore very much the same sort of being he ever was—neither better nor worse than in the days of Plato and Socrates. Races inherit character, which remains essentially the same, while the sum of knowledge increases beyond all comparison. The modern Frenchman differs only in manners and information from the ancient Gaul, not at all in character, motive, or impulse. If vice has its source in the active powers and susceptibilities of man, and not in the mere element of knowledge or ignorance, there can be but two methods of reaching and modifying it: either the introduction of an inner force, intensifying the action of those higher feelings which balance or control the lower impulses, or the removal of those outer conditions which unduly excite the passional and personal activities of men.

Now the first of these methods, except to a most inconsiderable extent, is beyond the sphere of social law: it is therefore the last method by which society must mainly work for the accomplishment of its purposes.

'Instead of ordering men to rise above their circumstances,' says Professor Newman, 'which few can or will do, political philosophy seeks to alter the circumstances, and through them affect the men, by preventing any from being exposed to temptations beyond their strength. Virtue must come from within; to this problem religion and morality must direct themselves: but vice may come from without; to hinder this is the care of the politician.'

If a statesman would be justly deemed insane who should proclaim knowledge the exclusive remedy for all vice and crime, and thereupon propose the abrogation of the statutes at large, a similar proposition, treating the particular vice of drunkenness, the source of so much other crime, can hardly be regarded as a specimen of extraordinary wisdom. In fact, the argument is even weaker in the latter than in the former case; since drunkenness does not arise from the original subjective nature of man, but has its beginning solely in the abnormal action of the drink itself upon the organic

organic structure of the nerves and brain. Engendered as it is by the action of a physical agent, it can possibly be cured only by abstinence from its cause, not by moralizing.

'It is well that we should guard ourselves against undue and extravagant expectations of the amount of good to be derived from school instruction. *Centuries of education will not remove the evils of bad and mischievous customs and laws*, which form, in fact, an indirect education of another kind, often more powerful and lasting in its influence than any series of lessons taught within the walls of a schoolroom.' *

Professor Rogers has well put the case in the following passage:—

'If it be said that the schooling, by which knowledge is imparted, will do good, that I admit most willingly; any decently managed school is, in that point of view, beyond all price; but then, though the giving of the knowledge is the avowed object, the great benefit reaped is a moral one—it is the effect produced in the process itself of acquisition that constitutes the chief value of schooling: it is because industry, perseverance, patience, punctuality, veracity, and so on [habits and actions], are practically taught in the course of this school-discipline: it is because it involves *the right employment of time and the exclusion of temptation*. Neither capacity nor knowledge have, in themselves, any reference to virtue, any more than anything else that is merely instrumental, and that may be, like these, used or abused.'†

As customs and laws are powerful by inducing the actual use of that which generates evil, so knowledge or instruction is mediatively serviceable in directing to a contrary course. So far as education teaches men to drink less, or less often, so far it must modify or check intemperance; so far as recreation and reading keep a man out of the temptation of the social circle or the public-house, so far, of course, will it prove efficient. It is a gain to temperance—a loss to the opposing vice. But the converse is equally true, that so far as men drink, either in the private circle or at the tavern, so far are sown the seeds of intemperate appetite. The first custom will infallibly measure the second consequence. In short, we can concede to knowledge no more than this—that to the extent its advices and attractions limit the consumption of intoxicating drink (the sole proximate cause of drunkenness) to that extent it abates the effect.

How far it is ever likely to do this, short of the special education of temperance societies and the removal of the legalized temptations to drinking, may be best estimated by its influence in the past. History, private and public, is philosophy teaching by example. Now the first thing which strikes the observer, in looking at the facts of history, is, that *amongst educated individuals, classes, professions, and nations alike, where drinking obtained, intemperance has also prevailed, both in ancient and modern times.*

---

* 'Westminster Review,' vol. xxxiv. p. 69.
† Greyson's 'Correspondence,' pp. 129, 130.

The

The Bible exhibits strong drink in its seductive operations upon the highest and best of men, overcoming and enslaving patriarch and prince, priest and people. After the education and discipline of the Jewish church and nation for six hundred years, it is declared that the priest and the prophet are 'swallowed up of wine'—that they 'err in vision and stumble in prophecy.' The love of strong drink is again and again declared to be the chief hindrance to the progress and success of the wonderful divine economy; and the Lord sternly proclaims—'Therefore shall my people go into captivity.' The Bible contains, virtually, the sum and substance of all later experience—2000 years having served but to confirm its solemn lessons on this subject.

Educated individuals have been numbered amongst the victims of strong drink in all ages, from the time of Alexander the Great to the age of the great statesman William Pitt. Indeed, some of the better qualities of man, some of the most amiable traits of character, and even some of the peculiar attributes of genius, rather dispose to the ready development of the passion for intoxicants, wherever custom has supplied the agent and the temptation. Both as respects opium and alcohol, literary history is full of striking examples. Mr. De Quincey, in his celebrated 'Confessions,' gives many illustrations as to the former, including himself, the celebrated historian Dean Milner, and the poet-philosopher S. T. Coleridge; and the memory of the reader, in reference to strong drink, will supply a dark catalogue of distinguished victims, down from the period of Addison, Steele, and Goldsmith, to the days of Burns, Byron, and Campbell. Our own recollections would fill up a long roll of victims from amongst the first literary names of the past generation; whilst the habits of some of the most eminent living writers sufficiently confute the notion that high culture, or mere education, is any safeguard against the encroachments of the appetite for strong drink.

What is the secret of all this? The operation of *a physical law*, in the presence of which mere knowledge is powerless.

'Much may be done through the convictions,' says Dr. Laycock, the Professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh; 'but nothing is more certain than that men may know the right and yet the wrong pursue. When the brain is affected it causes a true mania for wine and stimulants. Indigestion being temporarily relieved by alcoholic stimulants, it *lays the foundation* for an ever-growing habit of taking them in women, and excites a more and more urgent desire in the drunkard. *It is in this way that many persons of position and education have become irrecoverable sots.*'

Educated classes and professions supply abundant testimony to the inefficiency of mere education to counteract custom and physical law. Goethe, one of the profoundest of observers, has lamented that our social manners and modes of life are not brought into fuller harmony with our theories of duty. The fact is, that everywhere

where our vital institutions neutralize our virtuous ideals, and the moral man is crushed under the perpetual pressure of material interests and egoistic temptations.

Everybody knows that the professions of the law and of medicine include frequent and frightful illustrations of the passion for intoxicating liquors. Though embracing men of the highest education and capacity, they are not at all proverbial for their sobriety. Nor do university towns, where both secular and religious education is imparted, rank foremost amongst the favoured localities of temperance. If anywhere, however, we might calculate upon witnessing an exception from the vice of drunkenness, it would be amongst those special denominations, where the ministerial function is least connected with professional temporalities, and where religion, instruction, and discipline are most pervadingly combined. If the highest forms of education fail in these cases to accomplish the suppression of the evil, what hope can we have of a less stringent and coherent form of the same panacea? In an age notable for its material, intellectual, and moral appliances of progress—notable for an activity unparalleled in the history of human amelioration—what is the actual state of the churches and denominations of our country, not to speak of the outside world? Here is the testimony of the Rev. Charles Stovel, the pastor of a large Baptist congregation in the metropolis, lately given in his own chapel:—

'Within the range of my own experience, and the circle of my own friends, and amongst those who have been the objects of my own pastoral care, examples have burst out from time to time, so terrible, so demonstrative of the evils of intemperance, that I have long wished for an opportunity to clear my own conscience, to bear my testimony, in conjunction with others, against the generating habits and customs through which so many perish. Having spent thirty-eight years in the Christian ministry, I have, in the discharge of my duty, looked at the effect of these drinking customs upon all grades of society, and I have found that they have touched and blasted high and low, young and old, learned and unlearned.'

The Society of Friends is a highly moral and educated body of Christians, remarkable for their mutual oversight and rigid discipline. Yet Mr. S. Bowly, a member of their body, with an experience of public life extending over forty years, is thus reported to have lately spoken in the Town Hall of Longton:—

'I challenge any one present to name any one class of citizens that have escaped the awful consequences of intemperance. Medical men, lawyers, clergymen, and members of the Society of Friends, have fallen victims: and if highly cultivated men, having all the advantages of education, and private resources which secured for them due relaxation and recreation under the most favourable conditions; and if many members of the Society of Friends, with all the advantages of their early training, could not resist temptations to intemperance, how could they feel surprised that those constituting the great masses of the population, who have none of those advantages, could not resist the temptations which brought so many of them to an untimely end?'

Even the special education and influences of temperance societies, conjoined with the progress of general intelligence, has not served

to

to guard the members of these associations from the seductiveness of temptation and the dangers of the drink. The difficulty of the societies has been to retain the conquests which they have won. Mr. John Dunlop, whose work on the Drinking Usages is an important contribution to the philosophy of this question, laments that from 50 to 75 per cent. of teetotalers break their pledges under the tyranny or temptations of social usage. Knowledge, indeed, is quite unable to cope with Custom, in a continuous warfare: the sole chance for the triumph of intelligence is in the destruction of the corrupting and opposing agency.

'I once succeeded,' says Mr. Dunlop, 'in getting *seven* curriers' shops to abandon drinking usage. Visiting the same town some years afterwards, I found six of these had returned to their old unhappy practices; for the temperance committees had given no assistance to keep things steady, even where a good beginning had been made; much less had they instituted new assaults on compulsory usage.'

It is our clear conviction, that no merely voluntary and necessarily spasmodic efforts can ever accomplish the work of suppressing so wide-spread a system of national usage: it can be effectually dealt with only by the arm of the law, drying up its fountains and feeders. When men as citizens act in the same direction as men of temperance, there will be a fair and hopeful field for the triumph of moral suasion and associated example.

The facts and statistics of modern nations bring us to precisely the same conclusions.

The United States of America, with an excellent system of national education, combined with extreme political liberties, and the superabundance of a new country, nevertheless exhibited, prior to the temperance and prohibitory movement, exactly the same social phenomena which are seen amongst ourselves. The States were at once free, educated, and drunken.

In Belgium, the political philosopher has to note the same connection between drinking and crime notwithstanding the education of the people, which exists at home. Mons. G. Ducpetiaux, the inspector of prisons, says:—

'My experience extends now over a quarter of a century, and I can emphatically declare that *four-fifths* of the crime and misery with which, in my public and private capacity, I have come in contact, has been the result of drink.'

The German States, again, are still more highly educated, and combine the much-lauded panaceas of education, recreation, and light wines. Is crime, therefore, little known there? And does a smaller fraction of it spring from the drink-shops than here? Not so. Lord Brougham, in a recent speech in the city of York, is reported to have made the following observations:—

'The noble lord urged the advantages of the National Association for the Advancement of Social Science. Speaking of the statement which had gone abroad in reference to too little attention having been given to the question of temperance, he referred to the paper read by Mr. Commissioner Hill, Recorder of Birmingham, in which he gave the result of his inquiries during last summer, in most of the great prisons of the Continent, and particularly in those of Munich,

of

of Bavaria, and of Baden. The result of those inquiries, as stated in that paper, was, that in one of those great prisons *every one* of the culprits, the governor stated, owed his confinement to *wine and beer*. The other prison, at Baden, gave nearly the same result; but the one at Munich was the most remarkable. It was a great misfortune that by some accident no notice was taken by the press of that paper.'

Another way of testing the educational fallacy is by comparing countries equally well educated, but differing in the item of drink-facilities. Holstein, though as well educated as Denmark, is far more intemperate and criminal. Why? Because the facilities for drinking are greater in the former than in the latter.

The Rhenish provinces of Germany, where most wine and spirit is consumed, has one annual condemnation for crime against the person to every 30,000 persons; but in Pomerania, where education is not quite so great, and where, according to Malte Brun, they are more robust, frugal, and sober, there is only one such offence to every 90,000.

On a local scale, examples of the connection between the license system and social demoralization have long been patent to all observers. John Noorthouck, in 1773, in his 'New History of London,' notes that 'there are villages in remote country places which can date the commencement of their poor-rate from the introduction of a public-house.' Mr. Frederic Hill, inspector of prisons, justly deplores the fact that—

'The owner of the least patch of land in a town, may set at nought the wishes and comforts of his neighbours. By stopping up or spoiling some public promenade, *erecting a gin-shop*, or opening a cock-pit, *he may render futile the best-arranged plan for promoting the general good*. An instance of this kind has fallen under our own observation. About four years ago the owner of a mere nook of land adjoining one of the extensive iron-works in the county of Stafford was induced to let his ground for the erection of a beer-shop. The situation was fatally well chosen: it is placed, evidently by design, so full in view that not one of the many hundred persons employed in the establishment can pass from one part of the works to another without being exposed to its dangerous temptation. . . . . As might be expected, in too many instances *this constant attack has proved irresistible*, and men who should be at their work are found loitering in the beer-shop: in short, a distinct change for the worse has taken place in the habits of the men, the vice of drunkenness having much increased.'

On the other hand, we have in Britain many parishes showing the good which results from the absence of licensed temptations to drunkenness amongst our people. Scorton, a manufacturing and agricultural township, near Lancaster, is a happy example, and contrasts in a remarkable manner with neighbouring populations which are, in all things else save the absence of drink-shops, similarly circumstanced. So Dinorwic, near Bangor, with a population of 800. The working men are chiefly employed in the slate-quarries; their wages 20*s.* per week: labourers 15*s.* *There is no public-house within two miles.* The inhabitants are almost as sober as teetotalers, and put by in the saving club 1000*l.* annually. The only paupers are those arising from accidents and old age. Neatness, cleanliness, and comfort characterize the village.

Scotland

Scotland furnishes at least thirty parishes in which public facilities to drinking have been suppressed with vast benefit. Mertoun and Legerwood, on the borders, are instances: whilst the neighbouring parish of Earlston, with several whisky-shops, has a heavy poor-rate.

Johnstone, in Dumfries-shire, with a population of 1230, shows how to secure the full benefit of recreation and education.

'There are three public schools in the parish. There are no persons above six years of age who cannot both read and write. Since the facilities of education have been increased, an evident improvement has taken place in the morals and general good conduct of the parishioners, as is testified by our sessional records of discipline, &c.

'Though not much engrossed in literary or intellectual pursuits, our inhabitants are yet an intelligent, moral, and church-going population.

'The prevailing popular games are, curling in the winter, and quoits in summer; for superior skill in both of which manly and exhilarating exercises this parish has for some years past been confessedly distinguished.

'There are, we believe, few, if any, instances of a parish unconnected with manufactures, and whose inhabitants depend exclusively for support upon the cultivation of the soil, increasing so rapidly in population as this has done within these last forty years. *During this period the external aspect of the parish has been entirely changed by its roads, its enclosures, and its improved system of husbandry;* but more especially by the number of *comfortable dwellings erected for the accommodation of the labouring classes.* These houses have been *built partly at their own expense*, with the assistance of timber, &c., from the proprietor.

'While the population has increased so extensively, it is an extraordinary fact in our parish statistics, *that its pauperism has been diminished.*

'WE HAVE NEITHER PUBLIC-HOUSE, nor meeting-house, *nor resident surgeon, nor prison, nor lawyer, nor beggar;* specialities, we humbly conceive, not to be found united in any one parish of similar dimensions in Britain; and of which, though some may be occasionally felt as parish privations, others are daily prized by us as distinguished blessings.'

In contrast with this happy state of things, mark the effect of domestic facilities for drinking *finkel* (corn-brandy), in a country possessing much higher social advantages than a Scottish parish where the feudal system is scarcely extinct, and where the land is already monopolized: we refer to Angermannland:—

'The people unite all the advantages of a manufacturing and agricultural population more fully than any district I ever saw. The land is all in small estates, in the possession of the peasantry. The men do the farm business. There is full employment at the loom or in spinning for old and young of the female sex. About the houses there is all the cleanliness and neatness of a thriving manufacturing, and the abundance of an agricultural, population. Everybody is well clad. In their houses, good tables and chairs, window-curtains, clocks, fine bedding, papered rooms, and a few books. It is here, that what a country may be justly proud of, is realized.'*

In this very province, nevertheless, crime has reached a terrible ratio, there being one criminal to every 400 of the population: the true cause may be gathered from the fact, that one crime in six is recorded as the result of *drunkenness;* but a far greater proportion springs from the perversion of an *excitement* short of actual inebriation.

Large masses of statistics prove beyond contradiction the fixed

* Laing's 'Tour in Sweden, 1839,' p. 192.

connection

connection in Britain between the great bulk of crime and drinking facilities, and also a general connection between drinkeries and pauperism. The annexed Diagram exhibits many paradoxes and contradictions when viewed from the common stand-point; but the tavern key unlocks the difficulty and solves the problem. The constant correspondent of crime, with the variations of which crime varies, is alone that of drinking facilities. Church, school, and gaol may all flourish together, provided the drinkery flourishes; but if *that* be much beneath the average, crime will be found to be so likewise; as well where ignorance prevails as where knowledge has been diffused.

England.	R. Pop. to 100 Worshippers.	E. Pop. to 100 Day-Scholars.	Variance. R.	Variance. E.	C. Pop. to 1 Annual Criminal.	D. Correspondence. Pop. to 1 Drinkery.	C.	D.
I.								
Worcester	309	1074			470	136		
Warwick	324	1119			545	145		
Stafford	313	1122			580	138		
Mean ratio calculated from 100	**90**	**91**	−	−	**117**	**120**	+	+
Buckingham	206	1041			634	120		
Oxford	236	1064			579	128		
	122	**97**	+	−	**106**	**129**	+	+
II.								
York	293	935			875	190		
Northumberland	358	957			1100	194		
Lancaster	373	1126			609	153		
Surrey	415	942			623	232		
	73	**96**	−	−	**75**	**90**	−	−
III.								
Cornwall compared with	211	1101			1533	304		
Monmouth and	220	1405	=	=	415	118	=−	=−
Cambridge	216	974			592	109		
IV.								
Devon compared with	250	1045			724	194		
Dorset	213	879			739	198		
Somerset compared with	230	1051	=−	=−	594	137	=	=
Stafford	313	892			580	138		
V.								
Cambridge	216	947			592	109		
Huntingdon	181	862			668	99		
Hertford	225	883			546	105		
Hants	251	837			562	137		
	123	**113**	+	+	**108**	**136**	+	+

Explanation of Diagram.—R. (Religion) denotes attendance at public worship; E. Schooling or Education; C. Crime; D. Drink-shops. The Symbols are − *Minus* (or less than the average); + *Plus* (or more); = *Equal*; =− *Unequal*. The calculations are founded on the Excise Returns, the Census, and the Criminal Tables. The *large* figures exhibit the proportions reduced to an average of 100. In Group II., for example, 73 means 27 *below* the average per centage of religious *instruction*, and 75 means 25 *below* the average of crime.

The

The results of a comparison of counties are briefly these :—

First Group—Ignorance and Irreligion with Crime *plus.*
Second Group—Same antecedents with Crime *minus.*
Third Group—Education and Worship *equal*, with Crime *unequal.*
Fourth Group—Church and School *unequal*, Crime *equal.*
Fifth Group—Church and School full, Gaol also full.

On the right of the Diagram is the solution. The unvarying antecedent because chief factor in the cause—is the corresponding condition of the traffic in strong drink. Mr. Joseph Bentley, in his Letter to the President of Council on Education, very properly insists that the public-houses are undoing the good work of the teacher and pastor.

'Taking,' says he, 'the six counties having fewest of these pestiferous places, one to every 235 persons, we find a criminal annually among 762 inhabitants; while in the six counties having a public-house for 109 "thirsty souls," there is a criminal among 591 inhabitants. Where they do most drinking, we find *one-fourth more paupers, one-fourth less property, and only about half the amount of deposits in savings banks*, and yet there are one-third more worshippers and one-fifth more schools to population than where the people have fewest drinking-shops.'

Cornwall, Cambridge, and Monmouth present at once a remarkable contrast and comparison. They are all three amongst the most religiously-instructed, yet two are the most, and the other is the least, criminal of all the counties of England. Why? Because Cornwall has not half the public-houses of Monmouth and of Cambridge.

There is one pre-eminent social authority who has made very apparent the same truths as respects France and Germany.

'It frequently happens,' says Quetelet, 'that causes which appear very influential *disappear before others of which we had scarcely thought at first*, and this is what I have especially found in actual researches. And I confess that I have been probably too much occupied with the influence which we assign to *Education* in abating the propensity to crime.* It seems to me that this common error especially proceeds from our EXPECTING to find fewer crimes in a country, because we find more children in it who attend school, and because there is in general a greater number of persons able to read and write. We also consider *poverty* as generally conducing to crime; yet the department of Creuse, one of the poorest in

* Count D'Angeville says:—'Of the 17 departments *lowest in education*, 7 are amongst the same number *lowest in crime*. Of the 17 *most enlightened*, 6 are among the same number *most criminal*.' The ratio of accusations for assize crimes of all kinds in France, is about one criminal to every 4400 persons: in England it is one to 630. In Belgium the proportion is one to 5000. Besides this, there is police crime amounting to one in 188 inhabitants in France; one to 198 in Belgium. Many cases, probably, which in England go to swell the *sessions* criminality, are in France summarily dealt with by the police judges. As Quetelet observes—'*The difference in laws and the classifications of crime render direct comparisons impossible.*'

France,

France, is that which in every respect presents the greatest morality. In the Low Countries, the most moral province is Luxembourg, where there is the greatest degree of poverty. Its inhabitants are *sober* and active.

'Rapid changes from one [commercial] state to another give rise to crime, *particularly if those who suffer are surrounded by materials of temptation*, &c.

'Particularly addicted to crimes against persons are the Germanic race, which extends over Alsace, the Duchy of the Lower Rhine, a part of Lorraine, and the Low Countries, where the greater proportion of persons and property gives rise to more OCCASIONS of committing crime, *and where the frequent use of strong drinks leads more often to excesses.*'

This great author has not only indicated that some of the cardinal causes of crime may be overlooked, and an undue influence be assigned to certain supposed counter-agencies, but has distinctly hinted at strong drink as the chiefest amongst the causes which have been ignored by the social investigator.

The chapter on 'The development of the propensity to Crime,' begins with this important observation:—

'Supposing men to be placed in similar circumstances, I call the greater or less probability of committing crime, the *propensity to crime*. It is not enough that a man may merely have the *intention* to do evil; he must also have the *opportunity* and the *means*. Thus the propensity to crime may be the same in France as in England, without, on that account, the *morality* of the nations being the same.

'It may be interesting to examine the influence of the intellectual state of the accused on the nature of crimes. The French documents for 1828-29, 1830-1, show that, all things being equal, the number of crimes against persons *compared with the number of crimes against property*, was greater according as the intellectual state of the accused was more highly developed; and this difference bore especially on *murders, rapes, blows, wounds*, and other severe crimes. *Must we thence conclude that knowledge is injurious to society?* It may so happen, that individuals of the enlightened class, while committing fewer murders, &c., also commit much fewer crimes against property, are less frequently under the necessity of having recourse to the different modes of appropriation; whilst affluence and knowledge have *not* an equal power in subduing the fire of passion and sentiments of hatred and vengeance. It seems to me, then, that at the most we can only say that *the ratio* of the number of crimes against persons to those against property, *varies* with the degree of knowledge. The accused of the eighth class, who all exercised liberal professions, or enjoyed a fortune, which presupposes some education, *are those who, relatively, have committed the greatest number of crimes against persons;* while 87-hundredths of the accused of the ninth class (beggars, smugglers, &c.) have scarcely attacked anything save property.

'The Vosges in Alsace—and the 15 departments on the border of the Mediterranean (with smuggling facilities)—*all exceed the average of crime in France against persons.* It is remarkable that several of the poorest departments in France, *and also the least educated*, such as Creuse, Indre, Cher, Haute-Vienne, Allier, &c., are at the same time the most moral; *whilst the contrary is the case in most of the departments which have the greatest wealth and instruction.*'

M. Quetelet, in giving his 'Conclusions,' announces facts and inculcates principles which have so obvious a bearing on the overlooked cause of crime, the licensed traffic in strong drink, that we cannot do better than quote his own impressive language:—

'*Education*

'*Education* is far from having so much influence on the propensity to crime as is generally supposed. Moreover, moral instruction is very often confounded with instruction in *reading and writing* alone, and which is most frequently an accessory instrument to crime.

'It is the same with *poverty;* several of the departments of France, considered to be the poorest are at the same time the most moral. Man is not driven to crime *because* he is poor, but more generally because of an inadequacy to supply the *artificial wants* he has created.

'Of 1129 murders committed in France during the space of four years, 446 have been in consequence of quarrels and contentions in taverns, *which would tend to show the fatal influences of the use of strong drinks.*

'Thus we pass from one year to another, with the sad perspective of seeing the same crimes reproduced in the same order. The *causes* we now want to ascertain, and as soon as we are acquainted with them, we shall determine their influence on society, just in the same way as we determine effects by their causes in physical science. I am, however, far from concluding that man can do nothing for man's amelioration. He possesses a moral power of modifying *the laws* and *influences* which affect him. Also, I cannot repeat too often, to all men who sincerely desire the well-being and honour of their kind—and who would blush to consider a few coins more or less paid to the treasury as equivalent to a few lives more or less sacrificed by the executioner—that there is a budget which we pay with a frightful regularity—it is that of prisons, chains, and the scaffold—it is that which, above all, we ought to endeavour to abate.'

The facts and statistics already given, tend to illustrate the saying of the first Napoleon, that 'under whatever relation we view man, he is as much the result of his physical and moral atmosphere as of his own organization.' It is on this ground that we claim the support of the philanthropist and politician, since it appears evident from facts that we can only realize and perpetuate the blessings of education, of free institutions, and of sanitary laws, upon a foundation of temperance which shall exclude the proved causes of disease, degradation, and crime.

The statistics of Ireland, as embodied in an able paper read in 1857 before the British Association at Dublin, by Mr. James Moncrieff Wilson, the actuary, strikingly confirm this view. The year 1851 is selected in preference to any other, because it furnishes the reliable *census* returns, and because it was a period not disturbed by those frightful causes of distress which operated from 1845 to 1850, when want became the almost compulsory cause of crime. Nevertheless, the Census Commissioners have remarked, to the honour of the nation, that while 'numbers, indeed, were sent to prison for petty crimes, often committed to save themselves or children from starvation, yet the slight amount of crime *of a serious nature* was remarkable.' They were, during that period, both by necessity and moral suasion, a temperate people. Strong drink was not so active in its usual work of depraving and exciting.

Of crime, generally, the proportion perpetrated by males, as compared with females, is as 54 to 21, or above two-thirds of the whole: the average of both is ·7620 per cent. = 1 criminal to 131¼ persons.

We

We summarize and class together the statistical elements of (1) Education, (2) Occupation, (3) House-Accommodation, (4) Drinkeries, (5) Drunkenness, and (6) Crime.

——	Per Cent. who could neither Read nor Write.	Per Cent. of Occupied Persons.	Per Centage of Bad Lodging.	Per Cent. of Drinkeries.	Per Cent. of Drunken Cases.	*Crime.** Per Centage of Convicted.
Ulster	31	43	6½	·0968	·0921	·1109
Connaught . . .	60	37	18	·0515	·0844	·1836
Leinster	36	41	10¼	·0960	·4543	·2746
Munster	49	39	17½	·0939	·1246	·3040

The following are the clear deductions drawn by Mr. Wilson:—

'I. That education combined with occupation tends powerfully towards the diminution of crime, more especially towards the decrease of offences against property, without violence.

'II. That low-class dwelling-house accommodation tends towards the increase of crime.

'III. That the sale of intoxicating liquor has perhaps *as powerful an effect upon crime* in increasing it, as education and occupation combined have in lessening it. "Thus Connaught is by far the worst-educated province in Ireland, with the largest unoccupied population, *yet the tendency to crime is less than in any other province*, except Ulster. This can only be accounted for by the considerations that in Connaught there are 42 drink-houses fewer to every 100,000 of the population than in any other province; and that the per-centage of committals for drunkenness does not amount in Connaught to *one-half* the like per-centage for the average of Ireland." †

'IV. That were intoxicating drinks less freely used, education, as a means of reducing crime, would become most powerful.'

In conclusion, let us remember that no *theory* will avail to cure crime; but solely the removal of the great temptation: for man's social environment overrides all theories. As society creates a mass of crime by a special organization, so it can *suppress* it in great part by withdrawing its license. It needs only that a nation shall will it. The responsibility, therefore, rests solely with the people. There is no external power, no mysterious law, which places even the slightest impediment in the path of a reform more beneficent than society, by any other agency, has ever yet realized. The suppression of the traffic will be better than 'the gradual

* It must be noted, that 44½ per cent. of persons charged or held to bail are *acquitted*. The above represent convictions. Connaught, twice as ignorant, three times as dirty, and greatly more idle, is nevertheless less drunken, and scarcely more criminal, than Ulster; and *much less criminal* than the other two provinces.

† We add the important fact, that in Donegal and Tyrone (Ulster), there were from March, 1855, to December, 1856,—1131 cases of *detection of illicit distillation*, against 248 for Galway, Mayo, and Sligo (Connaught), showing the fallacy of supposing that decreased facility for the *sale* of drink promotes illicit manufacture.

reform

reform of our institutions,' for it will render half of them superfluous, and do more than all of them put together to reduce the oscillations of habit to their minimum, and to inaugurate those conditions which shall be adequate to the supply of our normal wants.

ART. VII.—UNION SURGEONS.

The Grievances of the Poor Law Medical Officers. Nos. 2 and 3. By Richard Griffin, J.P., M.R.C.S., &c. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

REFORM is again a household word. That to which we now apply our pen derives its interest neither from politics nor party, but bases its appeal to the legislature on the simple grounds of justice. Medical reform, after repeated trials and disheartening failures, is now '*un fait accompli*;' the reform we advocate refers to a large section of the same profession. Were the existence of abuses alone necessary to obtain redress, the poor law medical officers of this kingdom would have an easy task, and require no aids from us; but although at various times occasional questions have been asked and stereotyped answers obtained in the houses of parliament, they have, as a body, remained without redress, and, we might almost add, without sympathy. The author of the pamphlets before us has most thoroughly identified himself with the cause of poor law medical reform. We do not wish to ignore the efforts of Mr. Lord and others who have attempted a solution of the difficulties, but they will, we are assured, award to Mr. Griffin the position which he has formed for himself. He is now the acknowledged head of an association, numbering almost half the existing medical staff; he has enlisted the sympathy of many members of the lower house; and has successfully pointed out to the Poor Law Board the importance of the subject. The result of his efforts has been the acknowledgment, by the late President, of the hardships endured, and the circulation of a scheme for relief among those interested in the matter. To this scheme of Mr. Estcourt's we shall presently advert; but from it we gather no unfavourable opinion of the ultimate issue. Some of our medical friends may consider this of trivial importance; to us it appears a prelude to increased exertion and an earnest of success. Granted, that it requires modification—that it has in some details misunderstood the profession with which it proposed to deal—it still proves a desire on the part of 'the powers that be' to remedy grievances. From its courteous circulation amongst the class whom it proposes to affect; from the desire evinced for their opinions; from the unvaried urbanity displayed by the late President to the various deputations whom he has met, we can arrive at no other conclusion than that he is influenced by a sincere desire to serve a very ill-used class. In common with all who are interested in the cause of poor law medical reform, we regret the removal of Mr. Estcourt from office.

The pamphlet opens with an address to the legislature; this embraces most of the controverted points, and proves that the grievances are not mere fictions of medical imagination. The pamphlet No. 2 was forwarded to every member of the houses of parliament. The new house will have its attention called to many matters of extreme importance, but few can surpass this in interest. On this point many pertinent remarks will be found in the early portion of the address, to which our space compels us to refer the reader.

Observant spectators cannot fail to remark that governments do not place that value on life, especially of the bulk of population, which it deserves. Under some conditions it is esteemed beyond price. Ought it not to be more attended to in those who, compelled to labour hard, and frequently to live harder, are yet the classes from whom our fleets and armies are replenished, and to whom we commit the important trust of our national position? Health is their only heritage, a legacy of inestimable value, and the constitutional vigour and ability to withstand exposure

posure and disease depend on the treatment which that heritage receives. Hence, mere selfish motives, apart from higher principles, should induce every government to guard carefully the stamina of the *matériel* which is so essential. The welfare of four millions of the poorer portions of her majesty's subjects is bound up in this verdict. For sanitary measures in health, for medical treatment under disease, these millions depend on the services of more than three thousand members of the medical profession. Had these been meted out to invalided pauperism on a scale commensurate with the payment, the relief would have been, indeed, infinitesimal; but, as a body, greatly to their honour, no lack of duty can be laid to their charge. Among the disabled poor of this country, whether in the abodes of humble poverty or the haunts of infamy and vice dens where the life-giving air of heaven in its maiden purity cannot penetrate—where pestilential vapours, reeking with typhus and cholera, hold undisputed empire, greeting the visitor with their insidious and too-often fatal embrace—in abodes which defy the approaches of sanitary commissioners, or, if external measures are successful, internal arrangements proportionably neutralize the benefit, there plods, often with weary step and haggard eye, the 'parish doctor.' The picture is neither far-fetched nor imaginary; it is not the romance of fiction; it is well known and keenly felt by many a district officer in the metropolis, in large provincial towns, or in densely-populated parishes; it has been painfully felt by surviving widows and orphans, as the records of the Medical Benevolent College can, in its hitherto brief career, bear ample testimony. What recompense do these officers receive? and, as we write, we are sensible of the satire conveyed in the term. Listen, gentle reader, the fact we are about to state is not a mistake. The average payment, from 500 returns taken promiscuously, is two shillings and ninepence farthing per case! This is the recompense for wear and tear of body and mind, for drugs and appliances—often for the additional requisite, a horse. This is the rate that local boards—sanctioned, be it remembered, by the Poor Law Board—offer for services which, whatever they might once have been, are now marked by skill and ability of no mean character. We have stated that this is the average payment; it will perhaps be scarcely credited that, according to returns obtained by Lord Elcho, the rate in some districts is as low as twopence per case, while out of the 3,000 medical officers 79 receive under one shilling and 290 above this sum, but under two shillings! As if in contrast, the average duration of attendance is found to be 28 days, or under one penny a day at the higher rate of payment!

No calculation is necessary to enable us to determine the profit at this average rate of payment, but we will allow an extract at page ix to reply:—'A report on the beneficent institutions of the metropolis has lately been issued by the Statistical Society of London. From this work it will be seen that 232,878 patients were attended in the metropolitan dispensaries in one year at a cost of 2*s.* 5¾*d.* per case.' And at page xix we find the cost of each patient at the South Stafford General Hospital (out-patients) 2*s.* 11¾*d.*; Great Yarmouth Hospital, do., 3*s.* 8*d.*; Reading Dispensary, do., 6*s.* 5*d.*; Bury, do., 8*s.* 4½*d.*; Spalding, do., 7*s.* 11½*d.*; Leeds, do., 4*s.* 5*d.*

It is not our duty to determine whether the strictest economy is carried out in the several institutions mentioned. They are not singular. The list could be easily extended, but we have here sufficient to support our position. Generally, these institutions cannot afford any reckless expenditure, whilst, from using large quantities, they obtain their drugs at lessened cost; yet, with these important advantages, the average of metropolitan dispensaries nearly equals the average payment of a poor law medical officer; the former being solely the expense of drugs, while the latter is paid for time, skill, and drugs. Glancing at some of the provincial institutions, the sums mentioned as cost of drugs per case would be considered a princely payment by many union surgeons. Further, in unions, where the guardians provide the drugs, the cost has averaged one shilling and sixpence per case; yet, with these startling facts to guide them, boards of guardians still pay 63 surgeons, out of the 500 returns before mentioned, under this amount. We have heard of a pauper striking for an advance on sixpence, the payment offered for fetching medicines once, while the medical officer

officer received far less for medicine, labour, and skill combined. Nor do we imagine this strange anomaly to be of rare occurrence.

As some set-off to remuneration, so unworthy of the name, we might expect a lax state of discipline, and a very natural disinclination both of the guardians to complain of neglect, or of the Poor Law Board to countenance the charge. Here, however, we should be deeply mistaken, as Draconic severity is the order of the day.

It may be urged, Why should the legislature be asked to remedy these grievances, when a special board exists whose pleasing office it might be to serve their staff? Mr. Griffin's own case, we presume, is not rare; he may possibly have been more importunate than some of his brethren. The result is chronicled at page vi. We quote from the pamphlet, merely premising that Mr. G. receives 1*s.* 3*d.* per case.

'The replies of the Poor Law Board to these letters were as follows:—

'"Oct. 2, 1855.—To inform you that the statements which it contains will meet with their consideration.

'"Nov. 22, 1855.—The guardians will, at the end of twelve months from the date of your appointment, give the subject of your salary their further consideration. Under these circumstances, and looking to the short period for which you have been medical officer of the Weymouth Union, the board must decline to interfere further in the matter.

'"March 10, 1856.—To inform you that the statement which it contains shall meet with their consideration.

'"Dec. 18, 1856.—To inform you that the subject to which it relates will receive their attention.

'"April 18, 1857.—To acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 4th and 15th instant, in reference to the remuneration which you receive for your services as the medical officer of the Weymouth district of the Weymouth Union.

'"April 29, 1857.—To acknowledge the receipt of your letter in reference to the amount of your remuneration as the medical officer of the Weymouth district of the Weymouth Union.

'"Oct. 15, 1857.—With reference to the alleged inadequacy of the salary which you receive for your services, as the medical officer, the board can only refer you to the communications which they have addressed to you on the subject.

'"Feb. 11, 1858.—The Board have considered the statements which you have submitted to them on this subject, but are of opinion that there are not sufficient grounds for their interference."'

During the same period of time a colleague of Mr. Griffin's received 16*s.* 3*d.* per case. We can hardly wonder at the somewhat natural warmth of feeling which characterizes Mr. G.'s remarks on this correspondence; and to those without the pale of official red-tapeism the matter appears somewhat incomprehensible. Nor does it tally with the strict carrying out of their oath to '*faithfully*,' '*impartially*' (the italics are our own), 'and honestly execute,' &c., &c. Apart from this phase of the subject, it cannot be denied that there is a vein of irresistible humour in the letters quoted, worthy of our sister isle. We notice these results of Mr. Griffin's appeals, to prove that they are alike unsatisfactory and futile; and that the 'hope deferred' in similar cases may well render 'the heart sick,' and the duties of the office more distasteful.

Again, it is supposed by some persons that considerable improvement has taken place in the salaries of poor law surgeons. Such an idea would be strengthened by the reply of the Right Hon. Mr. Bouverie in the lower house to Mr. Pigott:—'The Poor Law Board had directed the guardians to take into consideration the salaries of the medical officers, and *considerable increase was going on.*' Again the italics are our own. To this, at p. vii., Mr. G. says:—'Take the corresponding augmentation of the population, and what is it? In 1848 our salaries averaged, on the entire amount of population, $3\frac{2}{10}d.$ In 1855, when the last return was made, it was still the same. In 1853 the population of the unions was 17,797,763; salaries of medical officers 141,222*l.* In 1855 the population was 17,831,942; salaries 144,855*l.*, a trifling increase of 2,072*l.*, which, if divided amongst the 3,033 officers, what is it to boast of? But even against this there is the increase of population to the extent of 29,280.'

The words are plausible enough, but on a nearer examination the 'considerable increase' turns out a very inconsiderable benefit!

But from the returns before us let us

us extract a few of these valuable appointments, and contrast them. We have not searched for the very worst specimens; we will content ourselves with one from either side, leaving them to tell their own tale. In the Penrith Union we find, No. 1, Kirkoswald district:—

Population.	Acreage.	Salary.
3,360	35,678	14*l.*

And as contrast, let us take No. 8 district of the Chelmsford Union:—

Population.	Acreage.	Salary.
4,378	14,500	140*l.*

A glance shows the important omission; it has an appearance almost accidental, when we compare the two sets of figures. Indeed, to those unacquainted with the varying payments sanctioned by the Poor Law Board, these figures would be set down as an absurd mistake. The medical salaries are more or less unsatisfactory throughout; no uniformity exists, nor even the shadow of a rule to guide the local boards in their estimates. We might imagine that the Exchequer was alternately visited by persons varying in size from the pigmy to the giant, a handful of the golden coin being apportioned by the visitor to each union; the respective sizes of the giver and recipient being matters of utter indifference. Here, the said handful is unequally divided, the districts being unequal; there, the districts still vary in size, but the handful is equally meted out; a few extra thousands, either of acreage or population, being alike immaterial. Let us, as an example, take Leeds:—

	Pop.	Acreage.	Salry.
No. 1 district has	20,756	689	
2 „	26,722	630	all
3 „	21,590	541	80*l.*
4 „	32,263	811	

Under this paternal treatment, it is strange how the vacancies are filled; yet if we are correctly informed, the valuable post is often hotly contested. There are reasons for this apparent inconsistency: the medical profession is overstocked, and a Union appointment, impoverishing as it must prove, is nevertheless a footing for a stranger. What wonder, then, if the old medical residents contest the otherwise worthless appointment. Many would rather be exempt from its toils, but they are well [illegible] that exemption from it would *some needy* brother, and the private portion of their practice might suffer in consequence. Hence, in the country, it is essential that the surgeon of a district should be also the medical officer to the union, which includes that district, or in default, he admits a sharer to his other practice, which, undivided, barely supports one; divided, ruins both. Moreover, if the older surgeon has rendered himself beloved, the refusal to hold the union district does not release him from pauper work: from various excuses, the poor seek out their old friend, in whom they place confidence; his help is rarely denied: so that a large share of the work is then performed by him without even the apology for remuneration offered by the guardians. This necessity of the country surgeon the local boards, unrestrained by the higher authorities, have constantly used to the disadvantage of the whole system of medical relief. This fact enables them to offer salaries to candidates which they would blush to hold out to any errand-boy. We subjoin a few examples:—

Wigton Union, Cumberland.
Coldbeck district. Population 2876.
Acreage 29,280. Salary 14*l.*

Chapel-en-le-Frith Union, Derbyshire.
Castleton district. Population 2825.
Acreage 35,830. Salary 15*l.*

Morpeth, Northumberland.
No. 8 district. Population 952.
Acreage 11,319. Salary 5*l.*

Rothbury Union, Northumberland.
Rothbury district. Population 430.
Acreage 14,493. Salary 2*l.*

Need we add more? We feel that many of our readers will scarcely credit the quotations, but possibly, did time and space permit, we might find still more lucrative (?) posts.

Another reason advanced for refusing the claims of the medical officers to an increased remuneration is, that the vacancies are all filled. To this, our monosyllabic reply must be, How? The consolidated order enforces a double qualification, and for this rule great praise is due; but the current parsimony prevents its fulfilment. Out of 3301 medical officers, 630 (rather more than one in five) have only a single qualification; and thus, according to their own showing, are not fit persons to hold the appointments! Further, permanency of appointment is now the rule; yet, on examining the rôle, 1079 medical officers have quitted the service

vice in the short space of four years. Would these facts present themselves if the holders were even moderately satisfied with their positions? We trow not. From intimate acquaintance with many members of the profession, holding these appointments, we are convinced that they do not complain so much of the amount of work, for as a body the medical profession perform more labours gratuitously than any other class; neither is any extraordinary payment demanded, but merely a nearer approximation to salaries which will enable them to be just not only to their poor patients, but to themselves.

Residence within the district is necessary to the 'permanent' appointment of the district surgeon: if he reside outside the limits, he renders himself liable to removal, and, generally, he is subjected to annual election. This is both unmeaning and unnecessary. The workhouse is the 'district' of its medical officer; but inconsistently enough he may live at any distance, though his patients are concentrated under one roof.

The Consolidated Order furnishes us with a list of certain operations and accidents, for which, it is specially mentioned in the Minutes of the Poor Law Board, 1839, a 'separate charge' is to be paid. These 'extras,' as they are termed, are in many unions commuted by a small annual addition to the salary. Mr. Griffin, at page xxi, considers this 'a step not only unjust, but unwise and illegal.' Agreeing with him on these points, we yet believe that a fair commutation would prove more advantageous to the medical officer than the system pursued by some boards of guardians. Let us explain. An advertisement appears for a surgeon; the salary is stated with 'extras as per Consolidated Order.' Whilst thus advertising, the guardians subscribe ten, twenty, or thirty pounds to the nearest infirmary, giving strict orders to their relieving officers that cases of accident are to be sent to the hospital. Ostensibly, this lavish expenditure is made that the pauper may have the best advice; in reality, it is intended to save much that would be annually divided among the medical officers. Thus, the paltry 'extra' is saved, the surgeon cheated, the pauper not unfrequently crippled for life; the rates subsequently suffering in proportion. We do not dispute the fact that the hospital, with its multiplied comforts, is far better than the wretched locality which owns that peculiarly English title, home, among the poor; but, speaking under correction, we believe that immediate attention is of paramount importance, and the sooner the fractured limb is immoveably fixed the better for the sufferer. We have heard, too, that fatal collapse is a common attendant on serious accidents; and we presume that a six or seven mile jolt in a cart, innocent of springs, is very likely to increase it, or even to produce it, when absent. No extra professional acquirements, we imagine, can compensate for the loss of speedy attention, coupled with the skill which very few union surgeons in the present day lack. Beyond this, facts which have come to our knowledge, induce us to consider it a policy which frequently defeats itself. The additional motion may make a simple fracture compound, may render the patient a cripple for years, and, as a natural result, a heavy drain upon the rates. We believe, that boards of guardians who adopt this plan would act wisely in taking their officers into their councils, and offering them a portion of the 'extra' fee; the latter, on their part, placing the patient in the best possible position to undergo the additional risk of carriage.

This evading of the Consolidated Order is the more shameful when the same pauper, under any other circumstances, would have obtained the order for medical relief immediately. The 'accidental' illness sharpens the relieving officer's faculties, generally sufficiently keen. He cannot undertake to give the order; some person must attend the next meeting of the Board, and await their decision. The overseers, who formerly had the power to give these orders, indeed who still possess it, decline to carry it out, since the guardians may now repudiate the debt, and leave the surgeon to obtain it from the overseer. Pending these delays, the patient is left to the mercy of the surgeon, who, when he subsequently presents his bill, is perhaps informed that there was no necessity for him to interfere! From intimate acquaintance with many union officers, we vouch for the accuracy of these facts.

Equally unsatisfactory, and to our thinking a shade more cruel, is the system

system pursued by some local boards of refusing orders for medical relief in pregnancy. This is done on the grounds that the illness is foreseen and ought to be provided against. The same reasoning applies to any illness, for the doctor's bill is rarely sent in directly, and, as a rule, we do not consider the profession are very pressing in their demands; yet in the case of illness, an order is immediately given, no 'extra' appearing as a consequence. Can this be called impartial? The labouring man, with a small family, earning ten shillings a week, being wholly unable to procure medical assistance in the hour of need, secures the services of the village 'sage femme:' these women have rarely any claim to the title, irreparable mischief frequently ensues, and double life is perhaps sacrificed before the order for medical assistance can be obtained; and should the medical officer, summoned to the case of danger, attend without the order being procured, obeying the dictates of humanity, and trusting to the liberality of the Board, he finds, too late, that he has reckoned without his host; he is told there was no necessity for him to attend without an order—this advice coming from the very persons who would have branded his character as inhuman had he refused his aid. Just such a case happened not many years ago to a medical friend, in one of the West of England unions, in a city famed for its liberality: the guardians took the case into consideration, and awarded him nothing!

We might mention that the very objectionable plan of employing uneducated women is sanctioned in many parts of the country, the guardians paying them a small fee.

The scheme of medical relief contained in these pages need not occupy us now, as it has been modified to meet the measure circulated by the late president. Mr. Estcourt's proposal has been loudly abused; but we are certain that as far as salary goes, the great body of the Poor Law staff would be benefited by it, and the payments would be on a fixed basis throughout the country, avoiding the present anomalies. Its most palpable error is the proposal to appoint two medical officers to each parish. Even if it were possible to carry out these provisions, they would only engender rivalry and ill-[illegible], whilst the benefits would not compensate. In his reply to the deputation from the Poor Law Medical Reform Association, the late President admitted that in this proposal he did not mean to cast any slur on the way in which the surgeons now performed their duties. This admission renders the measure unnecessary. We do not hesitate to express our firm conviction, founded on our acquaintance with the profession, that the Poor Law medical staff would prefer matters remaining as they are, great as the injustice is, than accept the benefits proposed, saddled by 'a resolution so obnoxious' to the general body. Although Mr. Estcourt still clings to the idea, we hope soon to see it finally abandoned. We may further state that we have seen it adopted in friendly societies: the results have not prepossessed us in its favour. Far more useful would be the appointment of two relieving officers to each district instead of one officer to several.

The payment, in Mr. Estcourt's scheme, is larger than generally supposed, being made up of several items. A per-case payment, though undoubtedly fair, would not work well; many medical officers believe that endless disputations would ensue between the local boards and their staff. Such a condition would be very injurious to the pauper. The plan contained in the latest circular of the Poor Law Medical Relief Association would enlist the sympathy of the majority, and carry out Mr. Estcourt's proposal to its legitimate conclusion. It suggests a salary, based on the pauperism, which may be revised at certain intervals. Some plan of mileage is essential in country districts; but at the rate proposed it can never compensate for the scattered character of the country district. The habitations of a town district form the raw material in which the town medical officer may increase his private practice by skill and kindness to his pauper patients; but in country districts no such habitations exist: two miles and upwards of perfectly uninhabited ground separate often the scattered habitations, and of course no amount of talent can make it profitable to the private practice. This fact is not sufficiently considered in either of the schemes. We confess to believing an acreage salary, as suggested by a member of the deputation, the most satisfactory solution of this difficulty. Districts up to 10,000 acres

acres might receive a penny an acre; above that number, half the amount. No legislative enactment can alter the character of the country; and in whatever manner this difficulty is met we think the state of the district as regards its parish roads and hills should not be overlooked.

We would gladly have noticed some attempt in the scheme of the Poor Law Board to settle the class of persons who have a right to seek aid at the hands of the union surgeon. Unsettled at headquarters, the decision falls on local boards, hence the poor meet with different treatment. In the Pamphlet No. 2, this question is mooted, and a suggestion made worthy of a fair trial. In some districts all orders for medical relief are refused to labourers having only two or three children; but we have heard it remarked by the profession that they still attend the patient, and they may perhaps charge, payment being very hopelessly looked for: indeed, in many cases, it is impossible, the patient is in reality a pauper. Honest poverty frequently obtains less kindly treatment at the hands of the Poor Law than crime in our prisons. The applicant for medical relief is often harshly received by the relieving officer; the feelings are irritated, the guarded tongue set loose; the bitter taunt provokes the so-called impertinent reply, and the boon desired is denied, or doled out in a form that robs it of the substance.

Still more forcibly do these remarks apply to extra medical relief. The only person capable of judging both as to the character and the amount required by the patient is the surgeon. On whom can it otherwise devolve? Mr. 'Estcourt's scheme would absolve him from this duty; but it is a portion of the treatment, and cannot be separated from the office. The intention is to prevent his 'double' surgeons outbidding each other for pauper support at the expense of the parish, and it is as incompatible with a successful legal change as the double appointment itself. In this department we deeply regret that no attempt is introduced into the scheme of the Poor Law Board to render this method of relief more available and less harsh to the poor. It has not escaped Mr. Griffin's notice, and his draft contained provisions for amendment. Let us cite a common example of the routine frequently adopted. The order—very probably urgent—is given by the medical officer, and is then taken by some friend or relative, often found with difficulty, to the relieving officer, who may reside from four to ten miles off; may be absent when the messenger arrives: but allowing in our example that there is no delay here, and that fortunately he is at home, he now gives an order on some tradesman for the relief; the latter, possibly, living in the neighbouring town. Thither the messenger must next trudge, and by the time of arrival at the poor patient's house, from fifteen to twenty miles may have been traversed. This is unfair in several ways; to the pauper, that relief should be coupled with such labour to obtain it; to the surgeon, that his patient should have been so long without the needful supply of nourishment, when the length of time elapsing may prove of vital importance; to the parish, supposing the patient an able-bodied father of a family, and death as the result of the delay. The relief thus tardily obtained may fail to avert the scythe of the destroying angel—the harsh parsimony falling in retributive justice still more heavily on the rates. One single union appears to have appreciated this difficulty, and to have met it with a resolution alike honourable to themselves and sympathising towards their pauper dependants. At page 47 we find, that in 1844 'the Uxbridge Board of Guardians resolved, that when the medical officers order any articles of diet for persons whom they are attending by direction of the Board, such order, signed by the medical officer, is to be immediately complied with, and the relieving officer will explain to the tradespeople of the different parishes that articles supplied on such orders will be paid for by the Board until they receive notice from him to discontinue it.'

This resolution, so just and reasonable, has not to our knowledge found favour in the minds of other guardians. The Uxbridge Board is alone the oasis in the desert—the bright spot of sympathy for the difficulties of the pauper. The resolution deserves to be printed in letters of gold. In any Bill brought forward it appears to us as necessary as it is politic, not only to allow, but to *enforce* the giving of relief orders in places most convenient for the pauper. It is a cruel mockery to give,

give, as we have heard it is done, and the authority admits of no doubt, an order to a pauper of seventy-five years old, which entails on her a journey of *seven miles* to procure!

There are many other points in the pamphlet deserving especial remark—the scheme of superannuation allowances, and the proposed Vaccination Act. The latter is worthy attentive consideration, as the Act now in force is notoriously defective. This Act would restore to the general body of the profession much that the late Act deprived them of; it would materially lessen the expense of this 'extra,' and would save money, which might be used to increase the salaries. Our only objection to it is, that it does not contain a plan for compulsory re-vaccination before the age of puberty; with this addition, we believe that it would eradicate the dreadful scourge of small-pox from our country.

In commending these subjects to the attentive consideration of the Legislature, we may glance at the remarks made by the late President in his reply to the deputation. We shall mention two points very briefly. Firstly, he states 'that permanency of appointment would tend to produce negligence.' We reply, permanency is the rule at this present time. Has it produced the effect? We unhesitatingly reply in the negative. Secondly, Mr. Estcourt said that the unanimity of the medical officers was not sufficiently marked, and he recommended 'a further agitation of the question.' The Association now numbers nearly half the medical staff. As a rule, those who have not joined it consist of two classes—the wretchedly paid, and those that are comparatively very liberally treated. Far be it from us to alter these latter. Bad is the best, hence we say *comparatively*. The former class receive so small an amount that they are naturally loath to spare any on what they consider a hopeless game. What must we say of the other? We fear that with some, self-interest asserts its influence over the general welfare; they fear that alteration may prove an injury. To any such we commend the example of Dr. Prior, whose noble reply to the late President was: 'Perhaps my own salary might be reduced, nevertheless, I say, "*Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum.*"'

Although the State is deeply indebted to the medical profession, the rewards conferred on them are very slight compared to the benefits received. They labour constantly to serve the nation at large; in sanitary matters often neither honour nor reward awaits them. May we not justly say that these labours are indirectly, by lessening disease, a detriment to themselves? Their mission of relieving suffering and preserving health is exercised by them with a liberality and freedom unknown in other classes, for their discoveries are considered the property of the whole profession, and by the disclosure all may be benefited; yet the merits of these men are ignored. Honorary distinctions are conferred by successive governments on the destroyers of life with lavish liberality, while those who labour to preserve it are unceremoniously passed over.

In conclusion, we would briefly trace out the leading features of any scheme for amelioration, premising that it is sound policy to settle as many points as possible by edict of head quarters, rather than involve the medical officers in disputes with their local rulers. Specially all matters of payment should be so closely defined as to preclude the possibility of encroachment on either side. Thus, and thus only, will that good feeling exist which is essential to the thorough fulfilment of these important duties.

I. All appointments of properly qualified officers shall be permanent, unless misconduct render suspension or dismission necessary.

II. Residence within reasonable limits of districts shall be legal.

III. Salaries shall be fixed on a uniform basis throughout the country, with mileage or acreage at a certain rate.

IV. The table of extra medical fees shall be largely extended; the scale to be similar in districts and workhouses; commutation thereof to be illegal, as also the removal of a pauper, after accident, without the certificate in writing of the district officer that such removal is safe.

V. Salaries of officers to workhouses to be on a uniform basis throughout the country, with allowance for mileage.

VI. The union surgeon to be the officer of health for his district.

VII. A medical man, having at some period of his life held a union office, and conversant with its routine, shall have a seat at the Poor Law Board. He shall be elected by the medical officers.

VIII.

VIII. The class of persons having a right to medical relief to be defined.

IX. The difficulty which the paupers now experience, both to obtain the order for medical relief, and extra nourishment, ordered by the medical officer, shall be lessened as far as possible.

ART. VIII.—OUR FRIENDS IN COUNCIL.

*** *This space in the Review is open to our Friends in Council. Brief papers on questions of Social Science and Reform will be inserted. We do not endorse the opinions of our Correspondents.*—ED.

Normal Colleges.

GENTLEMEN,

I SHOULD be sorry to see such a valuable and practical article as that which appeared in your last number, entitled, 'The British Workman,' marred by statements which may in any degree produce a wrong impression upon those of your readers who may not happen to be otherwise informed. The matter I allude to is also a subject of great importance, not only to the present, but to generations yet unborn. It has baffled ministers and overturned governments. I refer to the division of the article entitled 'Education,' and wish especially to correct an error which relates to one head of this division, namely, the normal colleges. I have paid some amount of attention to this subject, and therefore the more readily forward these few remarks to you.

Your reviewer states that 'we are at once struck with the *very* inferior attainments of English teachers;' and 'that scarcely any provision is made by government for the education of the teachers, or for their maintenance. The little provision that does exist for the instruction and training of teachers is dependent upon voluntary subscriptions, so that the normal colleges cannot afford to give more than a year or eighteen months' training, while on the Continent, the teachers receive three years' training in the teachers' colleges, at the expense of the government. In France there are 92 normal schools to a population of 34,000,000. In England there are only 12 to a population of 17,000,000, or only a fourth in proportion to those of France. When compared with other countries, this difference is even greater. In Prussia there are three normal colleges to every million of the population; in Wirtemberg, Bavaria, and Baden, two to the million; and in Switzerland, six to the million.'

In this extract there are three points which particularly claim attention. First, *the number of training or normal colleges.* Second, *the period during which the students remain for training, and the expense of training them.* And third, *the proficiency and ability of those who leave our training colleges.*

As to the first point stated, viz., that 'scarcely any provision is made by the government for the education of the teachers, or for their maintenance. The little provision that does exist for the instruction and training of teachers is dependent upon voluntary subscriptions,' and that 'In England there are only 12 (normal colleges) to a population of 17,000,000,' I answer that, prior to the writing of the first letter to Lord Lansdowne by Lord John Russell, in the year 1839, there *were* in existence only two colleges for the training of teachers; 1, the well-known institution for training male and female teachers of all denominations, of which Joseph Lancaster was the originator in 1798, and which since 1808 has been carried on under the management of the British and Foreign School Society; and, 2, the training college of the Home and Colonial School Society, in connection with the Church of England, although not limiting its students to members of the establishment. This institution was established in 1836, and devotes itself chiefly to the training of female teachers for infant schools. It has since taken the name of the 'Home and Colonial *Infant* School Society.' Since then, however, the government has taken in hand to assist in the education of our masses, and the number of training colleges *has increased to* 43. These are distributed as follows:—15 in England for males, and 16 for females; in Scotland, 5 for males and 4 for

for females; and in Wales 3 for males. The total number of students last year in all these colleges was 2349, of whom we can reckon upon 1500 having left to take charge of schools.

To this I may add information of the fact that the British and Foreign School Society are, *with the assistance of the government*, about to increase their accommodation to nearly double what it is at present, at a cost of about 14,000*l.*, of which the government will most probably grant 5,000*l.* or 6,000*l.* The Wesleyan body also contemplate a large addition to their existing capacious building, at a further expense of 10,000*l.*

We have in England not less than 32 training colleges, or 2 to the million; in Scotland 9, or about 3 to the million; and in Wales 3, or 1½ to the million; all assisted by the government. Against these, there are only about one or two normal colleges wholly supported by voluntary subscriptions; but these are not able to compete with those assisted by the government.

Second.—With reference to the period during which the students remain for training.

Your reviewer seems to grieve because the students do not remain in training *three years*, as on the Continent; but I think it would not be too much to state that a great number of British students are as competent at the commencement of their period of training in college to undertake the charge of schools, as a continental student would be at the termination of his third year, both as regards tact in the management of a school as well as in intellectual attainments. For, it must be remembered that previous to this the students must, at least in ninety cases out of every hundred, and the actual average is far higher than this, have spent five years as apprentices to qualified and certificated masters or mistresses, in schools, under the title of pupil-teachers; and in addition to this, a great many remain, after the expiration of their five years' apprenticeship, as assistant masters or mistresses, for periods varying from one to three years. At the end of each year they have to undergo a written examination, before one of her majesty's inspectors of schools, and the managers and master of the school to which the apprentice belongs have to certify as to the good moral character and *teaching* ability of the candidate. So it is evident that after such a preliminary training, they do not want to stay so long a time in the training colleges as they otherwise would require. In many instances, a longer period of training would be little better than a waste of the student's time and the money of the State.

With reference to the expense of training, it must be remembered that during the five years' apprenticeship, every pupil-teacher costs the country, on an average, not less than 95*l.*, besides the subsequent expense of his stay in a training college, which varies according to the time he remains there, and his position on the 'class list,'—the result of examination. Taking an average instance of both a first and second year student, we find, in addition to the 95*l.* already mentioned, for a first-year student (supposing him to gain a first-class Queen's scholarship), who at the end of that year succeeds in obtaining a position in the second class on the class list, there would be a further expense of 43*l.*, and for a second-year student of similar standing, of 49*l.* For those who are higher, the expense is about 4*l.* more, and for those who are lower about 3*l.* or 4*l.* less. The total cost, then, to the State, in carrying a teacher through a seven years' course of training, first as a pupil-teacher, and afterwards as a student, is nearly 190*l.* (In the case of females the cost would be about 170*l.*) Surely, then, we cannot complain 'that scarcely any provision is made by the Government for the education of teachers, or for their maintenance,' when we see that no less than 2,353 were thus educated and provided for during the year 1858!

It must, however, be borne in mind that the purposes to which the sums above alluded to are applied do not wholly lie in abeyance until the termination of this period of training. For, in the case of every pupil-teacher, 75*l.* out of the 95*l.* are paid down for actual work performed by that pupil-teacher during his five years' apprenticeship,—the remaining 20*l.* (this is rather above the average) being the remuneration to the master for his services in educating the pupil-teacher, and may almost be looked upon in the light of a *premium*, for the pains he has taken in educating his apprentice in the art of teaching, and in preparing him for passing his successive examinations. So that the argument so often brought forward

ward by the advocates of the voluntary system of education—that young persons are educated at the public expense in order that they may hereafter secure for themselves a higher position in the social scale—is nothing less than a fallacy. If a young man in any other profession or employment devoted his time and his energy to his business with as much assiduity as in the case of a pupil-teacher, his chance of rising, payment, &c. is far greater.

This, then, is the provision made by Government for the education of the masses. And when we consider that the total expenditure in the cause of education amounts to about 2,000,000*l.* per annum, we find that already the Government grants amount to nearly one-third of this amount; and if, as Lord John Russell and Mr. Adderley think, the grant will soon become a million, we see that no less than one half the burden of educating the masses of our population will be borne by the Government, including Sunday-schools. And all this has been accomplished by a system which has not been in full operation more than thirteen years, dating from August 1846. Of course, we do not wish to see the Government interfering in the education of the middle and upper classes, who can well afford to educate themselves; and it will be entirely their own fault if they allow the poorer classes to surpass them, or even overtake them, in their intellectual acquirements. There can be no doubt but that the impetus given to education by the Government will stimulate to greater exertion those who do not actually come within the reach of its assistance, to keep the same *relative* standing, in an educational point of view, which they formerly held; and thus, indirectly, great good will be effected, in advancing the education of those who were never taken into account by the Government when framing their measures.

Third.—As to the proficiency and ability of those who leave our training colleges.

I have already hinted at their *proficiency* in the former part of the last division, in speaking of the qualifications required of those entering the training colleges; but, not to trespass further upon your valuable space, I will not enlarge on this point, although much more might be said. I will therefore only refer your readers to the examination questions* proposed to students in training colleges, at the end of their first and second year's training respectively, and ask the question, whether, to pass a creditable examination with such a test, a teacher must not have, *at least*, a fair amount of technical as well as general knowledge?

In support of their *ability*, I will adduce the testimony of Joseph Bowstead, Esq., one of her majesty's inspectors of schools. In his 'General Report,' just published, speaking to this point in relation to his own district (and which may be taken as generally true), he says:—'When students fresh from the training institutions take charge of schools for the first time on their own account, it is only reasonable to expect a considerable proportion of failures; but I have been agreeably surprised by the almost entire absence of such failures in my own district, *especially where the students have previously passed through five years' apprenticeship;* and it affords me great satisfaction to find some young masters and mistresses of this class taking rank among the most valuable teachers that I know.' I will add no thing to detract from such a statement, coming as it does from such a reliable authority.

The above will, I hope, to some extent serve to correct the error to which I alluded, and establish the fact that the Government does largely assist in the education and maintenance of our teachers whilst in training, and in the promotion of education generally. That much remains to be done, I admit; but at the same time, we cannot ignore what has been done, and what is at this moment being done. This is a subject of great interest at the present time, and therefore I should like to have spoken of the relation in which teachers stand to the Government, after the completion of their respective periods of training; for the State does then, too, contribute towards the augmentation of their salaries, subject, of course, to various conditions. I can, however, only hint at this, and thank you for having brought the subject under notice in your much-esteemed pages.

I remain, yours, &c.
F. J. Webb.

---

* Published recently by Longman and Co.

ART. IX.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

THE same political excitement which we last quarter recorded as occupying the public mind, to the exclusion of any questions of social reform, has not only continued but increased. The fertile plains of Italy are now desolated by the hot and arid blasts of war; and the interval of the last three months has been occupied at home by the absorbing interests of a general election.

The prevalent feeling in this country in favour of an absolute neutrality, will, it is to be hoped, prevent the government of Great Britain, whatever political party may be in power, from embroiling this country in the strife raging in Europe; but even as spectators, no free people can look on as indifferent to the result of the struggle. It is no part of our duty to discuss questions of politics, but it cannot be inexcusable to express one word of sympathy for the Italian people, and as friends and advocates of social and intellectual freedom, to add our emphatic condemnation of the despotism of the House of Hapsburg.

Independently of the attention directed day by day towards the Continent—the defeat of a ministry upon a direct vote of confidence, and the resumption of the reins of power by the Liberal party, is, it is declared, to be followed by the introduction and discussion of a Reform Bill at home.

Our duty as chroniclers of the progress of social politics merely appears, therefore, to be likely to be in future as light as for some time past it has been.

Upon questions of law reform, something may, no doubt, be expected from the new administration. It is, doubtless, true, that the appointment of Lord Campbell to the woolsack is of little political significance, and that his lordship's past attempts at amendment of the law have not been particularly successful; but with Sir R. Bethell as Her Majesty's Attorney-General, the legal influence of the Government may fairly be assumed to be on the side of immediate reforms. Nor can we look for any opposition from the legal gentlemen connected with the late administration. Lord Derby's government has always been strong in lawyers; and if we were permitted to entertain any regret for the change and the delays which have necessarily followed, it would arise in the postponement of several measures of consolidation of criminal and statute law which would have been introduced under the sanction and support of Sir Fitzroy Kelly and Sir Hugh Cairns.

We fear that general questions of social reform will not be much advanced in the present Parliament. Possibly, the pressing nuisance of the River Thames, appealing to the olfactory rather than the political sensibilities of honourable members themselves, may force some sanatory measures for the metropolis into momentary importance; but we cannot overlook the probability that we shall have to wait until the election of a new Parliament on the basis of a new reform bill for that calm and equable public opinion which is required for the discussion of social ethics.

We shall, however, watch with anxiety the course taken by the statesmen who last autumn prominently associated themselves with the great social-science gathering in Liverpool. They will be very absorbing interests, indeed, which can prevent these public men from pressing forward the great ameliorations for which all thoughtful men are expectant.

ART. X.—LITERARY REVIEWS.

The Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D. By Emma Jane Worboise, author of the 'Sacred Year,' &c. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1859.

WE gladly hail this attempt to give, in a popular form and in small compass, the life of one of the noblest of men, as was Dr. Arnold of Rugby. The record of a life full of such manly Christianity and industrious philanthropy deserves to be widely circulated among the people of England. To a considerable extent this has been done by the numerous editions of Stanley's admirable Memoirs, where Arnold is exhibited in a most life-like picture. Miss Worboise has brought admiration of her hero, good power of condensation, and a graphic pen to her biographic sketch. There are, however, traces of weakness in the attempt, arising perhaps from a fear of encroaching upon Canon Stanley. As a master of a public school, Arnold gave a new tone to education, introduced a system eminently calculated to form a thoughtful independence, a conscientious fidelity, a generous brotherhood, and an earnest piety in the minds of young men. Teachers would do well to make themselves familiar with the biography of this first man of their profession. To them we commend this volume.

John H. Steggal: a real History of a Suffolk Man, who has been a Gipsy, a Sailor, a Soldier, a Surgeon, a Fellow-Commoner of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and is now a Clergyman (a Curate of many years' standing) in the Church of England. Narrated by Himself. Edited by the Author of 'Margaret Catchpole.' London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1859.

THIS is a romantic history, which excels in adventure many a work of imagination. Its author actually passed through the stages referred to on the title-page. He has recorded his experience in a simple, yet most thrilling manner. The book has just been added to the 'Run and Read Library,' a series of works generally fitted to instruct as well as to amuse. In its cheap form we can bespeak for it many readers; and we sincerely hope that there may be some profit from it to solace the old age of its author, who is now seventy-two, and is still, as for many years bygone, discharging his duties on a stipend of less than a hundred pounds a year.

Here and There in London. By J. Ewing Ritchie, author of 'The Night Side of London,' 'The London Pulpit.' London: Tweedie. 1859.

LONDON is a many-sided world, and can be looked at from all points of the compass, and the description of its diversified aspects may be made deeply interesting, and full of information. Hence the number of works constantly issuing from the press descriptive of its antiquities, or its public buildings, its 'Upper Ten Thousand,' and its 'Million,' its popular preachers, and its parliamentary orators, its views by day, and its night-side. Mr. Ewing Ritchie is one of the littérateurs who devote themselves to the million-peopled city. In former volumes he has written ably and eloquently of the Pulpit and the Night-Side—that is, we suppose, the religious and the irreligious. In the volume before us he describes a variety of scenes 'Here and There in London.' Lords and Commons, Exeter Hall and Vauxhall, the Exchange and Mark Lane, St. Paul's Cathedral and Paternoster Row, with other places, are graphically described. Notwithstanding some inaccuracies, the volume is full of entertaining and instructive reading, seldom flat, and often rising to brilliance.

The Evangelists and the Mishna; or Illustrations of the Four Gospels drawn from Jewish Tradition. By the Rev. Thomas Robinson. London: Nisbet and Co. 1859.

THE author of this work has pursued a course of reading in a realm where few scholars penetrate, the rabbinical literature of the Jews. Thoroughly conversant with Hebrew as well as with other Oriental languages, Mr. Robinson has made the 'Mishna, or Collection of Jewish Traditions,' composed in the second century, elucidate various passages of the four gospels. Profoundly impressed with the truth and authority of the evangelic narratives, he gives a practical turn to his illustrations, and makes appeals fitted to arrest the thoughtful Jew,

Jew, and to edify the Christian. As few are ever likely to study the rabbinical writings — so full of puerilities, superstitions, and falsehoods—the biblical student would do well to avail himself of the useful work of this learned divine.

The Local Preacher's Magazine for 1858. London: Partridge and Co.

WESLEYAN Methodism has been remarkable for its employment of all the talent in its membership, and especially for its order of local or lay preachers, who perform so many services for the promotion of religion. John Wesley himself remarked that he could never have occupied England as he did except by the aid of his lay preachers. It is pleasing to observe that this useful class of Christian workers have a Magazine for themselves, conducted with considerable ability, and full of valuable matter. We are gratified to observe several extracts from this review in its pages, as well as favourable opinions of our labours.

Wrongs which Cry for Redress. By Thomas Hopley, F.S.S. London: Houlston and Wright. 1859.

A PAMPHLET on social questions by Mr. Hopley is worthy of attentive perusal. The one before us is the first of a series of Letters to the Men and Women of the United Kingdom, and lays bare the wrongs which are endured by those who are overworked. Women and children suffer in body and in mind, are deprived of knowledge and of moral influences by the system which sends them too early and keeps them too late at work, confines them in unhealthy rooms, and thereby induces fatal diseases and shocking immoralities. The evidence strung together in this pamphlet deserves immediate attention from all social reformers out of, and in, the legislature.

Letters to Brother John on Life, Health, and Disease. By Edward Johnson, M.D. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1859.

DR. JOHNSON writes to the working classes, and expounds the philosophy of health in most intelligible language. The million need instruction in common things more than in most subjects taught in our schools. Attention to the rules and exhortations given by the *author of this* sixpenny book would do much for the improvement of health, for sanitary reform, and for increasing the means of the working classes. Some of the author's views, however, do not meet with our approbation.

What is to become of the Churches? or, A Layman's Response to a Minister's Inquiries. London: A. Heylin. 1859.

AN earnest book on a subject of deepest importance. The author regrets the apathy of many ministers on questions of moral and social reform, and counsels a deeper tone of piety, and a more practical philanthropy.

Christian Philosophy, or Materials for Thought. By Jabez Burns, D.D., author of 'Christian Exercises for every Lord's-day,' &c. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. London: Houlston and Wright.

DR. BURNS has a most prolific pen; but he is not a verbose writer. He condenses his thoughts into few words. His Skeletons of Sermons will bear expansion, and have aided not a few to preach. His works for the afflicted make him a favourite counsellor in the sick-room. His 'Mothers of the Wise and Good' is an admirable book of examples, and fitted to encourage woman in her noblest work. In the present volume, Dr. Burns aims at philosophy. Characterized by his usual thoughtful brevity, and almost forming a book of proverbs, there is much within its suggestive chapters to direct the inquiries of the Christian student. Without subscribing to all the theological sentiments of the author, we have great pleasure in commending 'Christian Philosophy' to the studious of every class, who will find it a very useful text-book on the most important subjects of human thought.

A Treatise on Road Legislation and Management. By Richard Bayldon, Road Surveyor. London: Longmans.

THE author of this treatise is a practical man, and is entitled to express his views on a subject to which he has devoted many busy years. At a time when railways have materially affected the difficulties of road trustees, the suggestions of Mr. Bayldon deserve the attention both of legislators and of trustees. His views are clear, and supported by good calculations and personal experience. He would remove all debts gradually, without lowering the

the original rate of interest, and abolish toll-bars from streets and vicinities of towns, by a uniform rate over the district. He would prevent the inefficiency of roads by a mode of repair at once economical and sensible. His book is a hand-book for all interested in public and parish roads.

Ragged Homes, and How to Mend them. By Mrs. Bayly. London: Nisbet and Co. 1859.

LADIES have often been ministering angels to the afflicted; but they have lately inaugurated many new works in England in the improvement of hospitals—the work of Miss Nightingale; in the civilization and religious training of railway navvies—the work of Miss Marsh; in teaching ragged children—the work of Miss Carpenter; and in reforming ragged homes—the work of the accomplished lady who has just published this book. Mrs. Bayly has laboured in the potteries of Kensington and among the pig-keepers in that notorious district. The mothers and the homes have been the great objects of her self-denying exertions. In this volume she has described her sphere, her plans, and her success, in a style that cannot fail to awaken sympathy, with facts that practically refute all objections, and with an earnestness that must prompt many to go and do likewise.

Prostitution considered in relation to its Cause and Cure. By James Miller, F.R.S.E., F.R.S.C.E., Professor of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Sutherland and Knox.

THIS is a valuable pamphlet on a most important subject, by one of the ablest pens. Professor Miller boldly advocates the suppression of houses of ill fame, and prohibition of street-walking by prostitutes. He regards the 'social evil' as criminal, and therefore demands its cure, so far as law can do so. His remarks on public scandals tending to deprave and debauch are most pertinent. He commends early marriages for the sons of the upper classes, better houses for the families of the working classes, the removal of public-houses, the reform of female attire and of female labour and remuneration. In most of his statements we agree with the professor: and we rejoice that he has reproved so sharply the false views of Dr. Sanger of New York, and Dr. Acton of London.

Scarlatina and Diphtheria: their Treatment and Prevention. By Hugh Hastings, M.D., M.R.C.S., &c. London: Leath and Ross.

THESE diseases have been of late very fatal throughout the country; but Dr. Hastings informs us that in a hundred cases which have come under his treatment, not one has proved fatal. This is certainly very striking; and many will be glad to learn the rationale of treatment. Dr. Hastings answers, Homœopathy. We do not, of course, intend to discuss this medical controversy, but desire to draw attention to such facts as this *brochure* discloses. Homœopathy has lately gained a CONQUEST, and, by the opening of a large hospital in London, as well as by its increasing number of practitioners, is becoming a power in this country as on the continent.

Notes on the Navigation of the Godavery.

THIS pamphlet has been sent us from India by some unknown friend into whose hands 'Meliora' has gone. Indian questions are at present engaging the attention of our Government and our merchants. Much depends on the development of the vast resources of that prolific land, and no subject is of greater importance in relation thereto than the opening of roads and rivers. The Godavery has sufficient draft of water for large steamers 'of from three to six feet during seven months of the year, and for boats of lighter draft during eight or nine months.' The hindrances to its navigation may be removed for 300,000*l.*, when 473 miles may be opened. At a proportionate expense, 400 miles of its tributaries may also be made navigable. Here, then, is a practical work for the Government, by means of which cotton of the finest kind may be brought to the sea, and English manufactures and civilization be carried into the interior.

Temperance Advocacy. By Thomas H. Barker. Manchester.

WE recommend this short paper to those engaged in the advocacy of abstinence from intoxicating liquor. They will find it highly suggestive, and they will rise from its perusal better instructed in their mission, and in the best mode of making it effective on the people.

The

The Temperance Spectator. Nos. 1 to 6. London: Partridge and Co.

THIS serial is ably edited, and contains matter of high value, both in a literary and philanthropic view. It should be in the hands of all temperance reformers.

Crime: its Cause and Cure. A Letter to J. St. Aubyn, Esq., M.P., on the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic. By T. W. P. Taylder.

A SENSIBLE letter, full of telling facts and earnest argument.

The Bible and the Liquor Traffic. An Address. By J. W. White, Macclesfield.

CHARACTERIZED as this is by the declamation usual in public addresses, it nevertheless contains an earnest denunciation of the unscripturalness of the trade in intoxicating liquor.

Scripture Light on Intoxicating Liquors. A Sermon. By the Rev. Dawson Burns. London: Tweedie.

JUDGING from the number of publications on this subject, the cause of Prohibition must be rapidly advancing. Mr. Burns evidently understands his subject, and has discoursed upon it in a masterly way. It is a calmly-reasoned, evangelically-toned sermon, and can scarcely fail to convince the judgment and impress the heart. We have admired the absence of all that is *outré*, or extreme, or declamatory in this admirable discourse.

The Two Lights; or, Reason and Revelation. By the Rev. W. Leask, D.D., Ware. Second Edition, Revised. London: The Book Society. 1859.

PUBLISHED at first anonymously, this well-told narrative has now appeared with the author's name. He need not be ashamed of a work which is calculated to awaken and direct the thoughts, and to dispel the doubts of young men, exposed to many perils in our large towns.

The Insalubrity of the Deep Cornish Mines, and, as a consequence, the Physical Degeneracy and Early Deaths of the Mining Population. By Mr. John Robertson.

THIS pamphlet is reprinted from the 'Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society,' and presents facts respecting Cornish mines and miners of deep interest to all social reformers. We thank the author for the publication, and trust that it may be largely consulted. It is an appeal on behalf of a class of people that deserve better at our hands.

The Truck System: a Book for Masters and Workmen. By David Bailey. London: Pitman. 1859.

THE truck system is incapable of defence, and is here well exposed by one who has acquainted himself with its character and evil results.

A Throne! A Moan! or, a Rhythmical Voice in the Poor Man's Cause. By the author of 'A Plain Word against Priests and Priesthoods.'

THE subject of this rhyme is a contrast, as the title suggests. There are some good verses, indicating abilities which study and practice will improve. We may expect from the author something worthy of a place in the literature of labour.

The Englishwoman's Magazine. London: Piper, Stephenson, and Spence.

THIS monthly periodical fills an important place in literature, and pleads the cause of woman with much ability. Its writers are women, and its subjects have a great social interest.

Annual Report of the National Life-Boat Institution. London. 1859.

THIS Report must interest all who peruse it. The institution deserves the liberal support of the community.

Meliora.

ART. I.—1. *The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century. A Series of Lectures delivered in England, Scotland, and America.* By W. M. Thackeray. London: 1853.

2. *The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. Third List of Lecturers, etc.* London: 1856.

3. *Lectures to Young Men: delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association in Exeter Hall. The entire Series, from* 1848 *to* 1859. London: Religious Tract Society; and Nisbet & Co.

THERE is something remarkably earnest in the English character. It does not flash like the Italian one, reel like the French, or soar like the German, but it pursues an object with calm, unflinching determination. This manliness is conspicuous in both past and contemporary history. It conquered the Armada in the sixteenth century, and won a Waterloo in our own; it repealed the Corn Laws, launched the Leviathan, and laid the Atlantic cable. There is an irresistible fascination in this sober fire of ours; men and nations feel it wherever our name and power extend. It has equalled even the Roman in its deep and solemn might. The barbarian hears of us and trembles, and the poor negro thanks God, and takes courage. The fervid Italian puts in our energy his hopes of freedom, and breathes to his blue skies our sacred name. The mercurial Frenchman says of us, as Napoleon often said of our soldiers, that we never know when we are beaten, and when we ought sometimes to be in full retreat the bugle is still blowing a charge. The passive German leaves awhile his infinite ego, and his admiration of Greek and Roman activity, to be inspired by our moral vigour, and declare that, as we create history, we alone know how to write it; an admission which must have roused even his apathy into tears. But we are neither monocular in our vision, nor one-sided in our aims. Other nations have their sharp angles; we are rather many-sided. All branches of human life and science have been permeated by this calm energy; and when once we have stripped and fairly started in the race, we have lifted the dust of the stadium to heaven, like the glowing wheels of old, resting not until our hot brows have felt the cool leaves of the conqueror's crown.

The last few years have seen this bold sincerity in more spheres of action than we can here point out, although in each at work with the same nervous persistency. It concerns us to confine our attention to its development in a novel department of modern literature — to lectures and lecture entertainments generally. Here, in the rush at all times for the lecture-room, no matter what is the subject, or who is the manipulator, is ample proof of an earnestness even bordering on mania. And yet the lecture has become an almost indispensable part of our education and amusement without even our knowing it, so steady and progressive has been its career. It is now almost a necessity in modern civilization. We live at a brisk rate, our thoughts flow correspondingly fast, and for sanity's sake we must utter them. With all the boasted rapidity of steam presses, with their many men and huge establishments, fast and thick as volumes come damp into the critic's hand, scarce a tenth part of the ideas and speculations of our age are ever embalmed in blue and gold. From this intensity of thought evolve arbitrary divisions. We have many myriad-minded men, but not a few who are monads, men of one thought, one purpose. Everyone seems to have something to say and the will to say it. He has studied an obscure part of our national annals, has a new theory in science, has dug up some Roman coffin, deciphered some puzzling inscription, or performed some mighty feat, and the world must hear or something extraordinary will happen. Even gentle dames do not blush to mount the rostrum, and descant in their own charming way upon a Hemans, a Bronté, or a Browning. Titled lords leave their luxurious homes to please philosophic men and women, and honourable commons occasionally deign to titillate their more learned constituents. Quiet little towns are put in a bustle by eminent Londoners who have expressed down (to coin a pardonable word), for their especial gratification. Huge placards blazon forth their name and fame, like an ancient herald with his horns, and editors and their pens are in a continual flutter. Scarcely a town that boasts not its lecture-hall, and gathers its expectant audience.

At first the exercise and the enthusiasm were confined to the few, to learned and literary societies, but the tide soon overleaped the barriers and broke into a hundred streams. Authors, once content to write of their travels, now began to talk about them to audiences who never wearied of the palanquin he carried them in. One has dared simoom and pyramid, crêvass and glacier, pigtail and Pekoe; a second, growling beast and forest terrors; a third, rolling prairies, red men, and primeval forests; a fourth, terrible battles, charges, and cannonades. Others have explored the sources of mighty rivers, and the pathless wilds of the

the desert, staff in hand, and knapsack on back. Another class, by marvellous Rosicrucian powers, convey you to past centuries, and give you a morning with Horace, a siesta with Virgil, a night with Anacreon; will show you, stereoscopically, the festivals of Greece, the games of Rome, the banquets of Persia; give you a glance at blind Homer, a hand-shake with Socrates, a few thoughts with Plato; and, coming down to modern times, will lead you a jaunt with Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley, plough you a furrow with Burns, harp a song with Moore, or wield a pestle with Keats. In fact, ubiquity is a quality all platform carpets have in common with the one in the 'Arabian Nights' and the mantle of Faustus, and variety of style, treatment, and subject, are in just the same ratio. If ever our nation grew earnest, it was when she set up the modern Bema and stamped it with her imprimatur.

We repeat, that this enthusiastic adoption of the *vivâ voce* communication of knowledge is in the highest degree novel and unique, and holds a position in society which could not otherwise be well supplied; but it is to be regarded as the reproduction and modification of much that is ancient and past. The very earliest form of education was necessarily that of an individual instructing the multitude, and must have originated in patriarchal times, in the Armenian nomadic life, when a hoary head was a crown of wisdom as well as of glory, and the young gathered around the sage to imbibe from his lips lessons for their future life, and receive oracular responses to many of the questions that perplex the maiden mind. And this form has continued, with few changes, through all time. In all lands there have been a class of men, lecturers we may call them, who, actually neither religious nor scholastic yet in some measure blending the two, imparted lessons which no individual of either class might consider his province. These were addressed to the imagination and the heroism of men, and stirring within them nobler and more poetic ideas, released fancy from the chains of ordinary life, and gave her wing and scope for pleasant journeying, impressed memory with some grand ideal to fill up with ardent emulation, and evoked all the latent energies of intellect and character.

A glance at some of these will assist in determining the origin of the lecture, as distinct from the process of the schools. The first of these teachers we find in history, are the Aoidoi, or primitive bards of Greece. These were esteemed in every sense sacred men. Accompanied by their four-stringed lyres, they sang rhymed narratives to gathered multitudes, first, however, invoking one of the deities. Possessed of divine gifts, they interpreted to their hearers the justice of the gods, exalted their thoughts and conceptions, and often launched into prophecy. Honour and welcome almost invariably attended them. A blind

beggar enters a poor currier's workshop, and in a rude verse seeks his hospitality. The man leaves his hide, and leads him quietly in to share his home, and ere long the youths and sages of the town crowd the shop to hear one who speaks the language of the gods. The night comes down, and finds them still listening to his golden words, and as they depart, they beg of this man, in dusty garments and with sightless eyes, to honour them with a lengthy stay. It matters not that the bard was Homer; it is an incident eloquent of the age and the feeling. To the bards succeeded the rhapsodists, who, with simple branches of laurel in their hands, intoned more rhythmically and dramatically the verses of Homer and the poets of the epic cycle. In Persia were bards of a similar kind to those of Greece, but their strains were more luxurious and effeminate, and only calculated to while away the languid hours of that sunny clime. But they have ever been famed for their story-tellers. These Khans have sung to the chungur, or three-stringed guitar, the rhymes and ballads of Ferdusi, Ansari, and Hafiz; and told their strange tales with all the richness and invention with which Scheherzarade, in the 'Arabian Nights,' sought to save her head, while enchanted audiences have hung for hours upon their lips. Then we have the poets of the Scandinavian Eddaic era, corresponding to the Greek bards, and succeeding them, the Scalds, literally smoothers or polishers of language, who sang of piratic excursions and desperate deeds of valour, inweaving all that was dim and sublime to increase the reverence and exaltation of their hearers. Heaven was to them, in their rude imagery, the skull of Ymir; the rainbow, the bridge of the gods; a ship, the horse of the sea; and earth, the flesh of Ymir, or the vessel which floats on the ages. The saga-men were much of the same class, but told stories in prose instead of verse, on similar subjects. Both were esteemed sacred men, and officiated as ambassadors, prime ministers, and general peacemakers, as well as war-incitors.

Analogous to these, although modified by clime, race, and an entirely different form of life, are the later manifestations of the poetic lecturers, the troubadours, jongleurs, and minstrels. With the rise of chivalry in the tenth century, poetry assumed new forms, descending from the heroic elevation of Greece, to hymn the pride of war, in the pomp of mail and knighthood it had donned to hide its early ugliness, and soften down the language and the feelings to a more refined civilization. The aim of the first era had been the exhibition of honour, justice, and stern duty; the mission of the second was to create and bless an errant knighthood, and a sensuous display. France, Spain, and Italy were for three centuries the home and resort of these romancing men, contending amongst themselves, flashing their wit amid the gleam

gleam of fair forms and bright eyes, stirring the gallant to war with martial melody, and soothing his repose with tales of pastoral love in the fair valleys of Cevennes, or by the bright shores of the Mediterranean. All was voluptuousness, often licentiousness, in this refined life of theirs. The jongleur differed from the troubadour in that his performances were not quite so original or so dainty. He exhibited tricks of legerdemain, recited narratives written by sedentary poets, and often, as in France and England, indulged in the narration of romances in prose. He was hence called *Conteur* and *Diseur* in France, and *Gester* in England, from the *gestes*, or tales of adventure he recited, as well as from the personal feats he performed. The minstrel combined the characteristics of both troubadour and minstrel, with others more especially his own. In France and Normandy he closely resembled the first named, but in our own country he underwent many transformations. He ministered in music, that is, he led it at feasts, he occasionally prayed and conducted public worship in chapels and churches, and was hence often called *minister* and *ministrel*, indeed, many of them wore the tonsure: he marched with armies, was retained in gentlemen's houses as a kind of conscientious *alter idem*, and was a great centre of amusement and interest in early times. No pageant nor merry-making, no regal display nor public throng, but there the minstrel was in the van, and interpreted through harp and voice the delight, instruction, and moral of ballad and romance.

But England was developing within herself the elements of new strength and new conditions. The Welsh and the Scotch retained their minstrels in unminished influence, as even still the former have their Cymreiggddyon, or triennial meeting, where bards contend and improvise with true Cymrian enthusiasm, but the most complete mystification. Never singularly poetical as a people, although eminently earnest and exuberant in feeling, no sustained tone of this kind was possible. The Romance language was certainly not the language of the English people, nor the most perfect expression of their character. That Gower dreamed and moralized in it, and Chaucer told tales in it, as it had altered the complexion of our old Saxon, did not make it a whit more congenial. It was rather the language of the court and the learned, than the natural expression of the entire race. We can never fancy, as in truth it never could be, that our tongue should be moulded into lays and songs with the ductility of the Provençal. Charles the Fifth, in epitomising the European languages, said that the English was fitted for the whistling and singing denizens of air; if it has their shrillness, it is none the less pre-eminently the language of strong, sound common sense. You may gossip in French, woo in Italian, pray in Spanish, and talk German to

your horses; but if you would press a point, make a bargain, or strive to be practical, there is none like our own broad straightforward speech: it crushes like a sledge-hammer, and pierces like a steel bullet. We have not, moreover, any sunny, languid noons, when the murmur of the song and the cool plash of the fountain are soothing luxuries, no serene nights to awaken poetry and romance beneath overhanging vines or on star-lit vedas. We had no leisure then, nor have we now, for such dainty delights. We have ever been too active and industrious for such a culture of enjoyment. Hence, it will be no wonder that the itinerant lecturer soon threw off his rhymes and his frequent interludes. Like good old Adhelm, the abbot of Malmesbury, ere he began his homely sermons on bridges and at cross roads, the minstrel merely thumped a few notes, and then told in sober prose of the deeds of an Arthur or a Cœur de Lion, the charms of a Helen, and the love of a Blauncheflour, inculcating moral and heroic virtues in no high-flown rhapsody, but in terse and telling sentences.

Here our retrospective glance must end. It will be seen that we do not employ the term lecture in its severely primitive meaning, as a mere reading, nor confine the term lecturer to those who, in the early Christian church, were called *lectors*, and read portions of the Scriptures in a religious service, nor those who were ordered by the House of Commons, in 1641, to assist the regular clergy in the week-day, and on the Sunday if needed, 'the Peers declyning to joyne wth the Com'ons in orders touching such innovac'ons in ye Church.'* We would not even limit either terms to their more modern interpretations. There is something in them, we think, implying all these characteristics, but yet susceptible of a higher and enlarged meaning. A considerable change is evident in the course of the last few centuries. When first used, they seem to mark the efforts of an educated class of men to assist their clerical brethren, as distinguished from the efforts of unrecognized and illiterate laics. They were lines of demarcation between both the discourses and the men, between those felt-makers who are described in an old Cambridge tract,† as dealing roundly with blockheads; cobblers, who handled Scripture to a bristle; coachmen, who lashed the beastly enormities of the age, and prated of the wheel of destruction; and weavers, who incessantly reminded of the shuttle swiftness of time, and the brittle web of life, with those learned, book-loving, yet ungowned *alumni* who regaled their hearers with a feast of fat and classical things.

* 'Memoirs of John Evelyn, Esq.,' vol. v., p. 24. Letter of Sir Edward Nicholas to the king, September 20, 1641.

† 'The Reformado precisely characterised by a modern churchwarden,' quoted in Dr. Gray's 'Hudibras,' vol. i., p. 97, note.

Hence

Hence a lecture soon came to signify a learned oration or display, apart from those delivered in professorial chairs. Perhaps, too, from its frequent use against the vices of the age, in arousing a sluggish moral nature and sentiment, and in its gradual adoption for other purposes, as in the case of Henry Burton, mentioned by Clarendon, who, because Dr. Neyl, the Bishop of Durham, was the king's clerk of the closet, and he was not, but wanted to be, 'turned lecturer,' and denounced the whole clerical body, it legitimately denoted either wholesome admonition, or vituperative criticism. In either sense, we may fairly suppose Addison to use it in his 'Notes on Noses,' when he desires the critics to 'refrain from the lecture of his curious tract.'* Here, then, we have some of the transformations of these terms. That they do not exclude the ancient poets and their exercitations cannot be denied, especially when viewed in the expanded sense we are anxious to attach to it. They were a class of self-constituted teachers. They took no patent from learned halls, nor vindicated their right by any degrees or honorary titles. Nature gave them wisdom and they gave it utterance, weaving in all available legend and fact to charm and elevate their race. They were not merely the repositories of heroic narratives or genealogical histories, theirs was no mere effort of memory and chroniclering skill, no mere accidental membership of a gens or clan, no mere talent for distinguishing what Horace calls 'legitimumque sonum digitis et aure.' They were men in every respect nobly endowed by nature, and fitted for the high vocation as interpreters of her symbols, and incitors of valour, dignity, and honour. If in the later class they caught the languid impurity of the age, we ought not surely to blame them, or refuse to own the dignity of their office in the abstract.

We maintain, then, the definition of the lecturer, as a self-constituted teacher, and purpose to project therefrom a few remarks on the deficiencies, or rather possible adaptations and improvements, in our modern system of lecturing.

'Seriousness comes on us by surprise,' writes Goethe, in Wilhelm Meister's Indenture, and it may be a matter of astonishment that it should grow upon us in dealing with a theme like ours. But it has rather surprised the age than ourselves, clearing the moral atmosphere, and infusing a deeper tone into our wonted earnestness. Art is no longer denuded of its natural reverence. Ruskin has at least lectured us into reverential sincerity, and the expression of life, beauty, and adoration in our architecture and painting. Nature has ceased to be dumbly explored and recognised; a new spirit moves everywhere, eager in

* 'The Tatler,' No. 260, December 7, 1710.

its

its search, decisive in its bearing, and reverential in its ascriptions. Religion is disencumbering herself of many hindrances, putting on her beautiful garments, and persuading men with a power, fervour, and range never surpassed. Man is viewed under new aspects and relationships, and a healthy and purified interest is evident in all questions that affect his welfare. The mottoes of this grand chivalric movement are *excelsior* and *melior*, blazoned on azure scrolls. As far as our immediate subject is concerned, we gladly hope to conduce to this mood where it does not exist, and shape and direct it where it is already manifest. We have shown our native earnestness in the matter: we would exalt this into a stronger sincerity and seriousness.

The first thought that opens on us is the admirable outlet afforded by the lecture for an overplus of mental life. All have not the courage, patience, or even desire for publishing in any other form than by the voice. They justly believe that, through a living mind and a bodily presence, they can do more than by calmly consigning their thoughts to print and pages. The author ever exists but dimly in the reader's mind, perchance shifting and hovering above him in some cloudy Laputa, and he has little sympathy or common regard for him. He longs to recognise him as a fellow-man; he eagerly peruses his life, dwelling with fondest regard on the most commonplace incidents and memorials. He wants to know the colour of his hair, and the details of his whole exterior, from the moustache on his lip to the buckle on his shoe. He grows enthusiastic over the stock of Shakspeare's matchlock, Goldsmith's tailor's bill, or a shred of Byron's dress, and will pay enormous sums for autographs, snuff-boxes, canes, and the like. It is not so with the lecturer; his manhood is self-evident. There is something honest and commanding in his coming face to face, to instruct, delight, or admonish. Deduct much you may, on account of personal exterior, or antecedent, but you cannot help admiring his attitude, which says, 'I am here a man like yourself, a friend, a brother; I give you my thoughts, fresh and full of life, as they pass from my brain. They are yours as you hear them; let them be seed-thoughts, and not dried botanical specimens. If I am wrong, I am here to be corrected and answer for it. I crave your love and charity; I am sure of your sympathy.' All this is homely and winning. It is not the dim oracle uttering responses, nor an unseen power claiming affinity and authority over you; it is a man conversing with you in perfect equality. He leads the inquiry, or communicates the instruction; the hearer is the respondent, completing a distinct dialogue.

Even here the lecturer is beset with difficulties. Sydney Smith has well said that one of the great errors of a classical education is, that you come to regard the instrument more than the tone, 'not what

what may be read in Greek, but Greek itself.' The same holds good of any extensive reading. Plato doubted the wisdom of letters, because they produced oblivion in the soul of the learner by depriving him of a rigid exercise of memory. And this is a form of evil which confronts the speaker. He finds a public who have grown into bookworms, and love the volume more than the discourse, the word rather than the thought; who prefer that the writer should think for them than that the speaker should stir them to the exercise itself. The highest encomium they can pass upon any extraordinary effort is a wish to have it stereotyped in a book to gratify their mental indolence; they may then put it on their shelves, and leave to its rows of black letters the preservation of the life and thought it contains. But wisdom and intellectual eminence are quite compatible with ignorance of book-craft; and it has been cleverly observed, on the contrary, that many a wise man begins to appear ridiculous when he begins to print. Such, however, are the forces of a book-reading habit, that no man can help getting into type, or can remain long without it. The public demands to read such efforts, those who have heard that they get at what they missed through inattention, those who have not, that they may see the mimic reflection of the whole; and so the newspaper puts him half way towards a book, giving him another circle, and putting him often to the temptation of publishing in self-defence. This, we are convinced, deters many wise and gifted men from thus disseminating a single idea, lest a second person

> 'Should clip it round the edge,
> And challenge him whose 'twas to swear to it.'

Happily, some are bolder in these matters, and deeming a good thought as soon as formed to be not the author's own but humanity's, go from place to place sowing broadly and prodigally. But we fear this hesitancy operates very prejudicially upon the quality of our lectures; and it is pleasing to see a man like Thackeray bravely combating it, and giving the public his twofold life. He has certainly published his first course of lectures since they were delivered, as at least others may do, but it was more to satisfy than create a demand.

But the lecture is greatest as an educational power. Whatever doubts may be indulged in as to its legitimate adoption as the expression of intellectual earnestness, there can be none as to its employment in this manner. Nothing that can conduce to intelligence, morality, and genuine manliness is to be despised, especially when it comes to us with so many testimonies in its favour as we have of the lecture. It may be often used for mere volatile amusement, and the gossiping away of evening hours; but better do this, so long as the enjoyment is pure and innocent, than that a Bœotian vacuity of mind should settle down upon the healthy sensibilities

sensibilities of a nation or a people. We would not despise it even then. The gossip of travel, the charm of wit and humour, the winning grace of song, the brilliance of large scenical displays, provoke, at least, some exercise of mind, and do not necessarily enervate its powers. But these are mere offshoots, and not the parent stem. In the lecture proper, the educational element is the prevailing one. The cultivated and studious man rubs off much of the dogmatism and narrow-mindedness contracted by a solitary closet-life. He comes out from the attrition of an exercise like this, like the stone from the lapidary's hand. He may be undergoing a self-educatory process, and he meets in the lecturer, the man of high and conscientious spirit, with much help and guidance. Lost in the deserts and continents of a huge book-land, here is the guide, the dragoman, who can lead him safely, interpreting by a keener wit than his own; and we have increasing need that such should be the office of the lecturer. We may distrust the recommendations or dispraise of a literary clique, when we should bow to the judgment of a friend like this. The untutored mind has even more need of this kind of superior guidance. It has to begin and learn the first humbling lesson of mind's superiority to matter, to be fed gradually, led gently, and exhorted tenderly. Such a learner would much rather hear a lecturer than read a book. Apart from the direct interest he may be able to give the subject vocally, the orator has a direct influence on both mind and heart. Gesture, sincerity, and the persuasive force of a vital power, carry the hearer along with him. Philip of Macedon, hearing of one of the orations of Demosthenes, said, 'Had I been there, he would have persuaded me to take up arms against myself;' and the modest, unlearned man is persuaded into cultivation, into arming against himself, by similar powers. A book might have only served to make plain to him the difficulties of his position, like a finger-post in the centre of a heath, but a healthy discourse fires him with energy and hope. It takes a firm hold upon him by giving him some of the results of study to excite and impress the imagination, without any preliminary and wearisome processes. It is not necessary he should know the history of the English drama, or the historic sequence of Shakspeare's plays, to be exalted by a scene from the 'Tempest,' or thrilled by an act from 'Hamlet.' He can admire the patriotism of the defenders of Thermopylæ, without knowing beforehand the accurate position of the belligerents, the fine contour of a Grecian face, or being well versed in their social and public life. Knowledge is thus presented to him in its most winning guise, freed from the toil and effort of its acquirement, and his taste is evoked and formed to assist him in future hours. The cultured man is often lost amid 'continents of Brandenburg sand;'

sand;' the novice and imperfectly educated is most hopelessly so. He has no landmarks to help him where there are so many by-paths, and he grows impatient, bewildered, and vacillating. It is here that a supplementary list of books, treating of the subject dealt with, would be a commendable feature in many elementary lectures.

The range a teacher of this kind can occupy may seem very circumscribed; but it is exactly the reverse. All knowledge, science, and art are capable of advancement and demonstration. There is no subject so barren that may not be made full of interest by homely and intelligent exhibition; there is no theme too mean nor too sublime for the occupation of an earnest intellect. An eloquent modern writer has said that, through his verse, Lucretius made music upon the dry bones of the universe; and all the technicalities, the abstruse details of art and science, can be made fascinating through diagramic aid and simple lively exposition. Even the mind of the rough, honest navvy is not impregnable; and we find one of these horny-handed, brawny fellows, writing from a distance to the good lady of Beckenham, 'I should have so liked to have stopped another week to have heard the lecture on chemistry.'* We ourselves have seen a very mixed and unlikely audience assemble to hear papers on monumental brasses, heraldic devices, and architectural details, merely because the room was hung with rubbings, drafts, and casts, the lecturers having already obtained a hold on their hearers through the eye and the imagination. It is impossible to advocate a too wide and varied range of subject. There is room enough for the most diversified talent in the lecturer, let there be adaptation to an equal diversity in the hearer. Unteach what has been learned amiss, arouse the sluggish, and at least fill with something mind and man. Get him a hammer, and send him geologising; a net, and let him once more chase his butterflies and moths; let him make a companion of Shakspeare, Bacon, or Macaulay; be tutored in commercial polity by Adam Smith; in antiquities by Layard or Rawlinson; in song and ballad by Ritson and Percy. The world of literature is wide enough for each man to find interest and congeniality, when once we have created what Johnson aptly styles 'an inclination.' Anything is better than that vacant, aimless, helpless, drifting mood, which overwhelms the mind like solitary confinement, and leaves it a prey to all kinds of temptation to kill time, and eventually itself.

The influence of a lecturer does not, and ought not to stop here. A power only equalled by that of the pulpit is opened to him. In the presence of numbers he has given him the highest kind of

* 'English Hearts and English Hands,' p. 327.

inspiration, and with it proportionate responsibilities. There is a sensitiveness, an impressibility in the mass, rarely found in the individual. Thought intensifies, and a common feeling soon preponderates. Then it is that *vox populi, vox Dei.* There is a large generosity, a divine sense of justice, a keen perception of truth, a grand patriotism in a throng, that is not to be lightly regarded or wantonly distorted. There would be less illiberality, less bitterness, less impiety, if more submission were made to these broad arbiters we have in common. No ordinary man would openly dare to extol vice, or exhibit a despicable meanness, a vacillating honour and justice, before a large and moderately intelligent audience. It might be guardedly put in a book, or insinuated in a novel, creeping upon you like a cold, glittering serpent; but put to the mass, fused and mighty in their strength, as one vast superhuman conscience, and they would shake and roar like a lion in their grand wrath. But they are plastic and human nevertheless. An orator like Pericles could move the people from confidence to alarm, and from terror back again to confidence; and the merest man who is in earnest has power over our common sentiments. He can move and direct them with his speech, as Eric, the wizard of Norse legend, shifted the winds with his cap. There is no height of virtue, goodness, or love to which he cannot elevate them. Let him, then, use his genius and his art to infuse a higher standard of morals in the people of all grades and intelligences, showing the divineness of knowledge, and playing upon our love of the beautiful and the good, like a breeze upon a harp. His power differs from that of the preacher, because there is no tacit submission to his guidance and correction. In chapel or church there is ever a show of sanctity and sympathy with the man and his theme. Not so in the case of the lecturer. His audience may be, in this respect, in the veriest undress, unknowing how he will handle his topic, or in the greatest ignorance concerning it. If they assent to his direction, it is no mere cold, formal response of the understanding; they have been drawn up to it, or warmed into it. Henceforth it may be for him to create new and pure impulses, and mould the aspect of new lives. Only he should do it boldly and believingly, tenderly and charitably. The author may be a mere craftsman; the true lecturer should be a man of genius, in that he should be moved strongly from within. If he has a wider range than the minister, he need not necessarily do, as Selden said of the early church-lecturers, 'what the fryers heretofore, get away not only the affections, but the bounty that should be bestowed upon the minister.' Nor need he lecture the people 'tame,' although, if his aims be right, the sooner he is able 'to do what he list with them,' the better. He may help the preacher with a sturdy arm,

or

or hinder him with a giant power; as he has carved out a clear path for himself, he may do it for others, or inextricably entangle them in the devious wiles of a sweet self-deception. The once sectarian office has expanded into the broadest significance; the once bardic teacher retains the character of his priesthood still. The seventeenth century ordained that lecturers should exist to assist the men of God; the voice of our own demands that they shall still do the same.

A position like this is not to be lightly assumed. The man who undertakes to interpret whatever he sees fair, and good, and noble in history, biography, art, or science, should be a large-hearted, earnest-minded, strong-willed genius. It is not for every weakling to rush in unbidden where even the true sage treads tremblingly. It is not for the mere learned, the glib and facile of tongue, and the happy in assurance, to compete with the early lecturers of Greece, who ennobled common life with purer conceptions, and the exhibition of grander actions. None but a reverential soul can, with them, lift up the crowd from the press and tumult of life to the quiet of the hill-tops and the beauty of the sunset isles. And yet there is room for all species of energy and talent. Whosoever has his written name in God's Golden Book of nobility, has a mission before him wherein he need not quail. The old paths are as yet unthronged with labourers; and, imitating Xenophanes, in reading parts of his own works, Mr. Charles Dickens has recently led the way in a newer sphere. There are no boundaries to cramp and fetter the outflowings of invention and wit, so long as they are made subservient to noble ones, and help to magnify our moral dignity and manhood. Remembering his power and responsibility, and rightly viewing himself in relation to his hearers, there is no field where his feet may not roam, no air where the wings of his fancy may not flash and quiver, and there is no hope, height, or spirituality to which he may not exalt and inspire his audience.

ART. II.—1. *Newspaper Reports of Quarterly Meeting of London Mechanics' Institution, held March* 2, 1859.
2. *Report of Working Men's College.*

IT would be idle to adduce evidence in proof of a fact which no one denies, namely, that working men have only in very limited proportion availed themselves of the advantages afforded by mechanics' institutes. These institutions are, in the majority of instances, supported chiefly by the middle and trading classes; whilst the working man has generally turned the cold shoulder towards them, or ignored their existence altogether. It has, in short, become

become obvious that to these so-called advantages, the great majority of working men are, either by the very instincts of their nature, or the circumstances of their position, totally indifferent. Now, however lachrymose persons may become about this indifference, we will take leave to assume that, despite their illiteracy, the mass of the labouring classes of this country have native intelligence or rude common sense enough to perceive a real benefit when it is offered to them. If the instinct of the working classes have rejected the so-called advantages hitherto afforded by mechanics' institutes, we may depend upon it that such advantages are intrinsically of equivocal value, at least to them. Alluding possibly to the indifference now spoken of, or to some fact of like character in our social history, Lord Brougham made a declaration a few years ago that the great majority of the people of this country did not really want to be educated. His lordship was right if he used the latter term in the sense which is now ordinarily attached to it. They do not want to be 'educated,' if by that phrase you mean cramming them with mere book learning; making them the mere receptacles for so many imparted facts in art and science; mere beasts of mental burden (if we may be pardoned such a conjunction of terms), sent to carry up and down in this world a certain 'pack of knowledge' for seventy years, more or less, and then to die. They do not want to be 'educated,' if by that you mean that they are to devote themselves exclusively to a life of hard, dry study. Working men are, on the whole, amazingly like their fellow-beings; and the majority of men certainly do *not* want to be 'educated,' if by that you mean to make of them mere reading animals, if you want them to regard the acquisition of book knowledge as the be-all and end-all of their earthly existence. The great blunder which has been committed by the managers of most mechanics' institutes, has consisted in the attempt to increase the proportion of the student class of mankind—a class who must always form a very small section of the human family, and can least of all be recruited among that portion of society who must labour bodily for the necessities of life. Knowledge, or science properly so called, never has been, and never will be, to the mass of mankind, itself *an end.* With men earnestly intent upon intellectual self-culture, its acquisition forms, indeed, a means to the end of energising and enlarging the faculties, and giving them acuteness and force; whilst it is the especial mission of the man of science to investigate for the sake of extending the boundaries of human knowledge. But whoever hopes to 'educate' the great mass of mankind with a view of laying upon each one of us some share of responsibility in this latter work, betrays a total ignorance of human nature, or a total misinterpretation of the designs of God's providence.

The

The fundamental basis on which mechanics' institutes were originally founded was, 'that the mind of the mechanic should be rendered as familiar with the *principles* of his trade as his hands were with their application.' Many advantages were expected to result to the community 'from adding to dexterity of hand and ingenuity of head, a knowledge of the scientific principles which are the foundation of every mechanical art.' Here was an object laudable and philanthropic enough, an attempt to occupy ground which had never been occupied before; and the energy and enthusiasm with which, to their honour be it said, the original promoters of mechanics' institutes threw themselves into their work, led to results which, though not perhaps equalling the expectations of some, have nevertheless conferred important and lasting benefits, not merely upon individuals, but upon the community at large. But when the novelty of the project had passed away, it became apparent that an element of error, and therefore of decay, existed in the fundamental principle of which we have spoken. That element of error consisted in this—that the institutions were aiming at an object which could only be accomplished by contravening one of the laws by which Providence seems to carry on the machinery of social life. It appears to be a part of the established order of things that the world's work shall always be carried on by the mass of mankind empirically; and even to human ken, the wisdom of this ordination is sufficiently apparent. How, then, can thinking men be surprised at the failure of institutions based upon a principle of antagonism to the divine organization of the social system?

We by no means overlook the fact that one main cause of the failure of mechanics' institutes, as such, has been, that the working classes were not prepared for them by a more generally extended system of early education. They offered to help the working man to become wiser and happier; but unfortunately, the process of becoming wise had not, with him, begun at the beginning—that is, in his childhood. Adult education, it has been found by painful experience, implies a contradiction in terms. Efficient elementary training alone would have broken up the ground into which it was the laudable purpose of these institutions to cast the seed of instruction. But even assuming that the working classes had been prepared by a greater extension, in this country, of good elemental training, was it to have been expected that the majority of our artisans would have cared anything at all about the scientific principles which their practical hands are constantly applying?—that they would have cared (speaking of them generally) anything at all about the promotion of mechanical inventions? Do the classes that *have* been educated in early life, speaking of them in the aggregate, care anything at all about scientific knowledge? Do

Do *they*, when they arrive at years of maturity, and their social position is fixed, trouble themselves about intellectual culture? What proportion of living clergymen, barristers, or medical men, have made intellectual self-culture a habit since they left the colleges or schools in which their capacities were developed? Are not the men fitted by such habits, or by their knowledge of scientific principles, to assume positions of responsibility and command, a scarce article in *every* other walk of life as well as in the humblest? Does not the high remuneration, or the social consideration, which these men command, prove the fact? Then was it not unreasonable to expect that working men would become what no other class of men, *as a class*—not even those who have had all the advantages of early education—ever do become, namely, a student class? Yet this was really what the founders of mechanics' institutes evidently expected. Here, as in connection with many other questions of the day, we find the fact obtruding itself upon observation, that there exists, in a large majority of the minds which take part in the social and philanthropic movements of the day, an utter ignoring or obliviousness of the great fact of the identity of human nature; and which often leads them to form very unwise or very uncharitable conclusions. From mere want of thought, or from allowing their zeal to blind their judgment, a large number of talkers on the subject of the moral elevation of the people are frequently heard to attribute to the world of humanity outside themselves, principles of action which they do not find in their own nature, which they never dream of, in fact, as actuating either themselves or their every-day friends and acquaintances. If the zeal of philanthropists did not so often outrun their discretion, if they would not so frequently part with their naturalness of feeling, their disinterested labours would not so frequently be expended in vain.

If mechanics' institutes are ever to succeed, the managers must avoid this cardinal blunder of addressing grown-up working men, with social positions in most cases fixed, merely *as* working men, or as beings endowed only with a physical and intellectual nature. Man is a being of composite nature—of religious, domestic, and social affections, as well as of mental capacities; and is it any wonder that he should turn away from institutions which offer him nothing more than hard facts in science and history, as he turns away from those pulpits which give him only the dry bones of theology, and teach him nothing of the celestial spirit of religion? If mechanics' institutes are to influence and benefit the working man, they must address his *whole nature;* they must appeal to his innermost heart; they must recognize the fact that he is not merely a being endowed with reasoning faculties, but that he is also, perchance, a husband, a father, a brother, a citizen,

a man.

a man. They must come home to his every-day interests and every-day happiness; they must aim at his moral rather than his mental elevation—the cultivation of his *character* rather than his intellect. Let not these remarks, however, for one moment be misunderstood, as deprecating the acquisition of knowledge by the masses of the people. Their instruction is most earnestly to be desired, because in numberless ways it would contribute, not only to their own well-being, and the increased well-being, order, and progress of society, but because also it would prove the most efficient of all means of cultivating the moral sense of the community, and thus securing the progress of moral reform. Moreover, the intellectual culture of the individual is most intimately connected with his religious culture. There is a mutual relationship between them, which, though of considerable interest and importance, is but too commonly overlooked. Duty to his moral and spiritual nature, if no other motive, should prompt every man to earnest, however humble, efforts at cultivating also the intellectual faculties with which the Creator has endowed him. But let it never be forgotten that a man's intellectual and moral elevation must ever be mainly *his own* work. It cannot be done *for* him, it must be done *by* himself, though important help may be afforded him in the work. This important help mechanics' institutes are calculated to afford; but unfortunately, as respects the great mass of working men, in this generation at least, from various causes these institutions can do little to help them in the work of intellectual elevation. The majority of them are too ignorant to know how ignorant they are; and hence the great idea of self-culture has never stirred their souls. To proffer them more knowledge when they do not know how to make use of that which is already within their reach, is only (to borrow a simile of Archbishop Whately) like seeking to enlarge the prospect of a short-sighted man by taking him to the top of a hill. But much may be done by mechanics' institutes to help on the moral elevation and social refinement of the working classes; and to this great purpose, as we conceive, merely instructional agency should ever be subordinated in the plans of their managers.

It may be well to repeat, that in thus indicating the broad principle on which these institutions should be conducted, we are referring more especially to those existing at the present day. When a more generally extended and superior system of elementary training shall have prepared a future generation for all the advantages which they would be enabled with proper support to offer, we may hope that they will then become, in a true sense, people's colleges, which shall fill the void now existing between the school and the university. As that day may yet be far distant, we address ourselves to the practical question of what can

be, or ought to be, done with them now, to render them useful and popular among the labouring classes of the community.

Before proceeding further, however, we may be permitted to insert here one word of honour to the men whose unwavering support and constant exertions have caused mechanics' institutes to keep firm hold of the ground which they occupy, and which, however unsatisfactorily they may be alleged to occupy it, every lover of social order and well-being would regret to find deserted and vacant. It must be a source of encouragement to these long-tried friends and supporters of mechanics' institutes, to find them growing strongly, as they now are, in the affections of persons who at one time did not cherish very favourable opinions respecting them. If they have disappointed unreasonable expectations on the one hand, they have dispelled unworthy fears on the other. Prejudices once entertained against them have been overcome, and (here we are using the language of Lord Stanley) 'the establishment of an athenæum, a lyceum, an institute (call it which you will), in every large town in England, is no longer a mere luxury which may be enjoyed or dispensed with at pleasure, but has become an essential and integral part of our social organization.'

We shall rather attempt to elaborate the principle which we have already indicated to be the wisest and truest basis of the management of these institutes, than pretend to give specific directions which could not be applicable in all cases. The circumstances, requirements, and capabilities of differing districts vary so completely, that what is wise and practicable in one locality ceases to be so in another. What is good in a town is inapplicable in a village, and *vice versâ*. We would premise, however, and with great emphasis, that it is indispensable to the complete success of any institution whatever, and especially of institutions aiming to influence men's moral nature, that their managers should be men of thorough earnestness of purpose and benevolence of heart. Who can expect an institution to succeed which is managed by a number of drones who have consented that their names shall be put on the committee only with the understanding that there will be practically little or nothing for them to do; who regard it as a mere matter of form that somebody should be on the committee, but expect that the secretary will really do all the work? Better far to reduce the number of which a committee is to consist, and let it be confined to the men who are earnest enough to devote time and attention to the promotion of the objects of the institute, than have its working impeded by the dead weight of names that appear only to fill up a number, or that their owners may have the *éclât* of being found among the supporters of education. Instances are constantly occurring to observation, in which the earnestness and benevolence

benevolence of a single individual do more for the good of his species in one bare twelvemonth, than the lazy efforts of indolent or sham philanthropists accomplish through a cycle of tedious years. It would much contribute, also, to the efficiency of mechanics' institutes if their committees were in all cases divided into a number of sub-committees, whose business it should be to devote their especial attention to the respective branches of the institution for which they are severally appointed. General committees, appointed for general purposes, are always impatient in the consideration of details; and moreover, the number of which they are constituted is usually too large to make an efficient working body. They are seldom little better than deliberative assemblies; and unless where they divide themselves into sub-committees, they deal very unsatisfactorily with the practical application of schemes. Let each sub-committee undertake a single and defined work. Why should not every mechanics' institute have its library committee, its lecture committee, its finance committee, its committee for the regulation of classes, its recreation and rational amusement committee, and so forth? This suggestion can scarcely be a novel one; it may even be, as respects many institutes, superfluous; but it is one of so much practical importance, that in a paper like this, it will bear reiteration. Such division of labour cannot fail to conduce materially to the prosperity and usefulness of the institution.

Let, then, the conductors of mechanics' institutes avoid the mistake of making the mere impartation of knowledge their only object. Let them address the *whole nature* of man, and not overlook the fact that he is a being endowed not merely with intellect, but with domestic and social affections. Just in proportion as they have recognised this latter fact, and have provided recreation and social enjoyment as well as instruction, have they respectively succeeded. It is the *character* of the individuals who compose our masses which they should seek to elevate and refine; and character concerns the heart quite as much as the head. For this purpose, mere instruction will not do. You may cram a man with all the information which he has capacity to receive; but unless other influences be also brought to bear upon him, his character will remain essentially the same. The 'Times,' on a late occasion, forcibly stated the case with which mechanics' institutes have to deal, in the following terms:—'They who have most explored the masses of our great towns, describe them as a Serbonian bog of ignorance, depression, and general deadness of heart, mind, and soul. Certainly their looks, as they pass to and fro, are not encouraging to the philanthropist; and it argues no small amount of courage for any man to devote himself to the task of their elevation.' We want, instead of this 'general deadness,'

what higher position in life, would be able and willing to pay a higher rate, and thus make them self-supporting. These are days in which, from various causes, a quick insight has been aroused amongst all classes as to the quality of the education afforded in schools for youth; and with respect at least to large towns, there need be little misgiving as to the success of good, cheap schools. But day and evening schools in connection with mechanics' institutions are not merely an experiment, they are a success. One case is in the writer's own knowledge; and an authority now lying before him states as follows:—

'A day school has been established in connection with the London Institution; there is another at Leeds; and in Lancashire nine of the institutions have day schools attended by upwards of 2,000 pupils. It is reported that they "not only are the most prosperous part of the institution, but add considerably to the prosperity of other departments;" and that "there is no new plan which the directors of a mechanics' institution could adopt with greater assurance of success than the opening of a day school." In one or two instances these schools have been placed under Government inspection; the Committee of Council on Education having contributed to the funds for the erection of the buildings used during the day for the school, and during the evening for the other departments of the institution.'

We know the objection which may be raised to the policy here indicated—that it is converting mechanics' institutions into mere seminaries for children, instead of instructional agencies for adults. We reply, that every well-educated child is a kind of missionary to parents whose advantages in this respect have been inferior to his own—an influence for good in the moral atmosphere of his home. If you make mechanics' institutes useful to the working man's child, you make them useful to the working man himself; and moreover, if you engage the heart of the parent in the success of an institution through one of its collateral agencies, you are then most likely to find him a glad recipient of the benefits offered by departments especially adapted to his individual requirements.

How to interest the *wives* of working men in the success of mechanics' institutes is perhaps a more difficult question than any other in connection with them. But in proportion to its difficulty is its importance; for we verily believe if this could be done, their success would be complete. And this brings us to ask why there should not exist, in connection with every mechanics' institute, a *ladies' committee*, who should undertake the task of appealing to the sympathies of the wives of working men, and, as far as possible, carrying out plans of female adult instruction? There are numbers of benevolent and intelligent ladies in all large towns, and in our villages too, who would gladly become members for the purpose of acting on such committees. We have benevolent ladies willingly forming themselves into committees in connection with ragged schools, educational or training institutions for girls, and various other philanthropic institutions. They labour most willingly

willingly in promoting bazaars, collecting money for religious purposes, visiting the sick, and in numberless other modes prompted by their judgment and benevolence. And who can doubt that, if the invitation were made, there would be found existing amongst them a readiness, a willingness, and aptitude, which only await and desire organization in order that they may be brought to bear, as now upon the young, the sick, and the degraded of their sex, so also upon the ignorance and illiteracy of their adult sisters? With that clear insight which their pure benevolence would suggest—with that intuitive knowledge of the sympathies of their sex, which they alone can possess—it can scarcely be doubted that a committee of ladies would originate most useful operations for the benefit of the female heads of working men's families, or of their daughters. Possibly they might constitute themselves into a visiting committee, or even organize some kind of missionary agency. Many of them could, and would, read or deliver quiet lectures on such subjects as domestic economy, the management of children, cooking, management of sick-rooms, the advantages to working men's families of savings banks, benefit societies, life assurance, and so forth. Where the homes of working men are too far removed from the institutes to make it convenient for their wives to attend such lectures, rooms might be hired within their easy access in their respective neighbourhoods. The truth is, that one cause of the inefficiency of mechanics' institutes has been, that there has been too little of the missionary spirit and missionary agency about them. If the people will not come to your lectures, you must do as other social reformers do—take the lectures to the people. We are not unaware that these hints may to some minds have a somewhat Utopian air about them; and we by no means overlook the prejudice which would have to be encountered in carrying them out. But we have faith in the moral potency, we had almost written the omnipotency, of pure benevolence. A little dexterous management, dictated by a really kind and earnest spirit, would overcome a vast amount of prejudice. We will only again repeat, that if once you could get the wives and daughters of working men to feel that *they* were benefited by mechanics' institutes, the working men themselves would not be so totally indifferent towards them as has hitherto unfortunately happened. One fact is often more stimulating than a hundred suggestions. We will add three facts, and then quit this portion of our theme. In connection with the Working Men's College of London, with which the name of Mr. Maurice is so honourably identified, classes for women have (according to a report lying before us) been instituted, which are, for the most part, conducted by ladies. Very valuable lectures have also been given by medical men. One course of these, 'On the Care of the Sick,' has since been published.

The

'The classes (we are now quoting from a report of the institution) are held from 3 to 5 P.M., partly that they may not interfere with the lessons to the working men, partly because that time is more convenient to the teachers than the evening would be. It was feared that these hours might be inconvenient to the women themselves; but it will be seen from a table which is subjoined, that they have begun to enter for the whole term, instead of for a single day or week. Their number is now steadily increasing. The attendance has also become very much more regular.'

Our second fact is, that in connection with Haley Hill Working Men's College, Halifax, founded by Mr. Akroyd, there has existed from the commencement a separate branch for young women, a considerable number being in regular attendance. The last of our three facts may be stated with a brevity equal to the second. In connection with a ragged school supported by the Scotch National Church (Dr. Cumming's), Covent Garden, a lady of rank holds (or did very recently) once a week, a mothers' meeting, and teaches upwards of fifty poor mothers how to mend, darn, wash, &c. Acting on the same principle of endeavouring to interest the working man through his affections, all the recreations provided for the members of mechanics' institutes should, as far as practicable, be of such a nature that his family would desire to participate in them as well as himself; his wife and children being admitted either gratuitously, or at a merely nominal charge. It should be the business of a recreation committee to provide rational amusements and pastime in harmony with the spirit and sentiments of the day; or, what is still better, to afford facilities for varied recreation, and leave people as much as possible to strike out their own. Such a committee would not fail to prove one of the most useful branches of a working men's institute.

A collateral agency in connection with these institutes, upon the usefulness of which we would lay great stress, is the establishment of a provident fund, in which not merely the heads of working men's families, but their children, should be invited to accumulate their savings. The proper committee would decide, according to the requirements of the district, how far it would be wise to offer the advantages of a benefit society. In most cases, perhaps, where benefit societies already exist in a neighbourhood, it would be very unwise to clash with their operations. There is abundant room, however, for the multiplication of savings or provident funds. The recent establishment of penny savings banks in various parts of the country indicates the fact. Great as is the usefulness of existing savings banks, they do not fully meet the case of the very humblest class of depositors. One great drawback upon their usefulness consists in the limited hours for which they are open; and another, in the want of greater facilities for the deposit and withdrawal of money. These are not the only causes, but they doubtless are some of the causes, which account for the fact stated in a recent parliamentary report, that for several years past no

no new savings bank had been established; whilst the aggregate balances of those already in existence appeared to have remained in a stationary condition. We hope to see the day arrive when an increased popular confidence in these banks, and a more intimate acquaintance with their benefits on the part of the working classes, will lead to such an extension of their business as will justify their being open for as many hours in the day and week as other banks; so that a working man or humble tradesman may deposit his five shillings or his five pounds with the same facility that the capitalist can deposit his fifty or thousand pounds at an ordinary banking-house. The latter is usually a transaction of only a few minutes; whereas the more humble transaction of the working man often keeps him waiting an hour or two, owing to the depositors being compelled to throng in at a particular period of the week, rather than at those varying hours when it might best consist with each one's individual engagements. What savings banks cannot now do for the working classes, mechanics' institutes have in some cases already done, and in many more cases might do. They may encourage and foster the formation of provident habits in young and old, and thus affect not merely the characters, but even the fortunes of individuals. We attach the greater importance to the establishment of these provident funds as auxiliaries to mechanics' institutes, because they form a means of doing good to that very large proportion of working people who, from their illiteracy, cannot be expected to take a lively interest in their other departments. To learn the art of taking care of his money a working man needs not the preliminary ability either to read, write, or cipher. All he wants is honesty in the people who are benevolent enough to teach him the art.

Whilst penning the last few sentences, the thought arises in the mind—how very completely and strangely the managers of mechanics' institutes seem to have overlooked in their operations that very large proportion of working men and women who *cannot read.* A large amount of the energy and resources which have been expended in accumulating large libraries, would surely have been expended in other ways, if the fact had been called to mind that the number of persons, even in what are called the educated classes, who cultivate the *habit* of reading, so as to make it a pleasure, is exceedingly small in proportion. And as to those working men who have ever been able to read, the majority have had so little inducement to practise the art as wellnigh to have lost it altogether, or at least find it positively irksome. To persons who are devoid of literary taste, or who have never formed studious habits, newspapers generally form the most attractive kind of reading; and hence the usefulness of news-rooms in connection with mechanics' institutes. They usually prove the most successful branch

branch which can be grafted upon them. Still, that very large class of working men who read so badly that they derive therefrom little or no pleasure, or who cannot read at all, have never yet received all the consideration which a wise philanthropy would dictate. The great mass of these persons (of course there will be individual exceptions) cannot be expected, after having attained adult years, to set about learning to read, or even improving in the art. They feel it to be too great a shock to their self-respect to be asked thus to confess their illiteracy to the world. A true and wise philanthropy would respect this feeling. However ignorant and illiterate men and women may be, they still *are* men and women—not children, and should be treated as such. Their illiteracy may move us to pity; but their years entitle them to our fraternal love, and our kindly (not patronizing) respect and regard. Now, how comes it that so little thought or attention has been bestowed upon these non-readers, and those to whom reading is irksome? It is very well to multiply the number of our schools, and teach people to read; but why has the benevolence of the age thought so little about instructing or amusing those who are not likely to be able to read as long as they live? It is very praiseworthy to endeavour to elevate men's tastes as to recreation, and to supply them with internal resources of enjoyment; but why have we not thought more about promoting the innocent, and as far as possible instructive, amusement of the multitude whose tastes have been already developed almost beyond our guidance? It is easier to put such questions than to answer them. An experiment which was recently made in Newcastle in the winter season may, however, furnish a hint as to what *might* be done. We refer to the 'public readings,' so called, which were held in the lecture-room. Various gentlemen of the town gave their services gratuitously as readers of a popular history of England; and these readings, interluded with vocal and instrumental music, constituted an attractive entertainment, from which the most illiterate working man, at a very trifling cost, might have derived great instruction as well as rational recreation. The readings extended over several nights; they were the result of a private speculation, and we believe that, *as* a speculation, they were not a failure. They did not, however, attract that large proportion of the working classes which had been hoped for—a fact which may be partly accounted for, perhaps, by their novelty. Their nature could not be very widely known, or rather understood, among working men; and they, like other men, are not prone to spend their money upon *experiments* in the way of recreation. A somewhat similar means of popular recreation and instruction was adopted about the same time in Manchester. There, however, if we understand rightly, the readings were free. A local paper spoke of them as 'free public

public readings;' and stated that the expenses were defrayed by voluntary contributions. They differed also from the 'readings' in Newcastle by not being confined to one author or one subject. Select passages from various authors, and from the current literature of the day, were read; and working men who would prefer having an hour's amusement in this form to frequenting public-houses and beer-shops, 'were earnestly invited,' in the words of a handbill, 'to attend, and bring their wives and the grown-up members of their families with them.' The newspapers stated that in Salford, the adjoining borough, where the experiment appears to have originated, and where it was appropriately prosecuted in the hall of the mechanics' institution, a set of rules were adopted, well calculated to preserve the useful simplicity of its character. The meeting appointed its own chairman for the evening, which gave 'a democratic complexion to the entertainment,' and lessened any savour of patronage which the quick jealousy of humble life might detect in it. 'A necessary proviso was, that no subject should be introduced which was connected with party politics or religious controversy.' This did not, however, exclude the news of the day, when of sufficient interest to command a place; and in some instances extracts from the public journals were thought proper contributions to the evening's amusement. No discussion was allowed; but at the close of the reading any suggestion or opinion, addressed to the chairman, might be stated, provided no speaker occupied more than three minutes. In Salford, also, it was the practice to restrict the duration of each reading to twenty minutes, and to devote short intervals to vocal and instrumental music. Now, in these novel experiments, whatever their success, there is embodied a very valuable, though perhaps still crude idea, which earnest and benevolent minds may turn to valuable account in their endeavours to render mechanics' institutes useful and popular to the working classes, and especially that large section of them whose illiteracy renders it hopeless to reach them through any other agency.

We have few other suggestions to make which are not already very familiar to the minds of managers of mechanics' institutes. Nor do we, indeed, claim the merit of novelty in all cases for those which we have already thrown out. Viewing these institutes from an outside stand-point, and having a real interest in their success, we have endeavoured, not so much to multiply practical hints, as to dwell upon a few which would best indicate the broad general principle on which we conceive that they should be conducted. To have enlarged on the great value of classes for the purposes of efficient instruction; on the interest which has generally been found to attach to news-rooms; on the importance of localizing institutions as far as possible in the vicinity of working men's homes, bringing

bringing instruction, as it were, to their very doors; on the desirability of the institutions possessing buildings planned and erected for their especial uses; on the interest attaching to frequent social gatherings, rural excursions, polytechnic exhibitions, and the like, and the means they afford of keeping the institutions before the public; on the value of the co-operation of the Society of Arts, and the usefulness of its recently-established system of examinations for members, with a view of distributing prizes and certificates,—to have enlarged, we say, on these things, would have been either to repeat a thrice-told tale, or to dwell upon topics with which all managers of mechanics' institutes are, or ought to be, perfectly familiar. Whilst not overlooking the primary cause of the comparative non-success of these institutes, namely, the absence of a more generally-extended system of early training, we have also desired to point out the mistake which has been at the root of much of their mismanagement, namely, appealing to the capacities of their members as students rather than to their nature as men, and their interests as members of society. An instructional agency must necessarily form part of the machinery of every such institution—its nucleus, indeed. But seeing that the amount of scientific knowledge or general instruction which can be imparted to the working man of the present generation must necessarily be comparatively limited in its range, we have aimed to show that it is a wiser and truer philanthropy to attempt their moral and social, rather than their mental elevation—to cultivate *character* rather than *intellect*. To improve, not human reason merely, but human nature; to appeal, not alone to the working man's mind, but to his affections, and to come home to his every-day feelings and interests,—these are the ends to be kept in view, if mechanics' institutes are ever to be useful and popular to that class of the community. And let us be distinctly understood that we do not go upon the principle of merely *attracting* working men by hollow amusements or false excitement. This sort of management may succeed for a while; but, sooner or later, its hollowness and falsity will become apparent, and the institution which has trusted to it will find itself in a worse position than before. On the contrary, we wish working men to be made to feel that they are really and deeply interested in the advantages which a mechanics' institute can offer to them; that by connection with it they become better and happier men, and learn to enjoy more fully the existence which God has given them. Let the managers of such institutes make their instructional appliances as efficient as they possibly can; but let them also foster, by every means in their power, all such internal arrangements and auxiliary institutes as have a tendency to give a rightful turn to the whole character of individual members. If a working man, by his connection with a mechanics'

mechanics' institute, shall have learned to manage prudently and well his humble fortune; shall have learned to take an intelligent interest in the world's passing history; shall have become linked in sympathy with the great social and philanthropic movements of the day, and with the progress of scientific discovery; shall have acquired a taste for refined recreations; shall have formed habits of reflection, observation, and practical judgment; shall have learned to exercise self-respect, and to understand the moral dignity of independence and self-support,—then has a more real and lasting benefit been conferred upon him than if he had gone away the possessor of any amount, however large, of mere book-knowledge, or had even gained the completest familiarity with the scientific principles that regulate the handicraft which forms his daily avocation.

ART. III.—1. *Tennyson's Poems.* Eleventh edition.
2. *Tennyson's Princess: a Medley.* Seventh edition.
3. *In Memoriam.* Seventh edition.
4. *Tennyson's Maud; and other Poems.* Second edition.
5. *Tennyson's Idylls of the King.*
London: Edward Moxon and Co. 1859.

TO that elemental and essential poetry, the ideal of which both poets and critics of poets must, as their own sacred fire, entertain within them, no man in England, perhaps, has ever clomb nearer than Alfred Tennyson. The reedy outskirts of the Muses' haunt are not nigh enough for him; he must attain to their great presence, he must penetrate into the very lustre of their own inmost sanctuary, returning to us, like the priest from behind the veil, transfigured, luminous. With him, image, emotion, music, which are as the three colours in the rainbow of the poet's thought, lucidly collapsing, orb into song that, heaving, lifts us too on the proud wave of its own rhythmic movement. Minstrels we have had, grander, 'fuller,' perhaps, than he; souls of a larger reach, hearts of a mightier pulse, but never a poet richer, never a poet truer. Finer gold, art more delicate, are nowhere else procurable; and the result is so consummate, that clumsy fingers seek in vain to grasp it. It is a shell most exquisitely white, filling to the lustre of a most golden sea; such a shell as the poet himself found on the Breton coast; 'made so fairily well, a miracle of design; frail, but of force to withstand, year upon year, the shock of cataract-seas.'

The clumsy fingers that seek in vain to grasp it would petulantly crush it;—for coarse are the majority of criticisms that we have seen of this most genuine poet. Dull redactors transmute

his

his delicious melodies, his most delicate and divine simplicities, into their own pasteboard prose, and then cry out, 'Look at it! do you call that poetry?' The divinest gift of God, the most beautiful and loveliest of the skiey messengers vouchsafed us now, has been rated like a schoolboy that had stolen apples, before the desk of some tumid editor, who knows only the heaviest scale, making there too a mistake so egregious that the dim thought of it will haunt him.

Ah yes! this delicate loveliness has borne the shock of uglier monsters than the 'cataract-seas;' slippery creatures have slid over it, and mere organic slime—that can but sting—has sought to hide it from the sun. But 'now has descended a serener hour,' and in the great choir of voices that proclaim their joy over it, the sneers of envy and the ineptitudes of incapacity are alike unheard.

Poetry, of late, presents itself, for the most part, in affiliated series. Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge, to go no higher, come in a group from the Percy Ballads, Burns, and Cowper. Shelley affiliates himself to Coleridge, Keats to Shelley, and Tennyson to Keats. Three is the sacred number, the fundamental figure, the foot that scans the rhythmus of the universe. *Omne trinum perfectum rotundum;* all good things are three; and poets, as among the best, are no exception. But of all poetic triads, the last surely is the richest, the happiest, and the completest. Shelley, Keats, and Tennyson! No, not even in their own verses can we find a more harmonious and triumphant triplet. They are the Three Graces of English literature, and should never be found apart. They should be bound in a volume, whose very title—Shelley, Keats, and Tennyson—were poetry.

'What!' we hear the commoner critics cry, 'do you dare to rank among dead and accepted classics, a mere living aspirant?' Not only that, but we dare to say that this living aspirant, as the ripest of the triad, must take precedence of these, his otherwise equal fellows. As completed bard indeed, and in consideration (with special reference to Wordsworth) of the richer humanity and wider universality of his range, Tennyson, perhaps, transcends the whole series of poets that separates him from Milton.

And if this be true, why should it not be said? Or why should it be said to the dead skull only, and not to the living face of him it touches? 'Right well know I that fame is half dis-fame;' so speaks the melancholy bard himself; why should we not soothe him by a word in season? Does not he do as much, and more, by us? If he feels that he 'walks with his head in a cloud of poisonous flies,' shall we not seek to disperse the insects? Shall we not seek, so far at least as a little willing shout may go, to drive off from him, if only for a moment, 'the long-necked geese of the world that are ever hissing dispraise?'

That

That we should recognize no greatness but dead greatness! and that we can never see the real height of a man so long as he stands five feet so-and-so at our elbow! In the poet's own words, we 'judge all nature from her feet of clay, without the will to lift our eyes and see her godlike head, crowned with spiritual fire and touching other worlds.' When shall an uncalculating generosity return among us? When shall we embrace the beautiful, whence-ever it may come, and without let, without grudge, without reservation, call and cry and name it beautiful? Must only dulness have the benefit of praise? Must each new triumph of our fellow but freeze us into polite indifference that withholds its voice from him, or convert us into an obstructive wall that would baulk his hearing, even of the plaudits from without? Was it only 'at first starting,' according to Charles Reade, 'that Christians and artists loved each other?' This world is indeed mean; and in regard to many another besides Merlin, because 'he seems master of all art, it fain would make him master of all vice.'

This meanness Tennyson, as much as any man that breathes, has known and seen and suffered. But he is brave withal, and will not cast himself beneath it: 'never yet,' he cries, 'was noble man but made ignoble talk; he makes no friend who never made a foe!' In his own work, indeed, he has had his own ample consolation, his own most rich reward. He that has filed so well such vast variety of measures, from 'Claribel' to 'Guinevere' has had no dull time of it. He who woo'd and won 'The Miller's Daughter;' who scorned 'the Lady Clara Vere de Vere;' who thrid the awe-hushed palace to the couch of 'Beauty;' who listened to 'the Stylite,' and who heard the deep voice of 'Ulysses'' self; he that said of 'Lady Clare,' 'Oh, and proudly stood she up;' he that saw 'Godiva,' 'as he waited for the train at Coventry;' that dwelt for years, an embowered nightingale, within the wail of 'In Memoriam;' that sang 'the Princess;' and that chanted 'Maud;' that looked into 'the meek blue eyes of Enid,' 'the truest eyes that ever answered heaven;' he that has been privileged to gather and to grow in stature and in shape before 'the clear face of the blameless King,'—enough!—let 'the common cry of curs' deafen all the air—of living men, here surely is the crownëd happiest! He surely, if any man, may dwell in a serene unreachable of all 'whose low desire not to feel lowest, makes them level all, and pare the mountain to the plain, to leave an equal baseness.'

We have said that Tennyson, as ripest, must take precedence both of Keats and Shelley; but we abase neither of these without a grudge. We know what they are without him, but not what he would have been without them. Both died so young too; Shelley at thirty, Keats at twenty-four. Had Tennyson's mortal sojourn been as short, is it probable that he would have inherited an equal

fame? With him luckily, however—luckily for us—all has gone differently. They, though young, had done their work not badly, and they died; while he, who needed, and who needing, got, the southern slope-lands and the evening-red, has grown and ripened to the yellow and the heavy ear.

Yes, doubtless; Tennyson owes no light debt to Keats and Shelley; nor, indeed, are his obligations lighter to others of his predecessors. Not alone the splendour and the purity of Shelley, or the mellow notes of Keats, but Wordsworth's severe simplicity, Milton's divine abundance, Spenser's rich tenderness, these also, absorbed and assimilated, turn up like colours in the lustrous verse of Tennyson. Let us not be unjust to this last, however, because of his place in time. Who is it that has not had predecessors? Successive sequence holds of the very quality of the finite; and it is not right that we should impute it singly to any man. Homer himself, first lark that ever sang, would have raised an infinitely thinner note, had not echoes from still earlier 'makers' combiningly enriched it. We have only to look back upon our earliest ballads, charming as they are, to become aware of how much the metal of poesy gains in firmness, density, weight, and shape, under the successive hammers of a thousand workmen. And it is in the light of these thoughts that Tennyson must be looked at; for the reproach of imitation is not by any means legitimately his. From first to last, from 'Claribel' to 'Guinevere,' in 'Locksley Hall,' 'Godiva,' 'Lady Clare;' in the Ode to the Duke of Wellington, in 'Ulysses,' in 'The Stylite,' in 'Maud,' 'The Princess,' 'In Memoriam,' the 'Idylls,' it is neither Spenser nor Milton, neither Wordsworth nor Shelley nor Keats; it is Tennyson himself we see, 'Not Lancelot, nor another.'

Still it is probable that the mastery of the craft has proved much more laborious to Tennyson than to either of his co-mates. It is not certain, indeed, that he has yet attained to those consecutive and uninterrupted numbers, to that growing, flowing, and accumulating verse for which both Keats and Shelley—and in the greater degree the latter—are so remarkable. We refer not here to the narrative, which in Tennyson runs on ever with infinite grace of consecution, but to the metres and their peculiar sequence. Read 'Hyperion,' 'Alastor,' 'Comus;' one feels a certain swell, a certain continuous rising in the mere verse; the numbers are welded, they grow, flow, and accumulate. But one can hardly say as much, and in the same sense, for 'The Princess.' We get sight in this poem of a certain chequeredness rather; the oneness, the fusion of an improvised, extempore gush is rare in it; the hand of conscious elaboration seems to linger about it; one finds turns in it, the artificial quaintness of which rings with rhetoric. There is often a peculiar *insertedness*, indicative

as

as it were, of the very process by which those 'jewels, five-words-long, that on the stretch'd forefinger of all time, sparkle for ever,' were actually inlaid. There seems a certain impededness in the movement, a mincingness, a pretty mincingness, as if the feet were fettered—perhaps, like a sultana's, by ornament—to a certain reach. In short, to borrow words from the metaphysical category of Quantity, the orbit of Tennyson is a *discretum* rather than a *continuum;* the circle may, on the whole, be full, but it has been described, as it were, in a series of interrupted dots, and not in a single, fluent, unintermitted sweep. The regularity of the dots is hardly constant either: they are not always true to the curve, but look oblique; nor are they, in equal spaces, always equally numerous. If Keats, if Shelley, and, better still, if Milton, 'with his garland and his singing robes about him,' rise into the empyrean, sustained on one long gust of melody, Tennyson may be said to attain like regions as by a ladder of Jacob, the rounds of which are of celestial workmanship, but not the less rounds. The peculiarity alluded to is seen at its fullest, perhaps, in 'The Princess,' where, indeed, the express prettiness proper to an arabesque has raised it into accentuated prominence. Its source is undoubtedly the fastidious labour of the bard: our enjoyment of the poem is undisturbed, however, and any sense of labour that may linger in our ear, disappears in the flow of the narrative. Thorough study, in truth, might educe important results here; for Tennyson's very latest blank verse, though quite unobstructed whether by prettiness or the insertion of some too irresistible epithet, displays a similar peculiarity; and it is worth inquiry how far is it a conscious, how far is it an unconscious product? Perhaps, indeed, the *discretum* may have this advantage over the *continuum*, that it does not so soon cloy; for where are there poems in any literature that can be read with a less flagging interest than these 'Mauds,' 'Princesses,' and 'Idylls?'

We leave here this inquiry, however, and return to our main interest.

The Idyll, or Idyl—for both spellings occur in these very poems, the one attaching itself to the Greek εἰδύλλιον and the latter to the Latin *Idylium* (sometimes Idyllium, however,)—is, on the whole, Tennyson's favourite form of rhythmical composition. In this predilection he is not alone however: the Idyll is the favourite form of Keats also, to whom Tennyson directly affiliates himself; and not only of Keats, but of the national poetry in general. Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, Cowper, Wordsworth—to name but these—are all eminently idyllic. The Idyll, indeed, is our national ideal. A discriminative French writer remarks of our English scenery, 'Rien de plus attendrissant que les paysages Anglais.' Perhaps, then, it is these landscapes that touch us; for it is certain

that we are not more remarkable for our factitious conventionalism than for our yearning towards the unsophisticated. We toil and moil through life in a thousand unsightly avenues—trade, commerce, profession, office, position—but at the end of each there smiles for us an Idyll: home, the country, trees, fields, and running waters, a purer life with simpler manners and a ruddier health. The national poetry takes the national stamp; and, in this respect, the compositions of Tennyson exhibit a deeper impression, perhaps, than those of any other of our poets. The best of his miscellaneous poems are inscribed, 'English Idyls;' and now his latest and most finished work he names, 'Idylls of the King.' With such authority before us, we may venture to extend the word to 'Maud' and 'The Princess' also; and in that case, Tennyson's poems will be seen to be all—or all but all—Idylls.

According to some critics, however, the word relates to the common, and is misapplied to kings and princesses. We do not see the validity of the objection: it is not certain that poetry relates to the common at all, and it is quite certain that the essence of the Idyll is, that it should be a little picture-poem with nature in the background, and in the foreground, men and women of primitive and simple nobleness. In the sense of this definition, it will be evident to every reader that the term is admirably appropriate to the poems before us; and an examination of these poems themselves will abundantly demonstrate the legitimacy of their claim to an equality of place beside the very highest of the class.

These poems range over a period of some thirty years, and present, as might be expected, a series of gradations from the crudity of poetic youth to the full maturity of poetic manhood. The poet, one would think, however, must have largely burned his *juvenilia*, or, at all events, have subsequently re-worked and re-formed them with unusual diligence and success, for there are but few poems in his collections that can be considered representative of the earliest stages of the art. Even 'Claribel,' we fancy, has been left to show the point of departure only—just as we see in cuttings, detached round mounds left standing, useless surely unless to indicate the original surface. The progressive rise from such mere callow sparrow-cheep as 'mavis dwelleth,' 'wave outwelleth,' 'throstle lispeth,' 'runnel crispeth,' 'grot replieth,' &c., to that most grand and inspired strain that closes 'The Princess,' or to that other, grander, perhaps, and more inspired, that is the climax of 'Guinevere'—this progressive rise, as conceived between such extremes, is even infinite. 'Claribel' is almost alone, however, and there is scarcely another poem in the collection on so low a level.

Be

Be the cause where it may, fire or correction, the crudities natural to young poets have, as regards these poems, been pretty well effaced, and the general negative of Tennyson must be named a small one. It consists, like the negative of youth in general, in a preponderance of form over matter, and in a consequent exaggeration and distortion of the form. To make up for substantial deficiency, there is an unsparing use of the mere organ. With will enough and effort enough, there is a vastly disproportionate result; for it is futile to rattle the loom if the shuttle be empty and the warp unbeamed. There is a constant straining at originality in image, verse, and measure, that terminates in affectation only. We have reminiscences of the library rather than reflexes of fact. The imagery seems external: it is traditional and not original. Blooms, shoots, winds, dews, roses, lilies, gold, and silver, are re-distributed simply as they have been received, and with as little difficulty. We do not except from strictures of this nature even such poems as 'Mariana,' 'The Recollections of the Arabian Nights,' and 'The Lady of Shalott.' These are doubtless meant to be very weird and wonderful, but they are mere breath, and, despite their verbal music, are as barren as the wind. The figures are invisible in their own vague splendour: the cup is too luscious; we are surfeited with sweets, and would fain pass it. Experience, in fact, is as yet not ripe enough to give either solid substance or precise shape to the mere dreams of the youth of genius, who, accordingly, wastes himself in the mere formality of his art.

But let us leave the faults and seek the excellences: let us abandon the cold emptiness of the negative for the warm fulness of the affirmative. Let us select for review—a review that our limits will not permit to exceed a very fugitive glance—a few of the most noted of these Idylls.

Almost all of them are named from, and group themselves around, females. As a true poet, Tennyson is conscious of his own double nature; and his purer half, his sister, has ever an indefinable charm for him. Throughout all his poems, female characterization is the leading interest, and touches, the daintiest, the subtlest, and the nicest everywhere abound.

What a charm of natural grace there is in 'Lilian!' what a simple, sweet archness! 'Smiling, never speaking, looking through and through us, thoroughly to undo us,' we see her bodily. The whole charming, natural little scene springs up freshly to our eyes. We feel actually present, we see it all, we enjoy quite as much as the actors themselves the sly and quiet preparation, and then the sudden accomplishment, of the seizure of the little lady. We positively feel the 'crushing' of her. Then [redacted] physical music, and the adaptation of physical sound [redacted]

to sense and subject: in such qualities Tennyson is a finished master. There is a little poem of this kind which we recollect to have read ten years ago, and which we miss from the edition before us. It is 'The Skipping-rope,' as regards thought, valueless, but invaluable as a wreath of words that conveyed to the very eye a series of interchanging physical motions. We could have better spared 'Claribel' than 'The Skipping-rope.'

This, which we have just indicated, is of course only one of the smaller adjuncts and adjuvants of poetry: such as it is, it is a true one however, and Tennyson, perhaps of all poets, knows best its use. Tennyson, in truth, is not only a born poet, but he is a complete artist. He is master of the trade, and at home with every tool of it. From assonance and alliteration, up to the Pythian tone of inspiration itself, no secret fails him. Foot, and pause, and rhyme, and rhythm, are all his creatures and docile to his will. He knows what rich virtue, what strange influence may flow from an old word, or a new word, or a word used for the occasion in its stricter and more directly derivative sense. He knows, too, how the mere position of words, single or in clusters, produces those sudden pulsings of physical melody — yea, of essential poetry—that come upon the tuned instrument within us, like the sudden perfume of some unnoticed sweet-briar that arrests us with the charm of its unexpected deliciousness. An absolute power of expression dwells in these poems in its every form indeed, and 'the fitting of aptest words to things' transacts itself unceasingly. Terms and phrases there are, the subtlest, the cunningest, the most penetrative and incisive, that touch the very quick of the truth—that reach to the inner inmost—that drag out the palpitating thought itself to the light and no mere piecemeal husk of it. Tennyson, in short, possesses in its totality that inner melody by virtue of which is bardship his, and he knows every touch and turn that give it egress, direction, modulation.

The poems of the second division, 1832, improve greatly on those of the first, and are mostly flights indicative of a stronger pinion. 'Oenone,' though remarkable for classic depth and purity, has not received the attention she deserves. 'Lady Clara Vere de Vere' is an exceedingly felicitous and effective little piece. The high-born flirt would, for mere pastime, make an insulting conquest of the poet; but to his lucid vision her inner worthlessness is all apparent, and to his simple dignity 'the daughter of a hundred earls is not one to be desired.' His pride, too, is as characteristic as the lady's own: 'he knows she is proud to bear her name, but yet her pride is no match for his, for he is too proud to care from whence he came.' The haughty coquette, he is quite determined, shall not 'fix a vacant stare and slay him with her noble birth.' He tells her pleasantly that 'the grand old gardener

gardener and his wife laugh at the claims of long descent,' 'that to him a simple maiden in her flower is worth a hundred coats of arms,' and,

> 'Howe'er it be, it seems to me,
> 'Tis only noble to be good;
> Kind hearts are more than coronets,
> And simple faith than Norman blood.'

The sort of democratic aristocracy here is particularly fine: it is expressed without envy or any base heat; there is not a trace of vulgarity in it. Here are only the simplicity and the quietude of the fitting self-respect. We are reminded here of the gigantic phrase of Burns, 'that he brings his patent of nobility direct from Almighty God;' and we are pleased that Tennyson, cherishing a like conviction, should express it with so much tranquillity of unpretending assurance. Such things please all—ploughman and parvenu, subject and sovereign—for they touch the eternal dignity of man as man—a height higher yet than that of king or kaiser.

Among the poems of 1832 we have the tale of the sweet, true wife that Alice, 'the Miller's daughter,' made. This is a genuine Idyll, and overpoweringly touching. We know no more perfect poem of a like size in the language. As a tale of love, it breathes at once a tenderness and a truth of passion that can be paralleled nowhere out of any other author. It is a rounded little whole, and there is the charm in it of a picturesque reality that seems stolen from the very person of Nature herself. It exhibits in music, word, thought, and story, a perfection so chaste and pure that it is conceivable only to him who has read it. Fain would we quote—fain hang a long, long time yet over this perfect mirror of sweet love and true poesy—but our limits forbid.

In the same division, 'The Lotus-eaters' is also an exceedingly successful little poem. The dreamy haze of the dreamy, enchanted land is transferred to the verse, and the numbers lift their feet as lusciously slothful as the hours themselves in that overpowering climate. What pictures spread themselves in single lines:

> 'They sat them down upon the yellow sand,
> *Between the sun and moon* upon the shore;'

or,

> 'To dream and dream like yonder amber light,
> Which will not leave the myrrh-bush on the height!'

Besides the mere charms of verse, there is throughout the poem a fine spirit of human reflection. The whole scepticism of the day (how perfectly Tennyson can indue what state of mind he pleases!) comes to richest speech here: no stanza but is a symbol of satiety; no word but breathes itself out languidly as if utterly used up; and every line is glutted weariness.

As the poems of 1832 rise on those of 1830, so do those of [redacted]
184[redacted]

1842 rise upon their predecessors. Still the best of each division must be understood as coming together in the end to constitute a sort of upper house of peers. The tendency to the Idyll comes here more plainly to the surface: as we have already remarked, indeed, this division is even named 'English Idyls.' It is now that a most careful study of Wordsworth makes itself prominent. The 'Excursion,' and pastorals like 'Michael,' must have now attracted to themselves the nights and days of the young Tennyson. Such poems as 'Audley Court,' 'Dora,' 'Walking to the Mail,' 'Edwin Morris,' 'The Gardener's Daughter,' &c., are manifestly mere pleasant exercises of the poet in his art. The best of them, such as the last mentioned, are graceful pictures of flowers, fruits, and trees, alive with beauty and eloquent with love—love the richest, chastest, purest. Everywhere there are charming conceits and the daintiest turns. Still we cannot fail to see a certain straining, a certain stiffness, a certain elaborateness as of an essay or an exercise; and some time after we have read them, they present themselves to our memory as but selected college copy-books, creditable in their series.

It is otherwise, however, with 'The Morte d'Arthur,' 'St. Simeon Stylites,' 'Ulysses,' 'Godiva,' 'The Two Voices,' 'Locksley Hall,' 'The Day-dream,' 'Lady Clare,' &c., all of which are to be ranked among the most perfect poems we possess. In 'Love and Duty,' 'The Golden Year,' 'The Vision of Sin,' 'Amphion,' 'The Talking Oak,' &c., there are quotable gems of rarest lustre, fascinatingly rich with love, phantasy, and wisdom—ripe poesy, indeed, full-tongued if curious-tongued.

Beautiful as Tennyson's miscellaneous poems are, one feels discontented that they should be so short, so fragmentary, so disconnected. Should not this grand power, one is apt to think, have been nursed, and cherished, and fed in secret, till it had been equal to a very Atlas-orb of song? Thinking thus, however, we turn questioningly to the larger poems.

On 'Maud,' we can linger as momentarily only as on her beautiful sisters that have preceded her. This poem, it appears, has hardly succeeded in propitiating official criticasters. It is one, however, that will stand uninjured mightier blasts than such weak breaths as theirs. It is a most complete, consistent little work, perfect in its rounding, perfect in its keeping, perfect in its details. Maud, 'with her clear-cut face, faultily faultless,' changing for us as she changes for her lover, grows upon us, and fills up into a woman charming and complete, whom we love with our whole love. The brother, 'that oil'd and curled Assyrian bull,' is perfect in his place and perfect in his function. The incidents of the little drama open on us in an extremely felicitous manner, and the character of the moody solitary (with his ways of genius in a sulky temperament)

temperament) that loves Maud, develops itself admirably. The poem abounds, moreover, in ripe reflection, in mature human wisdom, level to the day. The love in it is true and passionate, and gives birth to some of the most exulting and triumphant erotic strains that can be found in any literature. The poet ascends here and there into a fervour of passion unusual to him; and, as regards intensity, 'Maud' is perhaps the intensest poem that Tennyson has ever written. There is indeed in it quite an oriental warmth of feeling and quite an oriental exuberance of music and imagery, and we hesitate not to pronounce it the finest love-chant—most truly is it a chant—in the whole compass of English literature.

'The Princess' is one of the noblest poems we have ever read; it overflows with all the opulence of the guild: it possesses the deepest pathos, and again a sense of greatness, that lifts us to the heroic. The play of fancy is exhaustless, and the skill of the workman unexcelled. How from the prologue, with its wilful little Lilia, its demure maiden aunt, its high-spirited students, the travestied statue of Sir Ralph, the bluff Sir Walter, the lady-knight that fought her foes, the institute, and 'the nineteenth century on the grass,'—how from all these, as from so many reels and bobbins, the magic threads wind off that spin themselves into this dream-like medley. The cracked old Gama himself hangs on by the prologue, and has his particular thread somewhere—*that* we feel sure of—though we cannot exactly say where. But this poem has a purpose, and an important one; and more light has been thrown by it on the question of the relative position of the sexes than by all the express articles ever written on the subject in book or newspaper. In this the poet has done good service to his own immediate days. So nobly, too, as the result is expressed! Than the Prince's address to the subdued and softened Ida, what subtler strain of inspiration can we well find in any other bard?

'The Idylls of the King'—in view of their length, of the unity that imparts symmetry and coherence to them, and of the calm, ripe power in which, as in an atmosphere, they live—are certainly the most important of all the Idylls. The introduction to 'The Morte d'Arthur,' in which we learn 'he burnt his Epic, his King Arthur, some twelve books,' leaves us at no loss to know that we are here in presence of the poet's earliest love. Keats, sick of the meanness and mercenariness of modern life, fled to an ideal Greece; and Tennyson, sick too, took refuge in the fairy land of Arthur and the Table Round. To such a gentle soul as that of the young, and as yet unknown Tennyson, we may readily conceive the dominant manners of his own days as all unsuited. From the vulgar indifference of the mere wealthy, as from the equally

equally offensive indifference of the mere well-born, what could he, with his credulity (as poet) of Godhood everywhere, and his soul athirst for sympathy,—what could he but turn, chilled, repelled, indignant? What dear delight to such a soul to flee from the jarring world of the present, and breathe its own natural air amid the nobleness and the knightliness that floated palpably from the grand personages of that land of Faëry! Then, like a true poet, he would not breathe this fine air selfishly, but he would open it to his fellows; and so he mused and mused, and dreamed and dreamed, and for us, too, spread those lustrous lawns, and rainbow woods, and golden palaces, filling them with shapes the stateliest and the best of generous poesy. What a healing lies in these grand phantasies for the sick time that glares around us! What shapes of men and women, to shame us out of our vulgarity, impurity, and corruption!

In female characterization, we have already had occasion to remark the power of Tennyson; but all previous triumphs in this kind are outdone by the present. The women of the 'Idylls' are emphatically representative women. Elaine, though perhaps clearer, harder, and, so to speak, more simply single, may be looked on as but a younger sister of Enid; but Enid, Vivien, and Guinevere are sharply defined, and each is typical of a class.

Vivien is the true *Dame aux Camelias*, and not that hectic nullity of French sentimentalism that has usurped the name. She is the true light woman, with all her wiles, and with all her selfish shallowness. Rebuffed, detected, stale, 'she hears in thought the lavish comments when her name is named, and hates the knights.' No resource is left her but the aged Merlin, with his shaggy eyebrows, and his shaggy beard. Him, then, she follows with her arts relentlessly, and all the more relentlessly that she knows him to possess a spell which, once hers, would restore to her will the power that had forsaken her charms. Of course, she succeeds, and she leaves the outwitted sage, shrieking out over him the just reproach of 'fool.' The poet has here ample canvas for his woman's lore, but the subject is unpleasant. The wise old Merlin, in such undignified positions, causes but pain; and the image will not mitigate the fact that

> 'The pale blood of the wizard, at her touch,
> Took gayer colours, like an opal warmed.'

What a contrast to the evil, hard, and shameless Vivien is the guileless, sweet, shamefacëd Enid, the very type and model of a faithful, tender, and a loving spouse! Her husband, the good, honest, frank, lusty Geraint, sullen from misapprehension, puts her to a variety of trials, which the sweetsoul bears with such unchangingness of obedience, that the reader is completely won

to

to her. Some of the scenes are exquisitely beautiful, finely conceived, and skilfully executed.

Guinevere is a character of a very different stamp from that of Enid. She is a queen, every inch of her, if a sinful one: she is also a woman, every thought and feeling of her, if, too, a sinful one. She is not the meek, and sweet, and gentle Enid, but still less is she the shallow, loose, and flaunting Vivien. She loved Lancelot, mistaking him, unfortunately, for Arthur, her affianced lord, before she had seen the latter; and high, generous, and stately, she yet possesses not moral power enough to clasp her feelings to her duty. Yet, in her heart of hearts, there lurks the better woman; and, in the end, her penitence and recognition of the worth of him she has injured are most noble and queenlike.

The male characters in these fine tales are as successful as the female. So statelily they move in the simple knightliness that is their element! 'They step with all grace, and not with half disdain hid under grace, as in a smaller time, but kindly men moving with kindly men.' What smaller time the poet means, the reader sees. Yes; politeness now-a-days is seldom more than 'half disdain hid under grace.' Generally, indeed, it is something infinitely worse than this: it is the affectation of a certain easy audacity, in which there is no ease nevertheless, but always the uneasy self-interrogation, 'Have I hit it, think you?' Whatever it be, and whence-ever it be, we all know it. Tennyson has here accurately indicated it: he, indeed, knows it well—we remember he was 'gorgonized by the stony British stare of an oil'd and curled Assyrian bull'—and hates it. Whatever is genuine in the island hates it, and most fervently prays to be delivered from it. It is the mildew that sits withering up all our social existence now.

Fine manners find in Lancelot their sort of living impersonation. He moves, and breathes, and speaks, and acts full man, full gentleman, the knightliest of all the court, the star of chivalry. But our grand poet, loving all that is pure and chaste in life, will not allow Lancelot to pass by as something perfect, as something to be revered only. He will not let us see him without the cloud upon his brow, fallen from his sin with Guinevere, and against the king. Noble, grand, he stands up still, but a chequered image, 'for the great and guilty love he bare the queen, in battle with the love he bare his lord, had marred his face, and marked it ere his time.' In grand consciousness of this, the grand man, though fallen, says himself: 'In me there dwells no greatness, save it be some far-off touch of greatness, to know well I am not great: there (pointing to Arthur), there is the man!'

Yes, there is the man; for Lancelot and every other figure become eclipsed and lost in the lustre that surrounds the king.

Not

Not without reason, but rightly, are they named 'The Idylls of the King;' for he is the ever-present unity of the whole, and all else is ancillary merely. To the eye of the bard, no purer, greater figure ever grew than this of Arthur. To the eye of the reader, also, most truly can it be said to grow; for it is only at the last, when we have reached the focus of the climax, that a thousand little traits that we had passed unheeded, suddenly flash together, in our consciousness, into an image of such pure and perfect hero-hood, that our own small humanity must dilate to hold it. The art with which the individual beams, at first scattered here and there, and lost to sight, are, at length, and all at once, and suddenly, in one transcendent and astounding focus, gathered, is, beyond expression, great. Into this focus even 'The Morte d'Arthur' enters as a component ray of no weak lustre; and now it is only that we understand who he was 'who fought all day in Lyonnesse;' him for whom Sir Bedivere 'made broad his shoulders to receive his weight;' him who told us, 'More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of.' Queen Guinevere, and Lancelot, and all the court, were, after all, not of this man's height. To her and them 'he was all fault who had no fault;' whom she could love, whom they could love 'must have a touch of earth:' 'it was the low sun made the colour.' He was but 'a moral child,' 'a passionate perfection,' and 'who can gaze upon the sun in heaven?' To them, nobleness was tameness. To such interpreters, 'his white blamelessness, from over-fineness not intelligible, was accounted blame.' Yet the unconscious instinct of his greatness lies in them all, and radiates from them all.

See him, how he moves among them! Vivien has spoken words of invitation to him, 'at which the king had gazed upon her blankly, and gone by.' Enid, 'gravely smiling, he lifts from horse, and kisses with all pureness, brother-like, and shows an empty tent allotted her, and, glancing for a moment till he sees her pass into it,' turns then, &c. Oh, the mild face of this blameless king! we see it even when Geraint begs permission to leave the court, 'and the king mused for a little on his plea, but, last, allowing it,' &c. What noble trust he has in his dear friend, the great Sir Lancelot, and in his queen! When the courtiers pledge the two, Sir Lancelot and her, he, the king, listens, smiling; for, pure and great himself, they, too, are pure and great, and the love between them must be pure and great and chivalrous, and it pleases him, as between such dear ones. When suspicion comes, it finds the soil so noble that it has pains to grow: 'and the king glanced first at him, then her, and went his way.' How he felt, and what he did, when the truth came, make manifest the man. The queen says, 'He never spake a word of reproach to me; he never had a glimpse of mine untruth.'

untruth.' How could he—he who 'honoured his own word as if it were his God's,' and was so white himself that his whiteness shone upon, and hid the blacknesses of those around him?

Let us see him in the fight, this 'moral child;' let us see 'the king charge at the head of all his Table Round, and break' the foe! Let us see him,

> 'High on a heap of slain, from spur to plume,
> Red as the rising sun with heathen blood!'

And seeing him thus, let us remember how mild he is at home, how 'if his own knight casts him down, he laughs, saying his knights are better men than he.' Yet Lancelot 'never saw his like' in war: 'there lives no greater leader.'

Then see him with Lancelot, even after suspicion has been whispered to him: he flings one arm about his neck 'with full affection,' and says,

> 'Lancelot, my Lancelot, thou in whom I have
> Most love and most affiance, for I know
> What thou hast been in battle by my side.'

These are some of the traits that we pass, and hardly see, but which flash up suddenly into our recollection, when we hear his last words to the queen, and get the last glimpse of his face, 'which then was as an angel's.' For these constitute the climax, and there is the focus of which we have spoken. These the last words of the king over the queen, 'grovelling at his feet, with her face against the floor,' issuing, as it were, from the great wound in his mighty heart, rise up like the yearning music of a pure god in sorrow. Hollow, monotonous, terrible with wrong, awful with prophecy, deep with the depth of doom, the voice of the blameless king, now superhuman, strikes, clang on clang, appalling the sinner at his feet, appalling us. All the sad story: the treachery, the sin, the grief, the ruin of the noblest plans, the sense of greatness unappreciated, the wrong to friendship and to faith, 'the pang that made his tears burn, while he weighed their hearts with one too wholly true to dream untruth in them;' the grand tenderness—tenderness as of a woman, a man, a saint—in him 'whose vast pity almost made him die;' the grand forgiveness, the mighty love unchanged, unchangeable; the hope that, 'leaning on our fair father, Christ,' and purified, she yet may claim him 'in that world where all are pure'—all comes upon the reader, who feels himself transformed, intensified, as by communication with the hearts of angels—all comes upon him—and his throat is swollen and his eyes burn—all comes upon him with a sense of grandeur, with a weight and conflict of emotion, with a sublimity of sorrow, such as he shall have for the first time then experienced from the power of poet. 'O true and tender!

O gal[illegible]

O selfless man, and stainless gentleman!' well might the queen exclaim: 'Ah, great and gentle lord, who wast, as is the conscience of a saint among his warring senses, to thy knights—now I see thee what thou art; thou art the highest and most human too; not Lancelot, nor another!' Yes, the highest and most human too; not Lancelot, nor another! A king indeed, a man, a gentleman, a royal man, a royal gentleman—'the King!' Can we see him, and not grow better? Can we think upon that clear face, without acknowledgment that we possess, through Tennyson, the light of another moral sun within us, which sun has been gathered by the poet from the infinite white light of Christ, and fixed, to guide us, within the large ideal of a Christian king?

Ideal certainly, and superhuman, are these shapes, but not *in*human; no good feature there but may be ours. As for Enid, we should pity that man who has not seen and known and loved her somewhere—somewhere as mother, sister, daughter, wife, rare as she certainly becomes: for Enid, once the ideal of an Englishwoman, now too 'slow' for these 'fast' times, and ill at ease beneath the bold eyes of the new audacity, can find but little favour anywhere now-a-days, and is hardly even seen by our oil'd Assyrian arbiters.

We do not agree, then, with the objection that the personages in these poems are 'unreal and belong to fairy land:' on the contrary, we believe them valuable wholly and solely for the humanity that is in them. That that humanity should be demonstrated alien to the actual world, and not in us, would nowise move us; for that humanity, if not now in us, was once in us, and should still be in us. If we are so wedded to colour that these transparent lovelinesses are invisible to us, the blame is ours, the loss is ours. The objection, in short, is baseless, and if admitted, would wither up, not these alone, but all the other great shapes shadowless of sacred poesy.

In these Idylls we have the very purest growths of genius; and they are presented to us with all the charms of the most finished art. No effort now; no straining for originality; the light touch of the master everywhere! The story flows on with entrancing simplicity; and we are ever and anon surprised into tears, touched to the quick by the mere beauty of it. The simplicity, too, is not bald, not austere, but soft, and delicate, and lustrous. 'To doubt the fairness of these poems were to want an eye; to doubt their pureness were to want a heart.'

There remains for us but one work of Tennyson's, the 'In Memoriam,' to notice now. The others, as Idylls, seemed to form a unity, and came naturally together; this one, however, stands apart in a solitude all its own. There is a love here greater than the love of women; a grief deep as the grief of mothers in bereavement.

ment. Early associations—and, in confirmation, consult Longfellow's 'Golden Milestone'—constitute the tree that clasps closest the heart of the poet, growing into it with root and branch and tendril: tear this tree up, and oh, the sacred blood that rains upon the ground! We feel indeed as if this were one of those things so inexpressibly holy that they are for silence and the heart only: the noises of the world sound loud and sacrilegious here. We stand upon the threshold of the sacred cell that held his tears, that holds the voice of his distress for ever, and dare hardly venture in. The minstrel bowed upon his lyre—this lyre's fitful note—awe and appal us. Here, if ever, however, is a human heart nakedly given us, and we may not reject the lesson.

The particular grief we shall pass in silence; guessing only 'from its measure' the greatness as well of mourned as mourner. For us, it shall not be the heart of the poet, but the broken heart of the century that wails here in an absolute music. For indeed it is not a particular, but a universal grief that constitutes the burthen of these melodious tears. The soul of the poet, solemnized by the great shadow that has fallen into it, rises into sublimity, and wrestles, Job-like, with the unanswerable Why? Deep doubt has seized him; for these are days of doubt, and scepticism is sovereign of the hour. How beneath the weight of all these doubts, this good soul struggles, lifting to the cope of heaven eyes so pitiful, prayers so fervently earnest! He would indeed be the child of God: but the air is dark, and he knows not where to turn. His soul heaves yearningly Godward: but ever and anon the knowledge of the day falls, like a cold dawn, with a shiver on him; and faith faints helplessly into the arms of despair. That there is 'no hope of fame for modern rhyme,' 'that fame itself expires in endless age;' these are small matters. But now to him 'time has become a maniac scattering dust,' 'life a fury slinging flame,' 'and men but flies, that sting, lay eggs, and die;' and hope there seems none, but, as a particle of matter, 'to be blown about the desert dust,' or 'sealed within the iron hills.' The poems expressing these dismal mental experiences are, we hesitate not to say, absolutely unexcelled, whether in ancient or in modern verse. We refer more particularly to Nos. 53, 54, 55, and others in the immediate neighbourhood of these. It is in one of these that the reader will find what we have been accustomed to consider—when taken in connexion with the general context—the grandest poetical image that has ever been produced, those 'great world's altar-stairs that slope through darkness up to God.' Throughout the whole of these magnificent psalms, we have expressions furnished us, the most trenchant and incisive, for all the subtlest turns of educated reflection: no point or cultured speculation but has here its word. One glories in this triumph

triumph of expression: one feels glad that every phantom has received its name at last, and that we have thus power, at will, to summon them into day. Still, again, one feels sad; one feels unsatisfied: can the poet only *name* the phantoms, can he not *lay* them also? Right is it to put the problem: to put the problem, and to put it truly, is the duty of every true man. Far happier were those days, certainly, when the problem was *not* put, and when every man lived and moved and had his being in an all unconscious answer; but our days have been otherwise appointed; we, it seems, must put the problem. But, after all, are we but putting it? The happiness of the unconscious answer is certainly denied us evermore; but have we really not yet attained to the greater happiness, the clearer happiness of a conscious answer? Do not we touch here a question much more important than the mere putting of the problem? As for that, indeed, has not the problem been put and put again; and, as regards mere putting, has it not, at length, reached its ultimate perfection? To what end repeat and re-repeat, and why for ever in these days the sound of doubt, disgust, complaint, hopelessness, weariness, despair? The path of literature after forty, is it only from gloom to gloom? Dickens used to cheer us with the freshness of the mere senses, the elasticity of the mere animal heart: but where is all his buoyancy now? Have we nothing left but flatness, insipidity, staleness? Thackeray, once on a time, could make us hate the meanness of pretension; but has he become himself a portion of that which, all his life, he has so exclusively and industriously watched and held to ridicule? Is his pen but a weary snob, ineffably *blasée*, unutterably used up, that yawns in blank satiety even while it so glibly nibs over the paper? And Carlyle too—despite the occasional Ezekiel-shriek that startles us—that startles himself, perhaps—does he not walk in a cloud, his stomach vinegar, and the world ashes? Then Tennyson, and the questionings of 'In Memoriam!' Why is this? Is there nothing for the race but scepticism and the senses, or—scepticism and suicide? Surely we have advanced, at last, beyond the mere putting of the problem; surely the answering of it 'must even now be of ripe progress!' Surely there is this answer, at all events, that Christianity, after French criticism, and German criticism, and accepting each for what it is worth, and for all it is worth, is a purer thing than ever, and that it will live for ever, and grow for ever! The cheerless atheism of Feuerbach, and the preposterous autotheism of Max Stirner, are, we know, externally, the latest fruits of the latest philosophy: but they are only externally so; and neither ever really possessed any umbilical cord of junction. No: the true result of the latest philosophy—the true result of Kant and Hegel—is, that knowledge and belief coalesce in lucid union, that

that to reason as to faith, there is but one religion, one God, and one Redeemer.

The small section who affront the sun of Sunday with their dingy pamphlets in their open shops—who occupy, so self-complacently, their flimsy world of an 'Age of Reason,'—who pretend still to read by the paltry light of French enlightenment,—have been certainly left behind by that other party who,—in the midst of a certain uneasy hesitation that, Antæus-like, must seek renewal of strength, from time to time, in the earth of the senses,—profess adhesion to the faith of Schelling in his Spinozistic epoch: but both have been far transcended by those whom philosophy has enabled consciously to return to the feet of a Mediator and Saviour.

This is the last great step; and it is right that poetry should know of it, that she may apply herself to the more congenial task of singing faith than of painting doubt. Still the reader must not infer that Tennyson, rising, in the sad darkness of the bereaved hour, into the sublime atmosphere of Job, ever condescends to the shabby prose of infidelity. We have said already that his humble heart turns always to the one true refuge; nor indeed has any poet, not even excepting Cowper, written with a purer piety than the bard of 'In Memoriam.' If he has 'touched a jarring lyre at first,' he strives to 'make it true' in the end; and he attains finally the grand hope, with which his dead friend is mingled, to

> 'Arrive at last the blessed goal,
> And He that died in Holy Land,
> Would reach us out the shining hand
> And take us as a single soul.'

But the cloud does not sit upon him for ever; rising, it 'lets the sun strike where it clung:' and Tennyson, issuing from his grief, has soared to truth and humanized his song. He has come to see that poetry is something infinitely higher than a mere refinement of cultivated leisure; he desires to make it operative towards a purpose; he seeks to lead it, like a purifying spirit, renovatingly, into the actual and the practical. Hence 'The Princess,' and 'The King,' and the reflective portions of 'Maud.' We shall not depreciate these great services to humanity: still we anticipate from Tennyson a turning to the practical completer yet. The 'stitch, stitch, stitch' of 'the Shirt,' though a very common sound, and heard in a worse than common room, is really much sublimer than the consciously-intervolved word-vapour of Wordsworth on his mountain-top. The 'One more unfortunate' on Waterloo Bridge is really more poetical than 'Guinevere;' and sorrows like these cry piteously for help to us from every corner. Oh the wrongs of children, for example, in the rank brick-work of fastidious London! Was ever world more cruelly confused and desperate? And shall not the poet aid to purify,

to

to sweeten, and to cleanse? His true themes lie not, after all, in the shadowy legends of a buried past. He himself says, 'Nature brings not back the mastodon, and why should any man remodel models?' The poet, with his stylus and his tablets, gliding between the forest and the sea, or winding round the cataract to the mountain, is not, after all, our highest figure; nor is his highest hest the polishing of carven cedar in refined and amiable solitude. It is the present that must minister to the present: vainly shall we expect an adequate and effectual healing from the recovered images of an ancient tomb.

We have already assigned to Tennyson the nearest place to Milton: still all such decisions of relative rank, are, to a certain extent, invidious, one-sided, and untrue. There is in Milton a density and intensity of metal, audible in the very breadth and depth of the mere ring of it, that securely place him above all later aspirants: but as we have hinted, we are not without compunctions in singling out Tennyson from all these for the next place. Dryden and Pope give rise to no uneasiness, for they are poets of another class. To Burns we can do justice apart, and on other grounds. With Cowper, Campbell, Southey, Moore, we can set ourselves right. Even Byron and Coleridge shall not excite a qualm, for they are mere Bedouins of verse—nomads—not settlers in the realms of song. Our difficulties relate, all of them, to Wordsworth, Keats, and Shelley.

When we think of the 'Laodamia,' for example, we are compelled to admit that there is in Tennyson nothing more perfect, whether in thought or execution, nothing higher, nothing purer, while, at the same time, if not grander, it is at least denser in tone than anything this poet has yet produced. Then Shelley, with his imagination as of the unclouded blue when nothing but the sun is there—his selfless heart—his boundless sympathies—his pity and his gentleness—his images, which are as living sublimities that awe—the supernatural melody of his verse—the unparalleled splendour and magnificence of his innumerable products—how shall we abate him under any man? Keats again, so fecund, facile, full, with his delicious sound, his instantaneous instinct of the very self of elemental beauty, his sumptuous fancy, his gracious imagination—Keats, blowing a pipe so mellow that it charms, whispering single words that are as 'open sesames' to the most enchanting secrets—Keats perplexes us in turn. Where can we find grounds to justify our preference? As compared with either Shelley or Keats, we cannot claim for Tennyson any superiority of original endowment: he is probably inferior to the former in material grandeur, as to the latter in material richness. Perhaps his coinage is less red-new than theirs: perhaps his imagery does not always blend indissolubly into one essence with the

the thought like theirs, but stands side by side with it, illustratively, rhetorically. Perhaps there is in him more art, in them more nature. How found his higher seat then?

As regards Wordsworth, on the other hand, conceding, perhaps, superior richness of original nature to Tennyson, how shall we prefer his products before that 'Laodamia' which we have already vaunted? Coleridge sums up Wordsworth's excellences under six heads, which are shortly these: 1, Pure, appropriate language 2, Weight and sanity of original reflection; 3, Sinewy strength of lines and paragraphs; 4, Truth to nature; 5, Subtle thought in unison with sensibility, and sympathy with man as man; 6, Imaginative power. Now, every one of these six attributes can be predicated quite as truly of Tennyson as of Wordsworth, and reflection apart, quite as truly, sometimes more truly, both of Keats and Shelley. Coleridge's characteristics are evidently too general then—they do not possess sufficient definiteness of specific limitation to enable us to apply them as criteria regulative and distributive of the distinctive merits of any poet: they are clues tied to a hundred boles; they are general, and not, as they profess themselves, special, critical tests.

Perhaps, on the whole, we may sum up the problem not too incorrectly thus:—

In regard to the question of relative superiority, Tennyson's difficulties with Wordsworth concern not the man but the products; while with Keats and Shelley, they respect less the products than the men.

We have always believed that Wordsworth did not bring with him so directly and absolutely from nature the rich-flushed ivory of the poet's soul as either of his three younger rivals. We fancy we detect all through Wordsworth an occasional insonority as of original wood. In fact, if we consider Wordsworth, in his general character as thinking man, we must admit that his intelligence was, in many directions and to a considerable extent, opaque and wooden. Such we find, from 'The Representative Men,' he must have manifested himself to Emerson. The woody fibre present in the man, however, disappears from his products. His best sonnets, 'The Vernal Ode,' 'Laodamia,' &c., are wholly free from it: it has been roasted out and a perfect metallic ring obtained. It is the quality of this metallic ring, its density, that seems to attach to Wordsworth, relatively to Tennyson, greater weight, greater breadth, greater size, and to approximate him more naturally and justly to Milton. We feel, however, that much of this density is Milton's own; that it is the result of life-long study and effort on the part of Wordsworth, who, in all probability, would never have come near it had not the metal of 'Comus,' 'the 'Odes,' and the 'Sonnets' ever rung in his ear. Observe, too, how often

Wordsworth's 'points' are but affairs of words. Tennyson has been accused of affectation, but the censure is much more blank to Wordsworth. In the ripe works of the former there is no affectation unfilled by a solid core of substance, while, in the best productions of the latter, affectations abound, consisting of mere form, and all but wholly empty. Wordsworth has been called a metaphysical poet. Of metaphysics proper he knows nothing; and how often do we not find the passages specially so named mere convoluted vapours of laborious breath, involving only a fraudulent sublimity of tumid verbiage? Wordsworth's very position was adverse to the production of the humaner and more valuable results of the art. It is not in the nature of things that a man who sets himself to stare at mountains and at lakes only should, in the end, really enrich himself. In such exclusive companionship humanity will well from him, and he will become rigid as his own rocks, narrow and bald and indurated.

Wordsworth, then, probably inferior to Tennyson in primitive and original, becomes certainly inferior to him in ultimate and acquired manhood. Then again, as regards the products, if there seems a superior density of tone in some of them, this merit is weakened by reflection on its source. Here, then, we found the claim of Tennyson to superiority, on greater native manhood, and on the greater variety, richness, and more human interests of his successful products. It is really a great matter that we hear, in Tennyson, a voice from the whole range of culture.

In regard to Shelley and Keats, it is not the natural Tennyson that is greater than either: it is the ripe maturity of his thought, wrought into the fair products of his imagination, that has bestowed on these a weight and value, rare in any poet, and mostly wanting in the young effusions of Keats and Shelley. Thus, then, Tennyson is distinguished from Wordsworth, on the one hand, by superiority, as well of original richness as of acquired range; and, on the other hand, from Keats and Shelley by the ripe maturity and full humanity of his products.

There is one characteristic in which, though it is common to all great writers, Tennyson is unusually eminent—it is the faculty of conception, or of inner perception, inner vision. He never writes until he has fairly pictured all; and while he writes, his eye never for a moment quits the picture, but passes on from point to point with luminous fidelity and unerring accuracy. The anecdote of Arthur treading on a crowned skeleton, from which the crown rolls into light, and, turning on its rims, flees, &c., will illustrate our meaning. Equally good illustrations may be found in the fall of Geraint, his battles, the scene with Enid in the hall of Doorm, the tournament in Elaine, and the final interview of the king with the queen. In this minute picture-work, Tennyson is always particularly

particularly vivid. It is no speciality of his, however, but belongs to all great writers. To tell the whole truth, it is the secret of literature in general: look at it but deep enough, and even the commonest old tub, red-hooped awry, will suggest words to render it interesting.

The main characteristics of Tennyson are yet to mention: they are ethical conception and classical execution; the latter being but the necessary concomitant and natural shadow of the former. The central sun of all Tennyson's writings is the heart: this is the reflection that lies in his deepest deeps. 'In Memoriam' alone demonstrates Tennyson to possess the richest, purest, truest, natural heart of any poet on record; and with this natural heart is involved what we name the whole ethical side of him. We know no poet that has ever displayed an equal sense of moral goodness in its two forms of greatness in man and of purity in woman. To all forms of these he rises thrilling, dilating, brimming. He is the most Christian of poets. This is his leading attribute; and the classic execution is but its emanation, but its natural garment.

Milton is moral certainly; but he is fierce, intolerant, Hebraic; while Tennyson is gentle, sweet, and Christian. Wordsworth is also moral; but he is cold and thin, while Tennyson is warm and rich. There is a spirit of gentleness in Keats and Shelley, especially the latter, which is ethic certainly; but, in Keats, it is aimless and lost in mere sensuous beauty, while, in Shelley, it is a too eager longing only that rushes into error.

It is this ethical or human side of Tennyson that involved his necessity for maturity and experience. To Keats, who had no quest but sensuous beauty, boyhood sufficed. To Shelley again, who, too eager to wait, too impatient even for the laws of time, must, instantly and at once, give voice and shape to all his crude sympathies and torrid anticipations, youth gave verge enough. But Tennyson, who bore the burthen of a purer, richer, larger humanity, required the breadths of Space for his roots and the heights of Time for his branches.

Such are the results of a comparison of Tennyson with several of our greatest Idyllists. We may say that Milton keeps the summit of the hill, and sits amid the thunders; that Wordsworth has chosen for himself a separate crag, where he lives in a somewhat thin complacency, but waited on by simple dignity and solemn earnestness; that Shelley takes the very breast of the mountain, fronting the firmament and the sun; that Keats has found a haunted wood upon the flank, where flash the white feet of the gods and goddesses; and that Tennyson, holding himself free to wander where he will, prefers the fields of labour and the flowers of culture hard by the smoke of roofs.

In conclusion, let us but think again of all those gentlenesses,

lovelinesses, and subtle delicacies, and manly greatnesses, that name themselves 'Godiva,' 'Lady Clare,' 'Enid,' 'Ulysses,' 'Arthur;' let us think of the passionate intensity of 'Maud,' of the exuberant phantasy of 'The Princess,' of the ripe culture, deep thought, and long, long wail of 'In Memoriam;' let us think of the true eye for character in the Ode to the great Duke; let us not forget, either, the poet's kindly, genial, manly letter to his friend Maurice; let us recall all these, and the one tendency that directs them all,

> 'To keep down the base in man,
> To teach high thought, and amiable words,
> And courtliness, and the desire of fame,
> And love of truth, and all that makes a man;'

and surely we must agree that, unless language be hypocrisy and literature a sham, this is not only the richest, purest, and truest of poets, but also—so far as record speaks—the richest, purest, and truest living man.

ART. IV.—*Report of the Ministerial Conference on the Liquor Traffic held in Manchester, June,* 1857.

ST. AUGUSTINE relates that when a pagan Roman audience first heard the noble sentiment in Terence, 'Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto,' they filled the theatre with their plaudits. But the Church, in teaching its disciples to say 'Christianus sum' ('I am a Christian man'), has enabled each to add, with greater truth and a deeper significance, 'Nothing that concerns mankind is a matter of unconcern to me.' And as a professed body of 'faithful men,' the Church has not forgotten this principle, however imperfect the practice which should have corresponded. In its less purer form the Church afforded shelter to the weak, befriended the oppressed, curbed military violence, and covered Europe with institutions of mercy. Of later times we need not speak at length; for it would be difficult to name one great reform, from the Reformation downwards, which has not issued from the bosom of the Christian Church. Grievous shortcomings there have been it is too true; and the Church as a whole has often gained credit for the benevolent achievements of a part. An active minority may have done the good, but the minority has been Christian, and on their victorious banners are inscribed deeds of glory—triumphs over oppression, selfishness, and mammon—which might well give to angel-faces a brighter glow. And in all this the Church does not neglect its special duties of religious instruction and spiritual fellowship. To do the one it is not necessary to leave the other undone. Its Holy Founder healed the sick and fed the hungry while

while He preached the kingdom of God and marched forwards to the Cross.

But, in truth, the removal of human suffering and degradation does not admit of being considered apart from the immediate interests of the Church; and for the sake of those interests the Church is to do all good to all men. The ministries of evil are manifold, and the Church must battle against them in self-defence; in defence of that internal purity which is imperilled, and those agencies of propagandism which are being counteracted and undermined. It cannot, therefore, be affirmed, with any show of plausibility, that we introduce a foreign question—one on which the Church should remain neutral—when we propose to examine the effect of intoxicating drinks, and the traffic in them, upon the prosperity of the Church; the position hitherto assumed by the Church in return; and the course which each section and member of the Church should pursue with conscientious firmness and spontaneous zeal.

I. Intoxicating liquors, by which we mean all fermented and distilled fluids, possess by their alcoholic nature qualities of a peculiar character—so peculiar that they have a reputation and a history all their own. They excite thirst rather than quench it; they are capable, according to their measure and the temperament of the consumer, of deranging the physical, mental, and moral systems; and they tend to produce an appetite demanding ever larger supplies, and leading, by these supplies, to more frequent degradation and to more premature destruction. To suppose such liquors commonly used, often to the exclusion of every other beverage, is to predict the results we behold, and which nothing but miraculous intervention could have averted. For such drinks multitudes of men and women have surrendered their living—all that they have had—even the vigour necessary to daily labour. Hence pauperism, with its privations and burdens; and from such poverty, multitudes have slidden into crime, or crime has more directly followed the stimulating draught, swallowed either with or without an eye to this result. So have abounded lunacy, idiotcy, with every species of social dissipation and domestic misery of which humanity is capable. Traced back to their real source, these horrors have their origin in the *intoxicating* property of such liquors, a property which they could not fail to exhibit, and by which they have been armed with a power of mischief exceeding that of pestilence or war. It has happened, too, that nations making a Christian profession have been the most fearfully afflicted by this curse; and that among them the traffic in alcoholic beverages has become most widely diffused. A traffic like this is intrinsically dangerous from the dangerous quality of the articles sold; and it has been invariably and inevitably pernicious in a marked degree, because,

1st,

1st, It has rendered access to these liquors easy, and their price comparatively cheap; 2ndly, It has offered inducements and temptations to indulgence in them, away from external control; 3rdly, It has associated their use with customs, company, and conversation of a generally demoralizing kind. The social consequences in this kingdom alone are stated by impartial authorities to comprise two-thirds of our crime, and three-fourths of our pauperism, besides a loss of capital and waste of resources (time, money, health, life, industry) sufficient to support an empire. In all these consequences the Church participates through its members: but we desire to glance at some of the direct influences by which it is injuriously affected.

If professing Christians use strong drink, and support the liquor traffic, can they do so with impunity? We answer, No. Alcohol having an invariable physical action, the nervous system of the believer and unbeliever will be similarly affected; and as the rule of use must be what each man thinks good and safe for him, the serpent subtlety of the liquor has too often prevailed against the clearest and cleverest intellect. Pagan rites and pagan revellings were so inseparable that a convert in the primitive Church was protected by his Christian profession from incentives to vinous indulgence; yet exhortations to sobriety bestud the apostolic writings, and in the case of the Corinthian Church, where, at the love-feasts, some were 'hungry, and others were drunken' (not intoxicated, but filled to repletion with the meal consumed), we perceive the care demanded against a subjection to former habits and lusts. When the profession of Christianity became popular, drinking and its kindred disorders multiplied. Cyprian, Augustine, Chrysostom, and the other fathers of the Western and Eastern Churches tell a painful tale. They take up the lament of Isaiah over the intemperance of both priests and people. Festivals in honour of the martyrs were perverted into scenes not a whit superior to Bacchanalian orgies. Ecclesiastical canons of the fourth century forbid any ecclesiastic to visit taverns, and by the Justinian code monks found in such places were liable to civil punishment and exclusion from their order. Gibbon notices the regret of the founder of the Benedictines that the intemperance of the age compelled him to allow his disciples half a pint of wine a day—a moderate grant compared with another rule, that clergymen should not exceed five pounds of wine *per diem*. One monk is said to have deplored that there were sorts of wine of which enough could not be drunk to produce intoxication. The French clergy of the ninth century were forbidden to enter any tavern except as *bonâ fide* travellers—a prohibition revived in 1282. In the reign of Edgar it was found necessary to enjoin that the priests should guard themselves against drunkenness, and reprehend it in others;

no

no priest, too, was to act as ale-scop or as gleeman. Theodorus, in his 'Book of Penances,' puts a 'clericus' guilty of drunkenness on bread and water for two weeks, and a bishop five weeks. Archbishop Anselm orders, in his 'Canons,' that priests shall not go to drinking-matches nor drink to pegs—whence we learn that pegs in drinking cups, which had been devised by St. Dunstan to limit potations, had been made a plea for increasing them. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, 'glutton-masses' were perpetrated several times a year, to the scandal of public decency. Drunkenness was the scourge of the Dark Ages. Our 'Church ales,' 'Whitsun ales,' 'Easter ales,' &c., were times of universal inebriation; and even after the Reformation, the sale of liquor was carried on in some of our town churches to defray the current ecclesiastical expenses. Passing over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when good men were wearied of complaining, we do not see our own enlightened age delivered from the curse. If drink is emphatically the plague of Britain, it is as emphatically the plague of British churches. Even total-abstinence ministers find that this dreadful thirst for liquor is the dry-rot of their flocks. If every Christian congregation in the kingdom loses but two communicants yearly from this cause, about sixty thousand souls are drawn aside. And the ministry escapes not. One venerable pastor declares that of sixty who were ordained with him, thirteen had, to his knowledge, fallen into this snare. Another tells of twenty contiguous congregations which had drunken ministers who died as they had lived. Another speaks of seven depositions in a month. Another testifies that to this one leprous distilment, directly or indirectly, he could refer all the blemishes he had known in the character of ministers for fifty years. And another supplies an array of facts —thirty-three in number—all bearing upon this one vice. Nor must it be imagined that no evil is inflicted where the signs of hard drinking and positive intoxication are absent. Dr. Pye Smith, one of the most charitable of judges, has noticed that the supposed moderate use of alcoholic beverages is attended by an awful liability to spurious religion—a fancied devotionalism which is due to the spirit of wine. When the North-American Indian curtly said that he was 'not Christian Indian but Whisky Indian,' he broached a philosophical distinction which the Church would do well to revolve. It is not stupid or wild intemperance by which the inward purity and spiritual power of the Church is mostly impaired. Not now, but hereafter, it will be revealed how much of secret sin and open schism is connected with a 'moderate' indulgence, which yet leaves the judgment less clear, the passions less under control, the heart less subject to the influences of meekness and lovingkindness!

But this is not all. The Church has many organizations for the spread

spread of truth and the propagation of religion. To all of these, drink and the drink trade present a resisting medium, and countervailing forces of tremendous magnitude. There is one day set apart for public worship; but if in the city of Manchester 215,318 visits are paid to the drinking-shops on that day, what probability exists that a population so employed will be prepared or disposed to hear the gospel and be saved? When we begin to compute the myriads who cannot appear decently dressed on the Lord's day, through a vice not their own, all hope of reaching the masses, under such circumstances, is taken away. Or examine the Sunday-school. It is open five hours in the week, the drinking-shop is open six days and eight hours. One teacher, who traced the course of sixty scholars, found that one-half had been ruined by drink. The Rev. J. Sherman stated that of forty-six young persons who had passed through the vestry-class of Surrey Chapel, thirteen became drunkards, nine were occasionally drunk, thirteen were steady, and three could not be found. The Rev. Newman Hall, Mr. Sherman's successor, has described a Sunday scene in the Blackfriars Road:—'A dozen boys, from eight to twelve years of age, were standing outside a gin-palace, round another boy of fourteen, who held a jug of spirits in one hand, and some glasses in the other, which he filled and handed to his companions.' In Wakefield gaol, three hundred and ten of the prisoners had been in Sunday-schools, and fifty-nine of these had been there between two and three years, sixty-eight between three and five, and ninety-three five years. The tables of Mr. T. B. Smithies show that of 10,361 inmates of prisons and penitentiaries, 6,572 had attended Sunday-schools. The circulation of the Scriptures and other religious publications, and every scheme of Home Missions and Church Extension, have the same obstruction to encounter. Will no good be effected? It were foolish to assert it; but the good must be fractional, and much of it temporary, while customs prevail and a traffic thrives by which the brain is systematically poisoned, and the mind disqualified for all healthy action. One who had acquired a right to speak with confidence declared—'We may build churches and chapels, and multiply schools, but until the drunken habits of the lower orders are changed we shall never act upon them as we would wish.' To the same conclusion a writer in the 'North British Review' has arrived, and thus expresses it:—

'It is in vain that every engine is set to work that philanthropy can devise, when those whom we seek to benefit are habitually tampering with their faculties of reason and will, soaking their brains with beer, or inflaming them with ardent spirits. The struggle of the school, the library, and the church, all united against the beer-house and gin-palace, is but one development of the war between heaven and hell.'

Of foreign missionary enterprises the same testimony is borne. The declaration of Dr. Livingstone with regard to the South African

African aborigines 'that the introduction of English drinks would inevitably cause destruction of both their bodies and souls,' is the marrow of all missionary evidence from all points of the compass. In the Turkish provinces, where drunkenness had become synonymous with a Christian profession, the American missionaries have vindicated the honour of the Christian name, and now abstinence from wine is one of the signs by which native converts are distinguished. Of India an experienced observer, the late Archdeacon Jeffreys, has said, in substance, that if missionary success led to the use of strong drink among the native Christians, more harm than good would be the issue—a prospect which may well appal the sanguine believer. Already the arrack-shops, patronised by government, are acclimating this exotic vice among the heathen Hindoos, whose conversion to Christianity as tippling idolaters will be indefinitely deferred. The Karens of Pegu, whose evangelization has made extraordinary progress, uniformly refuse to take intoxicating liquor after their admission into the Christian Church.

II. The attitude of the Christian Church, in the presence of this terrible enemy, next calls for examination. And here, in courtesy and justice, we give precedence to our North American kinsmen. The American Temperance Union was formed in the vestry of a Boston church, and from that period to the present the ministers of all denominations in the United States have associated themselves with the temperance reform in a practical and public manner, which we look for in vain at home. The Protestant Episcopal Church, one of the wealthiest and smallest in the States, has always been the least conspicuous in this attachment; though in Bishops Potter and McIlvaine the cause of temperance has welcomed two of its foremost friends. The simple facts that intoxicating liquors of any kind are used as a beverage by only a small proportion of the ministers of any other denomination; that some considerable denominations are without a single moderate-drinking minister, and with very few such members; and that the traffic in strong drink is held in avowed abhorrence by all ecclesiastical communions;—these are facts which demonstrate an advanced state of opinion honourable to American Christianity. Twenty-one years ago (1838), the Presbyterian Synod of Tennessee adopted the following resolution: 'Whereas the cause of temperance is the cause of God, and the cause of religion is deeply wounded by any act calculated to promote habits of intemperance; and whereas the manufacture and vending of ardent spirits and the retail of intoxicating liquors have a direct tendency to excite their intemperate use; and therefore he who manufactures or vends such liquors for other than medical purposes is the enemy of his fellow-man, of religion, and of

of God,—be it therefore unanimously resolved by this Synod, that any person who is guilty of the above acts, or either of them, is not a worthy professor of the religion of Jesus Christ, whose whole spirit is to do good to the bodies and souls of men; and that it is the duty of our church-sessions to exclude from the communion of the Church all such persons so guilty as aforesaid, until by repentence and abandonment of the unholy traffic, they may be restored according to the Gospel and the usage of this Church.' In the Maine-Law movement, both in Maine and the other States where a prohibitory law has been obtained or demanded, resolutions of commendation have freely, and in most cases unanimously passed the associations, conferences, or synods to which they have been submitted. We are not aware that personal abstinence is anywhere a statutory *sine quâ non* of church membership; but so accustomed is religious society to consider the habitual use of alcoholic drinks as an abuse of them, injurious in practice and dangerous as an example, that a general understanding supplies the place of verbal regulation. In Canada there is a less general and active consent of the Church on this question. The Roman Catholics of Lower Canada were for a time powerfully moved by the eloquence of Father Chiniquy; but, both politically and ecclesiastically, Upper Canada is in advance of her sister province. Even here gross inconsistencies prevail. The township of Stratford has one brewery and thirty-seven drink-shops. The brewery is the property of a Protestant, and twenty-nine of the houses are held by Protestant publicans in church fellowship. In Toronto the principal distiller and brewer has erected and endowed a church, dedicated to St. Thomas, in close proximity to his secular establishment. In other quarters other and worthier ideas prevail. The Methodist Conference agreed that, after June 1st, 1859, no person being a liquor-dealer should remain in church membership; and the United Presbyterian Synod, numbering 131 abstaining ministers, has recently adopted these resolutions: '1st. The Synod deeply deplores the sad ravages of intemperance in the Church as well as in the world, and earnestly exhorts all the office-bearers of the Church to use their utmost endeavours by doctrine and discipline, example and influence, to arrest and remove this widely-extended and destructive vice. 2ndly. That as the liquor-traffic, as now legally conducted, tends directly to extend and perpetuate the evils deplored, it is both expedient and necessary that the manufacture and sale of all intoxicating liquors be placed under most effective and salutary restrictions; and the Synod hereby approves all legitimate efforts to procure the enactment of a Prohibitory Liquor Law.' Of another complexion is the statement that a report of the Temperance Committee, presented by Dr. Shortt to the Synod of the Church of England, Canada

Canada West, indicating the traffic as the great cause of intemperance, and advising its legislative abolition, was referred back to the Committee for modifications acceptable to the majority of the Synod. In New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, and the other adjacent British provinces, the current of religious feeling is strongly in favour of all temperance agencies. On the 12th of December, the Episcopal Bishop of Nova Scotia delivered a temperance discourse.

Our survey of the Christian Church in the United Kingdom, in reference to this question, must be necessarily brief. The Anglican Establishment contains, it may be estimated, some hundreds of clergymen, who are devoted friends of this reform; and a zealous young clergyman, the Rev. Stopford J. Ram, is preparing a statement of total-abstinence principles, to be signed by pledged clergymen only. Among the Nonconformist bodies, the branches of the great Methodist stock deserve first mention, on account of the principles of their venerated founder. His sentiments, in opposition both to dram-drinking and the drink-traffic, were so explicitly and boldly proclaimed, and even embodied in his ecclesiastical policy, that every religious society of Wesleyan lineage should have been a *de facto* temperance organization. Regrets are proverbially vain, or we might indulge very many that the temperance mantle of Wesley has hitherto proved too broad for his children's shoulders; and that in this respect they have not emulated the filial fidelity of the ancient Rechabites to the commands of Jonadab. In 1841 the Wesleyan Conference seriously compromised itself by adopting three resolutions intended to discourage the temperance agitation. Of late years a more amicable disposition has been evinced; the Sunday drink-traffic has been repeatedly petitioned against; and though failure attended an effort, last August, on the part of the United Kingdom Alliance and the Manchester and Salford Temperance Society, to get memorials presented in open Conference, or to get a committee appointed by Conference, we do not abandon the hope of a change alike salutary and creditable to that influential community of Christians. The Methodist New Connexion Conference, at its last sitting, chose a committee to meet certain memorialists, and subsequently, after interesting discussion, adopted a resolution 'affectionately exhorting all its members to use their influence to suppress the evils of intemperance, and spread the blessings of sobriety throughout the land.' About one-third of the delegates voted in favour of a resolution recommending to the churches the non-admission of persons into church communion while engaged in the liquor-traffic. The last Annual Assembly of the United Methodist Free Churches was memorialized by the temperance societies of Sheffield, where it was convened, and it was 'Resolved —That

—That this Assembly rejoices in the success which has resulted from the labours of the advocates for the suppression of intemperance, and earnestly recommends all its ministers, other officers, and members of the United Methodist Free Churches to render their aid to all proper means for the suppression of intemperance.' Such nebulous phraseology is not the metal of which thunderbolts are made; but as an earnest of better things, it is acceptable and useful. The Primitive Methodist denomination has repeatedly expressed its sympathy with temperance reform, and a majority of its ministers and members are believed to be personal abstainers. Many of the Wesleyan Reformers are well affected. The Bible Christians—Methodists without the name—are cordial supporters of the temperance cause by word and deed. In Cornwall some Wesleyan Societies were formed in 1841, which make personal abstinence, and the use of unfermented wine in the Lord's Supper, an integral part of their church policy. They are reported as flourishing. The Independent denomination includes numerous adherents of total abstinence and prohibition. Among those of this class who have gone down into silence, but who being dead yet speak, the names of Jay, Knill, Pye Smith, shine with starry splendour. The Congregational Union has been frequently memorialized, but without any definite result; the memorials, if we remember right, being put under the table. Dr. Campbell, who has put forth vigorous intermittent efforts on the side of temperance, was one who could see no propriety in such a subject being discussed by such a body! The Baptists can boast of many able temperance champions, but their Associations have seldom, we think, been moved upon the question. The most decided deliverance proceeded, in 1854, from the Annual Conference of the Midland Association, which unanimously adopted the following resolution: 'That this Association makes its renewed and earnest appeal to all Christians and church officers, and especially to all Christian ministers, solemnly before God, to consider their individual duty in relation to the temperance movement, lest by their refusal or neglect to co-operate with it, they should be found retarding a great movement, and bringing reproach upon our common Christianity.'

No body of Christians, in proportion to their numbers, has given temperance efforts more generous aid than the Society of Friends. James Backhouse, Daniel Wheeler, Thomas Shillitoe, J. J. Gurney, Joseph Sturge, and Joseph Eaton—not omitting Nathanial Card, the originator of the United Kingdom Alliance—are examples of what we mean. A Friends' Temperance Society is in healthy action; and the Yearly Epistles have acquired an increasing plainness of speech, which can be anything but well-pleasing to great manufacturers and venders of strong drink—the Allsopps

Allsopps and Crowleys—that do not sympathise with the journalist who says, 'It is a strange but an actual anomaly of our age, that a serious brewer may be subscribing to ragged schools and churches with one hand, while cheating the ragged out of their money with the other.'

Our smaller Protestant denominations are by no means indifferent to the cause of national sobriety, and some of them effectively contribute to its public furtherance. In England the Roman Catholic priesthood has manifested in a few places sympathy with the temperance movement; but those who say to their people, '*Come* and do likewise,' are very few. The vast influence claimed by them over their flocks could not be more judiciously exerted than in discountenancing customs eating up their means and morals. Cardinal Wiseman has made no sign of adhesion, and we fear will refrain from doing so. Whether his reasons for standing aloof are personal or ecclesiastical, we forbear to inquire.

Wales has earned a paragraph to itself—one of high praise for the religious influence which the Independents, Baptists, and Calvinistic Methodists have contributed to the temperance reform. Nowhere, too, has the principle of prohibition been more heartily received. The eminent David Charles, of Bala, bore testimony, in 1840, to the connection of temperance with the revivals of that period, which, said he, 'are more than a sufficient compensation for our labour and reproach.' In the revivals of the present year the same connection is visible. To a great degree a revival of temperance and religion involve each other. At Aberystwith hundreds of converts have been made, and eight publicans have taken down their signs, and embraced teetotalism. Spiritual zeal at summer heat is destruction to the liquor traffic.

In writing of Scotland, we could gladly multiply words. Once an ale-drinking country, the love of whisky had been fast growing, and threatened to burn out the nobility of the old Scottish character. In 1646 the General Assembly forbade the drinking of healths—a feeble restraint. During thirty years' temperance labour the little one has become a strong people. The Established Church, which has been least affected, has a ministerial phalanx of temperance ministers; not counting men like Dr. M'Leod, who fire from both sides. The Free Church Assembly has a standing Committee on Temperance, which reports annually, and the convener of which, Professor Miller, delivered this year a supplementary speech admirable for its sparkle and practical point. The Free Church Temperance Society includes 212 ministers, 64 probationers, and 80 students. The United Presbyterians can lay claim to a yet larger proportion of temperance ministers; as out of 520 as many as 220 are abstainers, and of 159 students in the Theological

Theological Hall, 113 are the same. At this year's Synod a number of resolutions were unanimously adopted, affirming the loss of the Church through intemperance, and the duty of watching over those most exposed to the evil; recommending a sermon on the subject in the month of December; cordially rejoicing in the success of every benevolent effort and well-advised public measure designed to arrest and banish this vice; and ordering the preparation of an address. Other Presbyterian bodies, with Independents and Baptists, are doing yeoman's service; but the only denomination officially pledged to all departments of the temperance movement is the Evangelical Union—a young and vigorous body, 'all whose ministers, probationers, and students, without exception, and a very large proportion of its office-bearers and members, are among the ranks of abstainers.' The Annual Conference of 1856 issued a circular to fellow-Christians of every name, in which the strong drink traffic was strongly stigmatized and communion with those engaged in it condemned. By a general concurrence in reference to the drinking so prevalent at funerals, the ministers of religion in the large towns of Scotland have put down a great and encroaching abuse. The Forbes Mackenzie Act is warmly supported by nearly all the clergy of all denominations; not a few of whom are also prepared for legislation of a more radical description.

To Ireland we turn with a tender regard; for there the first temperance society in Europe was established by a Presbyterian minister, and there the modern St. Patrick achieved a conquest 'above all Greek and Roman fame.' We shall not now discuss the causes of subsequent Presbyterian supineness and Roman Catholic retrogression. In Dublin, Dr. Spratt labours among his co-religionists, while Mr. James Haughton takes the kingdom for his parish. In the North the old spirit has revived; and 160 Presbyterian ministers, with many students and thousands of church members, have joined to trim the temperance lamp. At the last synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church resolutions were passed calling upon the inferior courts to inquire how far the deliverance of the Synod in 1849 had been carried out. That deliverance was, 'The Synod unanimously disapprove of the traffic in ardent spirits, and declare that no member of the church who opens a house for carrying on this trade shall be entitled to church privileges.' The ministers have also been recommended to promote congregational total abstinence associations. We shall be expected to allude—which we do with sincere thankfulness—to the remarkable revival still in progress, and the hostile relation it sustains to drinking and the drink traffic. To cite authorities would be tedious; but, collected from various authentic sources, we present some testimonies which are as satisfactory as they are suggestive

suggestive. Of Newtonards it is said: 'A few inveterate tipplers may still be seen at rare intervals straggling on the pathway, but drunkenness is wonderfully abated.' Of Donaghadee: 'Our town had long an unenviable notoriety for drunkenness, but now a drunken man is scarcely to be seen.' Of Comber: 'The drinking of whisky has all but entirely ceased.' Of Castledawson: 'Drunkenness has nearly disappeared.' Of Rathfriland: 'A memorable sobriety characterizes the weekly markets.' Coleraine: 'In the district of which Coleraine is the centre, comprehending a radius of perhaps ten or twelve miles, by no means densely peopled, the falling off in the duty paid on spirits for a month was no less than 400*l.*'—equal to 1,000 gallons diminished consumption. Of Londonderry: 'We could point to drunkards who, after having for years resolved and resolved in vain to put away the intoxicating cup, have suddenly been enabled to do so.' Another witness observes: 'I could mention several public-houses about Broughshane that have been closed. Other publicans have promised never to renew their licenses. The fair-day, which usually terminated in drunkenness, is now ended with a prayer-meeting consisting of about 4,000 persons.' Of Lammas fair at Portstewart a similar report is rendered. 'Between teetotalism and the Revival it has made it disgraceful to be seen going into a public-house at Larne. In some instances the publicans themselves have voluntarily relinquished the traffic. At Dundrod a publican corked up his vessels and took down his sign, and a poor woman, who sold privately without a license, poured out the contents of her jar, saying, "Christ and you cannot dwell in the same house."' At the Great Union Prayer-meeting in the Belfast Botanic Gardens, where probably 40,000 persons assembled for about four and a half hours, not a vestige of intoxicating drinks was seen. 'At Ballymena for pounds spent formerly in the public-houses there are now pence.' The Rev. James Calvert, of Fiji fame, has supplied one of the latest reports, in which he states, speaking of the Lisburn district: 'Here, as well as in other parts of the north of Ireland, whisky-drinking is very greatly lessened. In one place, where 100*l.* was spent on the Saturday on this much-loved and ruinous liquid, there were only 30*s.* received; and in another village, where there are sixteen public-houses, only three glasses were sold for a week. The Revival is materially affecting spirit-sellers and pawnbrokers. Several publicans and their families have been converted.'

All testimony agrees in showing that the Revival is essentially a temperance movement, by causing the convicted both to abstain and to abandon the sale of drink if previously so engaged. This fact is of more value than a folio of reasoning, as it reveals a conscious inconsistency in the mind of the awakened sinner between an

an obedience to the Divine will and the sale of liquors calculated to produce disobedience to that will in others.

Two ministerial declarations—the one on abstinence, the other on the liquor traffic—have been numerously signed by ministers of religion in the United Kingdom. The first was adopted at a three days' Ministerial Conference held in Manchester (April 12th—14th, 1848), when one of the secretaries announced that 'he had received 350 letters, all of a cheering character, and that the names of 1,200 abstaining ministers in Great Britain had been sent to him; the entire number, he believed, not falling far short of 2,000:'—

'Having become practical and pledged abstainers from the use of intoxicating drinks as a beverage, we feel it to be our solemn duty to urge upon all classes of the community, but especially upon ministers and members of the Christian Church, the importance of giving this subject the weight of their personal example and influence, and that for the following among other grave and weighty considerations:—

'1st. That chemical and medical science has now fully demonstrated that intoxicating drinks are not necessary as a beverage to any class of our fellow-creatures.

'2ndly. That the use of these drinks is attended with a perversion of pecuniary means,—the waste of the bounties of Divine Providence, and is fraught with imminent peril to the health, mental improvement, and moral safety of mankind.

'3rdly. That the total-abstinence principle is simple, practical, and efficient, both for the restoration of the drunkard, and the preservation of the sober members of society.

'4thly. That the universal success of this principle would tend, under the Divine blessing, to lessen human sufferings, to stay the progress of pollution, crime, and Sabbath profanation, and to promote the high interests of national order, sound morality, and true religion.'

This declaration received 485 signatures.

The declaration on the liquor traffic, draughted by the Rev. W. Arnot, was adopted by the Ministerial Conference convened on that subject, also meeting in Manchester (June 9th—11th, 1857):—

'We the undersigned Ministers of the Gospel, are convinced by personal observation within our own sphere, and authentic testimony from beyond it, that the traffic in intoxicating liquors as drink for man, is the immediate cause of most of the crime and pauperism, and much of the disease and insanity that afflict the land; that everywhere, and in proportion to its prevalence, it deteriorates the moral character of the people, and is the chief outward obstruction to the progress of the Gospel; that these are not its accidental attendants, but its natural fruits; that the benefit, if any, is small in comparison with the bane; that all schemes of regulation and restriction, however good as far as they go, fall short of the nation's need and the nation's duty; and that, therefore, on the obvious principle of destroying the evil which cannot be controlled, the wisest course for those who fear God and regard man, is to encourage every legitimate effort for the entire suppression of the trade, by the power of the national will, and through the form of a legislative enactment.'

To this declaration the names of 1,707 ministers of religion have been attached, and the list is receiving weekly additions.

The British colonies in all parts of the world have temperance associations, of which Christian men are the leaders and chief supporters.

porters. In the West Indies and Australia the energy of ministers and missionaries like the late Rev. James Cox has cast mountains of difficulties into the sea.

Foreign nations are not idly contemplating this great reform, and everywhere it is the Church which moves in the van of action. As far back as 1852 the German Congress of Inner Missions recommended personal abstinence (from spirits), the institution of temperance societies on Christian principles, and further restrictions on the sale of intoxicating liquors. This year the same body has eulogized the conduct of a distiller who abandoned his business and diverted from the still a field of corn to supply the wants of a neighbouring town.

III. The suggestions we can offer must be traced in the barest outline.

Every Christian should settle for himself his personal duty; and this complied with, he will be ready to unite with others in circulating that information which is to interest and convince them. Temperance men of each Christian denomination might wisely join together for the purpose of supplying every minister and officer, if possible every member, in that particular body, with publications calculated to enlighten and persuade.

Congregational temperance societies, with the minister or some officer at their head, are an excellent expedient for concentrating and consolidating religious influence; and as an accompaniment or outrider of these, Bands of Hope should be formed and placed under able control.

Ecclesiastical meetings and bodies may very properly be addressed, to secure, not so much a favourable resolution as a friendly discussion. The introduction of the subject should be made to assume as practical a form as possible. In Young Men's Christian associations there will rarely be an aversion to its judicious presentation.

Church action and regulation will always rise to the level of the prevailing church sentiment; and the creation of that sentiment till it becomes predominant and constant is the work ever to be done and doing.

It seems to us that the position on which the churches of this country are likely to be soonest agreed is the incompatibility of the traffic in drink, particularly the retail traffic, with a Christian profession. The operations of the United Kingdom Alliance will forward this change. The liquor business is not one that can bear to be looked at and into; and in proportion as a public demand is raised for its legal prohibition will it be more difficult for the most leniently disposed church authorities to keep silent and inert. A traffic concerning which cause is shown why society should not tolerate it, cannot long rely on the sufferance of the

Church, unless the liquor venders are disposed to accept the precedent of former times, when the shelter of the sanctuary was extended to those offenders who were denied the protection of the civil law. Nor can we doubt that the appeal of the Alliance addressed to the body of British citizens will receive, the better it is understood, a loyal response from Christian men, loyal above all others and all else to duty and conscience. Churches cannot act as political associations; but their members, having political responsibilities, can and ought seriously to weigh and vigorously to discharge them. Except by a small class, who view civil government as an evil not to be sanctioned by believers, and a class as small whose zeal for voluntaryism has run away with them, Christians recognize the obligation of suppressing public nuisances by the popular will constitutionally expressed; and we cannot but believe that the majority of these will approve, as soon as understood, the principles of the suggested Permissive Bill. Of one thing we are sure—that whether strong drink is to be abandoned as a beverage, or drinking customs are to be abolished in the workshop and parlour, or the drink traffic is to receive its reward according to Act of Parliament applied *populariter*, our power with the Christian Church will correspond with its possession of that charity which looks towards God and man, never ceasing to please the one and bless the other. It was Milton's impeachment of the 'severest' and 'holiest' of his contemporaries, that none of them would surrender his 'sack,' or 'rich canary,' to insure 'the certain abolishing of so great a sin'—'tho' it be fetched from places that hazard the religion of them who fetch it, and though it make his neighbour drunk out of the same tun.' How is this indisposition, still so prevalent, to be overcome? By charity! And by charity we mean not a puling, windy-worded sentimentality which is *vox et præterea nihil*; not a time-serving spirit which attacks weak abuses and kneels to strong ones; not a temper of shrinking softness which fails to do aught effectually lest some should be troubled and offended; but the charity which is valiant for God's honour and man's salvation—the charity which, being taught by philosophy truly so called, knows how to act ever for the best—the charity which, like the cherubim seen by Ezekiel, is full of eyes, and, like them, emits the gladdening light and consuming lightning—the charity which bears in one hand the olive-branch, symbol of peace to the nations, and in the other hand wields the axe which is to be laid at the root of every corrupt tree, that it may be hewn down and cast into the fire. Let us conceive to ourselves this Divine Genius standing before the liquor traffic, the upas-tree whose branches stretch to the ends of the earth; and let us ask how long the suspended blow would suffer it to cumber the social soil and poison the atmosphere of the world? And what Christian charity, if omnipotent, would not endure, the Christian Church cannot too soon employ its mightiest energies to overthrow.

ART.

ART. V.—*Revolutions in English History.* By Robert Vaughan, D.D. Vol. I. *Revolutions of Race.* London: J. W. Parker and Sons. 1859.

DR. VAUGHAN has many qualifications for writing history. He has, throughout a long course of years, devoted himself to its study; and, while yet a young minister at Kensington, was appointed Professor of Ancient and Modern History in University College, London. His literary contributions to this subject have evidenced his possession of extensive and accurate knowledge of the past, discriminating acquaintance with the works of the most reliable, and even of the most credulous historians of ages bygone, a profound philosophy able to analyze facts and events and to draw sound conclusions from them, and lastly, though by no means least, a Christian principle which is essential to the formation of an historian, as giving him the true key to the interpretation of events, and to the illustration of the providential government of the world. His clear and admirable style, which is at once characteristic of his mind and the result of high cultivation by a thorough study of English literature and long practice of the art of composition, and of conducting one of the ablest of our quarterly reviews, makes him fit to communicate in a most intelligible and interesting manner to the minds of his readers the thoughts and information wherewith his own mind is stored. His 'Monograph of Wycliffe' is a performance which illustrates what we have advanced as to his claims. It was published thirty-one years ago, in two volumes, and contained picturesque descriptions, full information, eloquent disquisitions,—written in a spirit so catholic that you could not have detected a dissenter in the biographer of that great light of the English Church. Dr. Vaughan prepared himself for his task by a thorough investigation of all that related to Wycliffe, both of the localities where the Reformer had been, and of the writings which he had left behind him, and which were scattered over the public and private libraries of England. His life of the Reformer was the most authentic and readable that had been presented to the public. After the lapse of a quarter of a century, Dr. Vaughan made new investigations, and with increased erudition and maturity of judgment recast the whole work, which may now be regarded as 'the classic biography of Wycliffe.' Eminently creditable to the learned author, but by no means so to the dons of Oxford and of Cambridge, is the fact that a dissenting divine has produced the standard memoir of John de Wycliffe, the rector of Lutterworth, the Lecturer of Theology and Warden of Canterbury Hall at Oxford, and the translator of the Bible into the English tongue. Other historical works have proceeded

ceeded from the pen of Dr. Vaughan. He has published 'The History of England under the Stuarts,' in two volumes, and in 1838 'The Protectorate of Cromwell,' in two volumes. In 1849 two volumes of 'Essays on History, Philosophy, and Theology' were issued. These were a selection from his numerous contributions on all subjects to the British Quarterly and other reviews. He is well known to the religious world as the author of the following works:—'The Christian Warfare,' published in 1832; 'The Age of Great Cities,' in 1842; 'The Modern Pulpit viewed in its relations to the State of Society,' in 1842; 'The Age of Christianity,' in 1849; 'The Causes of the Corruption of Christianity,' in 1852, &c. In 1858 he prepared, amidst much sorrow, 'The Memoir of Robert Alfred Vaughan,' his distinguished son. When we consider the laborious profession to which our author has been devoted, whether as a preacher or as a professor, the above list represents a life of great literary industry, and a mind of ample stores and commanding powers.

Having retired from academic labours, and ripened by long study and experience and the wisdom of years, Dr. Vaughan has devoted himself to the task of writing a History of England viewed from new stand-points. He does not, indeed, aim at composing a History of England in the ordinary sense of these words; but believing that 'it is reasonable that Englishmen should be more interested in what has been special to their country, than in details which might have had their place in the history of any one among a large family of states,' he has attempted to answer the question, 'What is it that has made England to be England?' 'My object,' he says, 'is to conduct the reader to satisfactory conclusions, in relation to this question, by a road much more direct and simple than is compatible with the laws to which the historian usually conforms himself when writing the general history of a nation.' He has for this purpose made the 'Revolutions' which have occurred the central points around which he clusters his facts. These national changes have made England what it is. 'The word is meant to comprehend the great phases of change in our history, due place being assigned to the great cause in regard to each of them. Down to the close of the fourteenth century, change among us comes mainly from the conflicts of race. Under the Tudors, the great principle of revolution is religion; under the Stuarts, that principle gives place considerably to the principles of government. The first question to be settled was the question of race; the next concerned the national faith; and the next the future of the English Constitution.'

To the first of these Dr. Vaughan has devoted the volume just published—'Revolutions of Race;' and which we propose to introduce to our readers. The design is an admirable one, and the execution

execution is worthy of the object, as it is of the fame of the author. The volume is written in an agreeable manner, and exhibits a keen criticism, a profound learning, a sound philosophy, and an intelligent faith. Dr. Vaughan may not have the analytic power of Niebuhr, the ease of Hume, the eloquence of Gibbon, the pretence of Robertson, the charm of Prescott, the philosophy of Guizot, the rhetoric of Macaulay, or the fulness of Froude; but he has a cultivation capable of appreciating all the graces of those historians, and an ability of producing a style peculiarly his own, 'flowing and continuous,' to use the words of Cicero, 'with a certain equality in its course distinct from the brevity of the judge, or the sharpness of the advocate; and equally remote from the authoritative and sententious manner of the moralist or the preacher.' The volume before us is divided into *five* books—the first entitled 'Celts and Romans;' the second, 'Saxons and Danes;' the third, 'Normans and English;' the fourth, 'English and Normans;' and the fifth, 'Lancaster and York.' These bring us down to the dawn of the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

Britain was inhabited at least four centuries before the Christian era. Its people were then known to the maritime and commercial nations of the world, and ships sailed from Phœnicia to the Cassiterides,—supposed to be the Scilly Islands, for the purpose of importing tin to their own lands. Carthaginian, Greek, and Roman authors of an early date refer to these islands of the West; but our best knowledge of our earliest ancestors in Britain is derived from the last of these. From them we learn that when Cæsar landed in Kent, about half a century before Christ, there were various nations inhabiting this land. The Silures resided on the banks of the Wye, the Ordovices and Dimetae in Wales, the Damnonii on the banks of the Ex, the Belgæ in Hants and Wilts, the Cantii in Kent, the Trinobantes in Middlesex, the Iceni and Cortanni on the east coast, and the Brigantes in Yorkshire and Lancashire. It has often been debated, 'Of what race were these communities?' Cæsar regarded them as Celts from Belgic Gaul, and subsequent antiquarians confirm this opinion. Some, however, suppose a pre-existent race of Celts, but the evidence is 'too fragmentary and uncertain to be available for history.'* Physically they

* 'The Gaelic clans of the Highlands were also Celtæ. But their language, and their geographical position, seem to shut us up to one of two conclusions—either that they must have come into that part of Britain from Ireland, or that they were the remains of an aboriginal race which had been forced into those mountain fastnesses, into the Isle of Man, and into Ireland itself, by the pressure of subsequent invaders. There are some difficulties in the way of the latter supposition, but evidence upon the whole seems to preponderate in its favour. The Gaelic tongue is not British. Its only affinity is with the Irish. The word *Aber* in Welsh, as in old British, denotes the estuary of a river, or any outlet of

they were admired by the Romans; and their half-naked, woad-stained bodies, moustache, and flowing hair gave them a fierceness of aspect which accorded with their martial bravery. Their cultivation was far beyond the savage.

The Romans invaded Britain under Julius Cæsar B. C. 55, and continued until A. D. 412, when the last remnant of the army was withdrawn. The conquest of the native tribes was no easy work for even the disciplined army of Rome. Chiefs of great ability and skill appeared among the Britons, and under their leadership they held at bay the armies of the mistress of the world. Legions, however, were poured in; famous generals—some of whom rose to the imperial purple—were sent to command them; and by degrees the whole island from the English Channel to the Grampians acknowledged Roman supremacy. Cæsar, Claudius, Suetonius, Vespasian, Julius Agricola, Hadrian, Severus, Constantius, and Constantine the Great, derived a considerable portion of their fame from their deeds of valour in this island.

While here, none of them was idle. Cæsar purchased at considerable expense the small victory which was magnified by distance into a triumph in Rome. The tribute which he imposed was rarely paid by the people whom he had subdued. Claudius met with great resistance; but his success was more worthy of his triumph, and of the surname of Britannicus which the senate decreed to him. Caractacus was a chief of the Silures, who for a long time checked the progress of the Romans. The want of armour, and not the lack of valour, brought his defeat. If he graced a procession at Rome, the vanquished chieftain was an object of as much admiration as his conqueror. 'The battle of Caer-madoc,' in which he was defeated, says Dr. Vaughan, 'was to the Britons what the battle of Hastings was to the Anglo-Saxons. If there was a difference, it consisted mainly in the fact that the struggle of the Britons in defence of their freedom before that day, and their efforts to recover it when really lost, were greater than will be found in the corresponding period of Anglo-Saxon history.' Suetonius perceived in the Druids—the priests of Britain—the great source of the pertinacity of resistance which characterized the native warriors, and he determined to destroy them. In the Isle of Anglesey, the chief resort of the Druids, he made his great attack. It was with much difficulty that he could effect a landing

waters. The word *Inver* in Gaelic or Irish has the same meaning. The word *Aber* is so used, as a prefix to names of places, along a line extending from South Wales to the North of Scotland, marking off a territory to the right of that line as pervaded by the British tongue and race. The word *Inver* is commonly used for the same purpose through the Highlands to the left of that line, bespeaking the prevalence there of a tongue and race which are rather Irish than British. *Thus, while the British tongue sounds along from Aberystwith to Aberdeen, the Gaelic makes itself heard from Inverary to Inverness.*'

at

at the Menai Strait. The people, priests, and women were assembled to resist, and fought with such fury and determination as struck the Roman soldiers with dismay; but the legions at length prevailed, and Druidism was quenched in the seat of its power. The work of conquest was not ended by this slaughter. While the Roman commander was in the north, a massacre of the Romans was taking place in the south. Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, wronged and outraged by the insolence, oppression, and cruelty of Romans, aroused her countrymen, gathered an army, and attempted to destroy the invaders. Thousands fell by her bands; London and other garrisons were razed to the ground; but in a pitched battle, after the arrival of Suetonius, the Britons were defeated with great slaughter. Agricola completed the Roman conquest, and planted his eagles at the foot of the Grampian mountains—beyond which the legions never ventured. Succeeding commanders had enough to do to keep their power; and when the empire was distracted and weakened at its centre, Britain was left to itself.

The Romans exercised a vast influence on Britain during the revolution by the sword, which spread over nearly five hundred years. Dr. Vaughan estimates this in its effects upon Government, Religion, and Social Life.

In *Government*, the Romans displaced the civil authority of the Druids, and substituted written for unwritten laws. Colonization in towns presented municipal laws in their mildness, and afforded means of common improvement. Taxation was heavy on account of the great army, but there was an appeal against injustice.

In *Religion*, the Romans had little to offer in place of Druidism. They had a special repugnance to that system of worship, and suppressed it by the sword. But the gods of Rome were not worshipped by the Britons. 'This might have happened,' says Dr. Vaughan, 'if scepticism in regard to the claims of these gods had been less prevalent among their professed worshippers, and if the Roman ascendancy in Britain had been more genial. The event shows, that the power which annihilated Druidism was to give Britain Christianity, and not another paganism. Not that anything of that nature was intended. But it was inevitable that the Roman roads should become lines of communication, facilitating the travel of all sorts of people, and of all sorts of news, from the most distant parts of the empire. So the way was opened for the entrance of the Christian faith.'

The Druids taught the immortality of the soul, which Roman religion lacked. They did not connect their polytheism with idolatry as the Romans did. Their oral teaching was comparatively pure—a well-known want in that of Roman priests. Their human sacrifices were their awful blot, for which their

retribution. Rome had nothing to offer that was more pure, or impressive, or more hopeful, than the religion of the Druids. But by Roman means Christianity came to Britain. There is no authentic account of its introduction; but Dr. Vaughan suggests that it was brought by soldiers and traders. It spread among the people; so that in the Diocletian persecution there were Christian martyrs at Verulam and Caerleon. The British Church was not founded by Rome papal, but by Christians from Rome pagan. It came without show, and grew up in simplicity and purity. In the fourth century, its representatives at the Council of Arles showed themselves zealous for orthodoxy, clerical consistency, and public morality; for the separation of clergymen to their sacred office, and of the members of the Church from the ungodly world. From that time 'Britons are no more known in history as pagans. Those of them who are found in the fastnesses of Wales after the departure of the Romans, and after the invasion of the Saxons, are Christian Britons, with a Christian hierarchy, a Christian literature, and a Christian civilization sufficiently strong to eradicate whatever remains of their old faith or usage may still have been left with them. All these acquisitions they must have carried with them into their mountain homes. There was no channel of communication through which they could have received them afterwards.'

In *Social Life*, the Revolution wrought by the influence of the Romans was very great. The Britons had a certain civilization. They could make clothing, war-chariots armed with scythes, and ornaments of gold. They could construct earth-works or stockades in war. They could work mines. But the Romans brought higher culture, which developed native ingenuity, and added to social comfort. They patronized artisans, and encouraged useful arts. Winchester became famous for its cloths, Kent for pottery, the Tyne for coals, and the Forest of Dean for iron. Roman roads connected British towns, and education elevated the Britons. Schools were established for teaching the sons of chiefs, and towns for the cultivation of polite intercourse and trade, where municipal laws gave a certain freedom. But when the Romans left the island, the Britons outlived their conquerors, and adopted into their national character the improving changes of their subjugation.

In his second book, Dr. Vaughan conducts us to the SAXONS and DANES. This portion of his history is prefaced by a clear digest of the sources of his information. There are three—'British works,' 'The heathen poetry and traditions of the north of Europe,' and 'The Christian literature of the Saxons in Britain after they were converted.'

After the departure of the Romans, the Britons were exposed to

to the incursions of the Caledonians, who prevailed considerably over their southern neighbours, destroyed their lands, and broke their spirit. Under the terror of the Scots, King Vortigern, in the fifth century, invited the Saxons who were inhabitants of the coasts of the German Ocean on the continent to assist him. They were a warlike and predatory people, whose prowess by sea and land had made them a terror even to Rome. These, at first invited to assist the Britons, soon became masters of the land. Hengist and Horsa landed in the year 447 or 449. They speedily gained power. In 473, Hengist was the sovereign of Kent. Other Saxons gained monarchies. In one hundred and fifty years the Octarchy rose. The first was under Hengist.

'Sussex, the kingdom of the South Saxons, was the second state established. It was founded by Ella in 496. This was the smallest state of the Octarchy. The state of the West Saxons, which dates from the year 519, was of much greater extent, embracing Surrey, Berks, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, with parts of Hampshire and Cornwall. The founder of the sovereignty was Cerdic. East Anglia included Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and the Isle of Ely, and part of Bedfordshire, and was established by Uffa in the year 540. Erkenwen laid the foundation of the state of the East Saxons, which comprehended Essex, Middlesex, and a southern district of Hertfordshire. This kingdom commences with the year 542. The kingdom of Bernicia was established by Ida in 548, under whom the Angles possessed themselves of Northumberland, and of the northern parts of Westmoreland and Cumberland, with the part of Scotland between Newcastle and Edinburgh. The kingdom of Deira embraced Lancashire and Yorkshire, with the southern divisions of Westmoreland and Cumberland. While this kingdom continued separate, the Saxon states in Britain were an Octarchy; its union with Northumbria, which was the case for the most part, reduced them to a Heptarchy. We have seen that the kingdom of the South Saxons was founded by a chief named Ella; and it was a chief of that name who founded the kingdom of Deira about sixty years later. Mercia, the last of the Saxon kingdoms, does not make its appearance before the year 586; but it was, in regard to territory, the most considerable state in the Octarchy, comprehending all the midland counties, and forming for centuries the great barrier kingdom between the Saxons and the Welsh.'

During the first century of the Saxon Heptarchy, one of its princes held the office of *Bretwalda*, a dignity that contained the embryo of a future kingship of all England. Frequent contests took place for this precedence, in course of which the Saxon states lessened in number by uniting with some central power. In the year 823, Egbert was acknowledged sovereign over the East Saxons, Kent, and East Anglia. Northumbria joined in 828. He thus became the first king of all England. The monarchy had, however, to contend with many difficulties, most of them arising from a new people who sought a home and authority in Britain. 'What the Saxons had been in the sixth century, the Danes had become, in nearly all respects, in the ninth century—pirates; but pirates capable of prosecuting their schemes of war and plunder upon a large scale, on the land or on the deep.' They were Northmen from Norway, Denmark, and the shores of the Baltic. Their incursions told with powerful effect on Flanders, Holland,

Holland, France, and Ireland, and most of all on Britain. The Danes landed in the Isle of Sheppey, in 832, in the year following entered the Dart, and two years after landed in Cornwall. Their efforts were evidently to settle, not to spoil, hence they at once took up a position of hostility to the Saxons. In 839, great battles were fought at Canterbury, Rochester, and near London. In 851, three hundred and fifty ships came to the mouth of the Thames, with hordes of men, which were increased from year to year. Many battles were fought, terrible ravages were perpetrated by the Northmen, by which the Saxons were depressed, and their king Alfred obliged to become a fugitive among the woods of Somerset. But Alfred was equal to the emergency. He was a man of rare piety, strong faith, undaunted courage, and wise counsel. He determined to prepare for the struggle, and on the White Horse Hill in Wiltshire completely routed the Danes. But he did not use his victory to extirpate the intruders. He encouraged them to settle, and wisely strengthened his throne by these accessions. The troubles were not over when he died; but he left to his successor a better-organized and educated Saxon people than had yet been known. The Danes continued to make descents upon the coast of England, with more or less success, until Canute established a Danish dynasty on the throne.

These changes by the sword exercised considerable effect on the distribution of race. The British gradually withdrew to the west, and have left 'traces of their blood and language' from Dumbarton to Mount St. Michael. But they were removed by Saxons and Danes, until their chief homes were in Wales and Cornwall, where they have remained. The Saxons were themselves a mongrel race composed of Jutes, Angles, and Saxons. They were located throughout the territory of the Heptarchy. But the Danes became the most prevalent in East Anglia, along the east coast from the Humber to the Forth, and in the midland counties. The Saxons were westward of them. In the tenth century a Norwegian migration came by the Irish Sea to Cumberland, and have left their names and influence on the Cambrian localities. From the sea-kings of the north came the maritime greatness of England. Proving a great hindrance to Saxon progress at the time of their descent, they strengthened the nation ultimately. Their influence on the language was inconsiderable—much less so than the Norman. But from Saxons and Danes great revolutions in Religion, Government, and Social Life occurred.

The Saxons and Danes were pagans when they landed in England. Like their ancestors, they worshipped Odin and Thor and Frea, and trembled before Loki—the evil one. They offered human sacrifices in their temples. Bravery was the highest form of

of their religion, and the heart that had least pity was most fitted for the Norse paradise. They were great fatalists, and of strong passions, and addicted to the vice of drunkenness, which has so long characterized their descendants. A century and a half after they landed in England, Ethelbert King of Kent became a Christian. The conversion of the Saxons did not, however, originate in the zeal of the British whom they conquered, but in the missionary spirit of Gregory the Great. Struck with the fine appearance of some youths exposed in the slave-market at Rome, he inquired who they were. All are acquainted with the facetious colloquy of the monk and the master. 'Are they Christians?'—'No, they are pagans.' 'Alas!' said the monk, 'that the prince of darkness should inhabit forms so lovely—that the beauty of the soul should be wanting, where there is such beauty of countenance. Of what nation are they?'—'Angles,' was the answer. 'Right,' said Gregory; 'they are angels. From what province?'—'Deira,' was the reply. 'Surely they must be rescued *de ira* from the wrath of God. What is the name of their king?'—'Ælla,' said the slave-master. 'Right again,' said Gregory; 'Alleluia must be sung in the country of that king.' Some years after this, Gregory became pope, and in 596 he sent Augustine and a few monks to introduce Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons. The King of Kent received the missionaries kindly, and encouraged their evangelistic work. They had great success. Ere the first year ended 10,000 Saxons had been baptized, including the king. Soon a hierarchy after the Roman model was established, and ninety years after the arrival of Augustine the last state of the Heptarchy renounced idolatry. The emissaries of Rome were astonished to find a Christian Church among the Britons, and were vexed to learn that customs prevailed different from theirs. The Romish dignitary attempted to reduce the British clergy to obedience and conformity; but the Celts were unwilling to yield. As the conversion of the Saxons advanced towards the north, evangelistic efforts were being made in Northumbria by missionaries from Iona, and as intermarriages were constantly taking place between members of the two churches, inconvenience was caused by the different times of observing Easter.

'In the family of the King of Northumbria, for example, the queen, who had been educated in Kent, followed the Roman custom, and might be seen humbling herself as in Lent, while her husband, who followed his Scottish instructors, might be quite otherwise employed, because with him the season for humiliation had given place to the season for rejoicing.

'It was accordingly deemed expedient that a meeting of the two parties should be convened, that so this diversity of usage might, if possible, be brought to an end. The parties met at Whitby. Wilfrid, accompanied by the bishop of Paris, and other distinguished men, took the Romanist side. Colman, bishop of Landisfarne, and his Scottish brethren, pleaded the authority of the line of tradition, through Anatolius and Columba, to the apostle John. To the authority

thority of Columba, Wilfrid opposed that of St. Peter, "to whom the keys of the kingdom of heaven had been given." Here the king interposed to ask, "Is it so; do you admit that St. Peter has the keys of heaven?" Colman, it is said, replied in the affirmative. "Then I decide for St. Peter," said the king, "as I do not know what the consequence may be of doing otherwise."

From this date the Romanist party prevailed in Britain. Religion was not improved by the triumph. Decline began to set in,* and mediæval darkness fell as fatally on the Anglo-Saxon Church, as on any on the Continent. But throughout the earlier period of its history comparative purity and efficiency characterized the clergy. The priests were enjoined to preach every Sunday. Marriage was common among the clergy—monks not excepted. It was only in the age of Dunstan, 'the Hildebrand of the Anglo-Saxon Church,' that celibacy was enforced. Several excellent and eminent men flourished in England during the period now under review. The venerable Bede, though not without many errors, was a fine example of Christian life. 'Aidan, 'a man of singular meekness, piety, and moderation,' was the apostle of Northumbria. Boniface went from England as the apostle of Germany, Wilbrod as a missionary to Friesland. Alcuin was a great scholar, and one of the most learned theologians of his times, and the founder of the University of Paris. Alfred the king was a beautiful instance of Christian character among the Anglo-Saxons, possessed of 'piety without asceticism, faith without credulity, the noble in manhood elevated in all things by the pure in religion.'

The revolution in government caused by the Saxon rule had relation to the disorders prevalent among the Romanized Britons, and to the rude organization of the Saxon hordes, who were ever descending and possessing the land. But the change was great. From freebooters, the Saxons and Danes became a settled people. They exchanged government by the sword for that of law. They were bound together as chief and vassal, and existed as noble, freeman, and serf. The noble was dignified by birth, or by service, and held the first place. The freeman was a freeholder of land. That gave him his title and privilege, the right to bear arms and to redress his wrongs. The *not free* were persons who had ceased to possess land, but were a degree higher than the serf, who was in many respects a slave. He was a chattel of his

* The canons of an Anglo-Saxon synod of the eighth century, reproach the ignorance and vices of the clergy by these two orders. 'That the priests learn, and teach to know the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and words of consecration in the mass in the English tongue,' and 'That the sin of drunkenness be avoided, especially in the clergy.' In this century, Fuller remarks, the fare of monks was bettered by the addition of wine and ale instead of water; but their 'abstinence was turned now into a self-sufficiency, that soon improved into *plenty, that* quickly depraved into riot, and that, at last, occasioned their ruin.'

master,

master, could hold no property, had no place in court, and was subject to the lash. Family authority was the origin of all Saxon government. The Tithing was the association of ten families, the Hundred of a hundred families. The head man of the tithing was the police; he was bound to keep order, and was responsible for the apprehension of the guilty. The Hundred was a court which met once a month. Its decisions might be reviewed by the shire court, which met three times a year. Above this was the Witenagemote—the council of the state. This was composed of deputies nominated by the king, who aided him in all public business. Saxon towns were all self-governed. But no government was absolute. Appeals could be taken from tithings, through the various courts, to the Witenagemote. In the administration of justice, there was trial by jury or by ordeal. The latter was a baptized paganism, and has passed away, but the former is one of our boasted prerogatives. Yet among the Anglo-Saxons, the voice of two-thirds was sufficient for a verdict, an improvement upon our present unwieldy practice.

'The form,' says Dr. Vaughan, 'in which our Anglo-Saxon laws gave protection to the property of the freeman, contained the seeds of all the liberties which later generations have been so careful to define, expand, and secure. In those laws something is due to the justice of the sovereign, more to the jealousy of the subject. To study our constitutional history under the Normans and Plantagenets, the Tudors and the Stuarts, without the study of it under the Anglo-Saxons, would be to concern ourselves with effects apart from their causes. The usages and institutions of the men who fought under King Harold at Hastings, were to become to this country what their language has become.'

Social life received its development from the Saxon revolution, in the agricultural and commercial progress which has made England great. The names of our old implements of husbandry are nearly all of Saxon origin. War was the great employment of the men; nevertheless, husbandry and trade advanced. Mines of lead in Derbyshire, and iron in Monmouthshire, were wrought. But men of handicraft were few. The mercantile marine engaged the old viking spirit, and that adventure commenced which has spread Anglo-Saxons over the world. The impulse of the race abides amidst all changes of locality, and you may see the old tendency towards action and adventure, and the old passion for dominion, in the Anglo-American, the Anglo-Indian, and the colonists of Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, who are now giving laws and liberties, and business to the world.

Literature among the Saxons was confined to the clergy, but many of them were unable to read or sign their names. Poetry was limited, and prose chiefly theological. Science was late in illumining the minds of our ancestors, though we have made the most of it in recent times. The age was one rather of promise than of attainment. 'The distance is no doubt great between a

Bede and a Gibbon, a Cedmon and a Milton; but these men have all spoken the same mother-tongue, and belong to the development of the same national intellect.'

In his third book, Dr. Vaughan conducts us to NORMANS and ENGLISH.

'The Normans were of the same race with the people variously designated as Saxons and Angles, Jutes and Frieslanders, Danes and Northmen.' Freebooters from the second century, almost 'every coast land between the Baltic and the northern shores of Africa felt the scourge of their presence,' until the eleventh century, when they settled in England. In 841, they invaded Neustria, and speedily wrested that province from the King of France. In 911, Rollo was recognised as the Duke of Normandy. It is remarkable how speedily the Northmen adapted themselves to the new circumstances in which they were placed. They soon lost their native language; they surrendered their ancient customs, and embraced the religion and laws of the Franks. They improved vastly in their education, and became noted for their architecture. They were not a commercial people: they were devoted to the chase and to war. But they were crafty, domineering, and vindictive, and were as fond of pork, and repaired as often to the beer-barrel, as their Saxon cousins.

There is a story told, that Edward the Confessor, who was educated in Normandy, was inclined to favour the Normans, and that he promised the English crown to William, the son of Robert the Devil. It is also alleged by Norman writers, that Harold, the last of the Saxon kings, once pledged his influence to aid William. These were convenient fictions for the Normans, but there is no evidence of their truth. However, when Edward died, and Harold was elected king, William landed in England to enforce his claim to the crown. The time was most unpropitious to Harold and the Saxons. The Norwegians had landed in great force in Northumbria, where they were aided by Tostig, the elder brother of Harold. The new king met in battle the northern host, and claimed the victory, after 'one of the most stubborn and destructive battles in English history,' fought at Stamford Bridge, on the 26th September, 1066. On the morning of the 28th, the Normans landed in Sussex, under William. With a disunited people, and a weakened army, Harold was ill prepared to meet so great a host, but he resolved to contest the crown. On the 14th of October, the battle of Hastings was fought. The Saxons acquitted themselves with consummate and obstinate bravery, but the Normans were masters of the field, on which Harold was a stiffened corpse. And William the Conqueror was speedily crowned king of England, in the Abbey of Westminster.

The

The Conquest effected great changes in relation to Property, to Government, to the Church, and to Social Life.

Property changed hands with amazing rapidity, and without any pretence of justice. William displaced the Saxons, and distributed their estates among his nobles, retaining 1400 manors as his personal portion. Almost all land was made to hold of the crown, and the feudal system was imposed to bind knight to king. The country was thus a military network.

'The Normans became, what the English had never become, a compact organization, a potent unity. This power was everywhere diffused, but lost nothing by diffusion. The isolation was apparent, not real. The word might be given at any moment, and armed men sprang up in all places under the standard of their respective leaders. What the Tower of London became to the Conqueror, the fortresses with which the land was now studded became to the barons. Nor was this system, so readily established, of short duration. It descends in its entirenda to the sons of the first chiefs, and exerts a powerful influence on the institutions of the country for centuries to come. By this means, the first Norman king had not less than 50,000 men always at his command.'

The *People* were now under an iron rule, and they felt its rigour. William excluded the Saxons as much as possible from office, both in church and state, and impoverished them. Those parts of the country where resistance was threatened were deluged with blood and desolated. It is not to be thought strange, therefore, that the popular ballads of that age represented resistance to authority as a patriotic virtue, and that Robin Hood the outlaw became the representative man among the Saxons. The Normans were henceforward the gentry, the wealthier classes, and holders of place, whose language graced the court, the hall, and the camp. The Saxons were the inhabitants of the towns, and villages, and farms. Those who were too proud to descend to this became outlaws, residing in the Isle of Ely, and the fens of Lincolnshire. The Conquest, however, by diminishing border wars, lessened the number of slaves, but this class, or that of the tenant above him, was not much improved. They subsisted on fish, bread, and beer; but 'villeins,' as they were called, were rarely allowed to taste what Norman lords ate, and what their polite phraseology has designated 'beef, mutton, and veal.' But in towns, liberties arose which vastly advanced the progress of trade, and enhanced the comforts of the people. It is true, the guilds of traders enriched the king's revenue, but they were the expression of popular freedom. In military science the Normans excelled; but they did not introduce a tithe of those improvements in literature, or the useful arts, which Lord Macaulay so confidently ascribes to them. Dr. Vaughan has corrected his lordship with reason, and rebuked him with sharpness on this particular.

The *Government* of England under the Normans prepared the way for *Magna Charta*. The feudalism of William did not

much

much affect the inferior courts, where the law was administered as it had been under the Saxons; but trial by jury was greatly improved. The men composing it were chosen from the neighbourhood where any crime was committed. They might be challenged. They could not give evidence as in Saxon times. The office of jurors arose with the custom of taxation. To make a proper entry of all persons and properties in *Doomesday Book*, William found it necessary to change the jurors. Every few years added to this necessity. Thus the people were taxed by the 'good' men of the district. William governed England by means of his council, which consisted of barons only. The king's court judged all causes, but by degrees became divided into the four courts which sit at Westminster still. Itinerant judges began to be known in the reign of Henry the Second; but it is notorious that in his reign 'there was no court in which justice was not bought or sold, as a common article of merchandise.' Money paved the way for all desires. 'But good came from these excesses. Normans and English were thus prepared, from the feeling of their common wrongs, to act together for their common deliverance. The provisions of Magna Charta point to nearly all the customs and abuses above mentioned as among the grievances of the times.' That great deed was gained in 1215. John was then king. His fame is chiefly dependent upon his quarrels with the King of France, the Pope, and his own barons. The latter wrested the charter of their liberties from him at Runnymede. It was a 'solemn protest against the evil of arbitrary arrests, and arbitrary taxation.' It placed the law as a fence about the person of the subject; and in regard to taxation, it placed the authority of the 'common council of the kingdom' abreast with the authority of the king. Even the 'villein' had certain rights secured by this arrangement of the nobles. It was expressly stipulated that there should be 'no sale, no delay, no denial of justice,' in the case of the humblest freeman.

In the *Church*, William substituted Normans for Saxons in all high offices; he also instituted the spiritual courts which have been long known in this country. This introduced the canon law, and an endless train of vexations, from all of which we are not yet recovered. Celibacy was also enforced upon the clergy, and the dogma of transubstantiation added to the creed. The Anglo-Saxons had favoured neither of these; but when they were adopted in England, the power of the priesthood threatened the authority of kings. This was the age when Odo and Dunstan, Anselm and Becket, successively held the see of Canterbury, and when great disputes arose respecting the investitures of bishops. Papal wisdom condemned the charter, and the men who exacted it. The ambition of the priest sought to subdue the crown and noble,

noble, and villein alike. These were the dark ages. The state of religion could not be healthy amidst venality, strife, and false doctrine. The Norman clergy knew not the language of the people, and cared not for their welfare. Themselves reckless, and often immoral, they could not keep the people from sinking into spiritual death. Religious life had few who illustrated its beauty or realized its happiness, and the Gospel was estranged from the people by the clergy. In the towns, as intelligence advanced and schools arose, dissatisfaction with the Church was felt, and some earnest inquirers found the truth that saves. In the reign of Henry the Second, we read of a few who refused to invoke the saints, to believe in purgatory, or to pray for the dead; and who were publicly whipped through the streets of Oxford, three times, almost naked, in the depth of winter, into the open country, where, unassisted by all, and under the ban of excommunication, they perished by cold and famine. 'So began,' says Dr. Vaughan, 'the punishment of death on account of religious opinions in our history. This was in 1159.'

Social life had to pass through a painful ordeal at the time of the Conquest, ere it could settle into order, or realize benefit, if any could be got, from the revolution. Industry was impeded by warfare. Traffic was dangerous. Farming was oppressed by exactions. But this could not continue. The Normans found it to be their interest to encourage agriculture and handicraft. Wool had been long exported and cloth imported; but manufacture slowly returned. The mines of Devon and Cornwall were wrought. Slavery, which had been disgracing and degrading the Englishman, was condemned. Seaports arose. But foreigners forestalled the market, and Jews congregated in towns and threatened to monopolize the trade. A harsh oppression of the latter followed, and laws for protecting the native trader were passed. Ship-building and seamanship then began to prosper, and commerce to extend.

Learning was favoured by Norman kings. Schools, lay as well as clerical, were multiplied. The Universities gained more renown. Upwards of a thousand students were resident at Oxford in the thirteenth century, and many students came from Paris to our ancient seat of learning. Cambridge in the same century had its noted teachers, and numbers of students. Aristotle was then the master of all philosophy, and the schoolmen flourished. Nominalism and Realism had their disputants among the English, and keen discussions on these subtle points drew forth intellectual life. The Latin language was spoken in all the schools of England, and contributed to give our scholars acquaintance with the letters and literary movements of Europe. The 'jongleurs' circulated thought among the people in a light form, and exer-

cised 'an awakening influence on the slumbering imagination and feeling of multitudes.' Authors, too, came forth. Geoffry of Monmouth published his 'British History' in 1147, and his book, though full of fictions, became familiar to the most of the reading public of his day. 'It was first written in Latin, but was speedily translated into Norman, English, and Welsh. Copies were multiplied in great numbers, and the work was embellished anew, in whole or in part, by many writers, in prose and in verse. It thus became the basis of a popular historical literature—in the hands of Shakspeare of a dramatic literature, the fame of which must live as long as the name of the great bard himself shall live.' Various other authors flourished in this period, among whom we may mention Wace, the author of 'The Romance of Rollo.'

The language of the learned at the period of the Conquest was Latin, that of the court and of the tribunal was French; but the English tongue was the vernacular of the people, and soon gained upon the literary, the courtly, and the legal. The Saxon element was to engulph all others, and from the amalgam to make the Englishman with a language, a literature, a law, a liberty, an enterprise, and a religion eminently his own.

'By the Conquest,' says Dr. Vaughan, 'our island almost ceased to be insular. England became a consolidated power, participating in all the questions and interests affecting the nations of Europe. In the great controversy, for example, between the ecclesiastical and the civil power, England has its full share. All the subtle pleas on which such controversies were founded became familiar to men's thoughts in this country. Ecclesiastical disputes, military affairs in Normandy, the commencement of the Crusades, the fame of our Richard I. in these enterprises, the new laws, and the new features in the administration of law, all may be said to have been both the effects and the causes of a new wakefulness, disposing men to observe, to reflect, and judge in regard to what was passing about them. The five hundred monasteries had their schools, but the five hundred towns and cities were all schools; and in these last, the lessons taught, though little marked or perceived, were ceaseless, manifold, and potent. By degrees, Norman and Saxon became more equal. Marriages between the two races became every-day events. In the face of the law and of the magistrate, the two races may be said by this time to have been two races no longer. If the Saxon burgess and the Norman alderman still looked at times with jealousy upon each other, the fight between them became comparatively fair and harmless, as it became less a battle of the strong against the weak. When the corpse of King John was laid in Worcester Cathedral, the dark day in the history of England had passed. In future, the Norman, whether prince or baron, must demean himself more honourably towards the Englishman, or cease to be powerful. The revolution of this period to the Saxon, had consisted in his being defeated, despoiled, down-trodden, and in his recovering himself from that position by his own patient energy, so as to regain from the new race of kings all the liberty he had lost, and guarantees for that liberty which were full of the seeds of a greater liberty to come. With this revolution to the Saxon, there came revolution to the Norman. The Norman is no longer a man of military science, and nothing more—no longer a mere patron of letters, with scarcely a tincture of them himself. His intelligence is enlarged; his tastes are expanded and refined. The country of his adoption is becoming more an object of affection to him than the country from which he has derived his name. In short, the Norman is about to disappear in the Englishman. The Englishman is not about to disappear in the Norman. After all, the oldest dwellers upon the soil have proved to be the *strongest.*'

ART.

ART. VI.—WHAT'LL YOU DRINK?*

IF there is any man I do hate, it is that Biggs. Not that I have any personal antagonism to Biggs; but the fellow is continually broaching subjects that are unpleasant to me, following them up rigidly, and leaving me, as it were, without a leg to stand on. He has such a confounded way, too, of backing up what he says by documentary evidence. In fact, I have got to that point with Biggs that I generally let him have his way, not being able to combat him on the spot. Hereafter, I shall pursue a different course. I shall take notes of what he says, and then, in my leisure and the quiet of my library, I shall combat Biggs and expose his fallacies to the contempt of the world. To give some sort of an idea of the style of man I have to contend with, I will relate to you the result of meeting Biggs in the street a few days ago. The morning was slightly damp. I said—

'Good morning, Biggs.'

'Literally speaking,' said Biggs, nodding his head, 'it is not a good morning. The air is damp and humid—a style of air peculiarly unwholesome in large cities, productive of coughs, colds, asthmas, and consumption.' Whereupon he dashed into a mass of statistical information, showing, by the city inspector's reports, how many had died of these diseases through the last three years—their ages, colours, sexes, the relative number of deaths in New York as compared with Paris and London, &c.; all of which he strengthened by the production fron his pocket of the printed authorities.

Now what can you do with such a man?

I rather enjoy Biggs' society—that is, with the reservation that he keep clear of his unpleasant negatives. Otherwise, Biggs is a very agreeable person, and quite a gentleman.

Last Tuesday I met Biggs in Broadway. We walked and talked (without disagreement) on many very pleasant topics. All went merry as a marriage-bell for a while. At last something prompted me to quietly lead Biggs up to the magnificent bar of the Nonsuch House, where, as a natural consequence, I said—

'What'll you drink?'

Biggs hesitated, seemingly in an absent state.

By way of encouragement, I said, 'Brandy?' Biggs nodded vacantly, which the gentlemanly bar-keeper and myself both understood to mean 'Brandy.' It was accordingly served. I touched my glass to Biggs's—a thing I never fail to do when drinking with a friend, from a feeling of respect for old customs. Everybody, of course, knows that this clinking of glasses and drinking of healths stand from the time of the Danish invasion of England. The conquerors for a long time wouldn't permit the English to drink in their presence, taking upon themselves an awkward way of slipping a dagger under the arm while raised with the cup. When the Danes got tired of this fun, they tried to persuade the English to drink: these gentlemen declined, unless the Danes would drink at the same moment as a pledge of safety. In respect, as I say, for this custom, I never neglect to touch the glass, if possible, or, at least, to say as much as 'Here's to you!'

I had touched Biggs' glass, and was just about to raise mine to my lips, when I was surprised to hear him say, in a very solemn voice—

'Do you know what you're drinking?'

Of course I said 'Brandy,' with a look of astonishment.

'Poison!' said Biggs, with a decision that rather alarmed me.

Now I am rather particular in my eating and drinking. I neither eat nor drink loosely about town; and if there is one thing I detest, it is promiscuous drinking. I flatter myself that I am somewhat of a judge, and what I do give a man in my own house is as good as can be got for money. When I drink at a bar, I am a little particular as to what bar it is, and that what I drink is the 'straight' article. When, therefore, Biggs said

* An American reprint indicative of the new phase of agitation by the license party, the cry against adulteration of liquor. But drinking pure liquors cannot cure drunkenness.

to me 'Poison,' and that at the bar of the Nonsuch House, I must confess I was slightly startled, and—need I say it?—slightly offended also. Biggs took me gently by the arm, and we seated ourselves at one of the little tables against the wall.

'Do you know,' said he, holding his glass up to the light, and speaking very slowly and solemnly, 'what is the composition of that article you are about to drink?'

I was just about to say that the article I held was a little Cognac brandy, so called from the village of Cognac, on the river Charante, in the kingdom of France; that it was an alcoholic fluid distilled from grapes—a method discovered some time in the twelfth century, and first made known to the world in the beginning of the thirteenth by Raymond Lulle; though it was supposed that the Arabs had the secret of distillation some hundreds of years before, making use of it to obtain the perfumes of flowers, this being one of the most ancient records of perfumery. All this I was about to tell Biggs, but he wouldn't give me a chance. He took a long swallow of the fluid he held; in a critical way, smacked his lips, and making afterwards a strange, wry face, went on—

'Are you aware that not one per cent. of all the liquor sold as brandy in this country is really brandy? Do you know that we pay French distillers at Lyons and Marseilles, to say nothing of half a hundred other places, to make our corn whiskies into fine old brandies?'

I said, 'Ridiculous!' and, by way of showing that I thought so, I took a swallow of my 'poison,' as Biggs is pleased to term it. Biggs followed my example.

'Yes, sir,' he continued, 'in the brandy-growing districts of France, including Cognac and the adjoining country of Champagne—not the wine-growing land of Champagne, but the spot from whence comes the beverage termed champagne-brandy—in all this country there is not one-fortieth part of the brandy made that is consumed in the United States alone. Even there, sir, the fluid is not safe from their doctoring hands. First it is touched up with a nauseous compound of burned sugar, to suit the taste of those who drink dark brandies. All brandies are light upon distillation, and any of the article that surpasses in colour the pale amber is of necessity doctored with burned sugar. Then there is white sugar to give it smoothness and sweetness. Do you know, sir, that the brandies brought from the very fountain-head, stamped and vouched for by the names of great manufacturers, are simply the making of a parcel of small farmers, or growers, about the neighbourhood of Cognac and Champagne, who bring the stuff they make to these manufacturers, as our farmers bring their cider to market? This crude stuff, which they call 'coupe,' is sold to the manufacturer, who sugars it (black sugar and white), stirs it, sulphurs it, waters it to suit different markets, and then our palates are treated to the genuine article.

'Now, sir, the flavour of true brandy, which you connoisseurs admire so much,' continued Biggs, sipping from his glass, 'is produced by the volatile oil of the grape. Science wouldn't be long, you see, in finding out that. Well, what does Science do under the circumstances? Why, of course, she goes to work to show how this aroma, this beautiful bouquet, can be imitated. She says to the distiller, "My dear fellow, if you will take about one hundred gallons of alcohol, and reduce it to proof, and add to this half a pound of cream of tartar, a little ascetic ether, a few gallons of French wine vinegar, a bushel or so of plums, if possible, allowing they are not too dear; some musk, which is the refuse of the wine-casks, if perfectly handy to be got at; about half a bushel of oak sawdust, just to give it the smack of age,—you will have an excellent brandy."

'"Capital!" says the distiller, doing everything but taste it. "Capital, madame, all but one thing."

'"What's that?" says Science.

'"It does not bead on the side of the glass," says the distiller.

'"We'll soon fix that," says Science.

'With that, she goes to work and makes a machine that shall run down into the brandy-barrel, through the open bung, and convey steam by a pipe to the very bottom. In rushes the steam for a few hours, until the liquor bubbles and boils in its wooden prison.'

'"How will that do?" says Science.

'"Just the thing," says the distiller, holding

holding the glass up to the light. "Will you try some?"

'"Not exactly," says Science. "But if that plan doesn't suit, here's another: Take one thousand gallons of spirit—corn whisky, say, for example, quoted at thirty-one cents per gallon—to this you can put one hundred and twenty gallons of spirit distilled from raisins (not a very expensive article), and then four gallons of the extract of grains of paradise seed."

'"Phew!" says the distiller, "that's deadly poison."

'"That's so," answers Science; "so is the two gallons of cherry-laurel water you must add, and the two gallons of spirit of almond-cake, and—don't forget the oak sawdust, my dear fellow; it gives a touch of the wood; and the steaming, that's age, d'ye see? and the bead."'

I have no doubt at this moment that I may have turned slightly pale. I felt so, and Biggs therefore felt it necessary to revive me. To achieve this end, he thrust his hand into his pocket, and at the very moment I expected to see it reappear with something drinkable in which I could have confidence, what does the man do but bring out a good-looking printed circular, headed, 'Confidential Circular to the Trade,' and hand it to me. I have this document now in my possession; and by way of showing what style of argument Biggs makes use of, I will give it entire, without charging for the advertisement:—

'The undersigned would call the attention of manufacturers of liquors and wines to his very large stock of cognac oils, extracts of brandy, Holland and London gin, essences of rum, peach and cherry-brandy, oils of rye for producing a superior Monongahela or Bourbon whisky from common corn spirit, and his invaluable preparations for neutralizing and giving age and body to new liquors. He has determined to reduce considerable (*sic*) the price of all his goods; yet he warrants his oils to be superior to any other in this country. He warrants to produce six barrels of good merchantable brandy from one ounce of his best cognac oil.

'Cherry juice and malva colouring for the manufacture of port wine, flavourings for ginger, claret, Madeira, and Malaga wines.

'Œnanthic, acetic, and nitrous ethers, essential oils of almond, juniper, carraway, rose, angelica, calamus, anise, absenthe, apple, pear, vanilla, raspberry, strawberry, pine-apple, and banana of the best quality; and the price will be made satisfactory by addressing ———.

'Price Current.

'Best cognac oil, 1 oz. to 6 bbls., at 8 dollars[1] per oz., 100 dollars[2] per lb.

'Second quality cognac oil, 1 oz. to 4 bbls., at 6 dollars[3] per oz., 50 dollars[4] per lb.

'Third quality cognac oil, 1 oz. to 2 bbls., 3 dollars[5] per oz., 25 dollars[6] per lb.

'Extract cognac, 1 lb. to 5 bbls., 10 dollars[7] per lb.

'Extract Hollands and London gin, one gallon for half a pipe, 5 dollars[8] per gallon.

'Oil of rye, for Monongahela and Bourbon whisky, 5 dollars[9] per lb.

'Flavourings of every descriptions, 5 dollars per gallon; and essences, 5 dollars per lb.

'Neutralizing, or age and body preparations, 1 gallon for 20 bbls., 10 dollars per gallon.

'Cherry and other juices, from 1½ dollar to 2 dollars per gallon.'[10]

There is the document entire. I make no profit on it; and I never will believe that the man who published it has any customers. I put it to every man who has a favourite house where occasionally he takes a drink, whether for one moment he can believe that the very gentlemanly proprietor of that house, or the whole-souled bar-keeper, would buy or use any of these poisonous oils and essences? I think I can speak for the Nonsuch House. Though, having the curiosity to inquire, I found the issuer of that circular has quite a large manufactory, and is said to be getting rich. There is something odd in this, if he has no customers; but I do not put myself forward to explain all the mysteries of New York.

To go back to Biggs, who, while I was reading the circular, had emptied the glass that stood before him, in utter disgust, as I suppose, of the contents. I would say nothing more to Biggs in

[1] 32*s*. [2] £20. [3] 24*s*. [4] £10. [5] 12*s*. [6] £5. [7] £2. [8] £1. [9] £1.
[10] The dollar may be reckoned at 4*s*. English currency.

defence

defence of the brandy either of the Nonsuch House, or elsewhere; but as a natural result, seeing his glass empty, I cast about in my mind what I should suggest for him to drink. I do not use the article myself, but I had always heard that rum was accounted the healthiest of all liquors, it being a simple distillation of the sugar-cane, a promoter of perspiration, and a sure cure for coughs, colds, and all diseases incidental to exposure. With this in mind, I said to Biggs—

'Try a little Jamaica or Santa Cruz, hot with spice?'

This kindly proposition of mine had a singular effect upon Biggs. He is a man naturally florid in complexion, and much of this floridity has settled in his nose. At the moment of my mentioning rum, a purple hue suffused that member, and he stared steadily at me for a moment. I saw I had done wrong, but before I could gather myself for defence, the storm burst.

'What,' said he, 'do you take me for? Did you ever know a man who understood himself to drink rum, and that hot spiced, too? Do not the makers spice and doctor enough but I must do it for myself? No, sir! I don't drink rum in any shape, either hot, cold, raw, or spiced!'

In a deprecating way, I suggested that many respectable old gentlemen of my acquaintance, principally retired sea-captains, believed in old Jamaica; and then I told him how they had frequently entertained me with anecdotes of the superstitions of the negroes on the rum estates of Jamaica and Porto Rico. How they watch the stars for signs while the distillation goes on, and how they will not allow a woman to approach the still, as they say it stops the process, and spoils the liquor; how some fine rums are made which are held by the makers above all price, ten pounds being sometimes given for a gallon of some particular age. All this seemed to mollify Briggs somewhat, but yet he said—

'No, sir! Rum is not a gentleman's drink; it may be that in the spots you speak of rum may be made fit to drink when nothing else can be had; but, sir, that is only an additional reason why I should abjure the fluid. None of that precious liquid of which you speak ever comes to this country. The rum of commerce, sir, is a spirit distilled from the refuse of the sugar plantations — the squeezed cane and trash generally, including, no doubt, the dead donkeys, rats, and darkies. Who knows? If it lacks strength when it reaches the hands of the retailer to suit the fiery palates of Yankee drinkers, that is easily managed. A little cayenne, a touch of cocculus indicus, will do that. If it wants colour, a dab of burned sugar is the thing, or, more economically, a dash of molasses, West Indian, of course. With this, should it lack spirit, the alcohol must embrace it. No, sir! no rum; I don't drink rum.'

I mildly said, 'Gin?' Biggs smiled.

'Gin,' he went on to say, 'if pure, should consist of rectified spirits of barley or corn, properly flavoured with the essence of the juniper berry. The town of Scheidam, in Holland, is the proper place for gin to emanate from. How much of it does come from that locality, or any other in Holland, is a question of extreme doubt. We have only of late become a gin-drinking people; this is partly attributable to its cheapness, and perhaps more to the fact that, within a few years, different compounds have been largely advertised as 'gin for medical purposes,' and sold as such. The public taste is about divided between the Holland and what is termed the London gin, both being essentially the same; the flavour of the latter being made up by different distillers, according to their taste, with coriander-seed, cardamom, or anise-seed.'

While Biggs was saying all this, our glasses were again being filled. Gin it was this time.

'One of these "advertising gin men," said he, 'once showed me through his manufacturing shop. He had confidence in me, and showed me how they did it. It was quite amusing, d'ye see, to find out how they sold a dozen quart bottles, or three gallons of gin, including bottles, labelling, boxes, &c., to say nothing of advertising, for about three dollars, when good gin was worth one dollar and forty to one dollar sixty per gallon in the market. Well, sir, they take in the gin, and as a first step, introduce it to Croton Water, Esq. He soon brings down Master Gin's strength one half. This loss of strength would be a serious affair; but it is easy to repair that. The gin has got a turbid, milky, muddy look in consequence of the precipitation

tion of the oily matter. What must be done? We'll soon fix that. A few pounds of alum, and a few pounds of subcarbonate of potash, well shaken up in the liquor, restores all the transparency. All right; but the water has drowned out that blue tint that belongs to the genuine. Bless your heart, that's nothing; a handful of acetate of lead brings back the blue; and now we shall shake it up well, and let it stand twenty-four hours. There you have your gin again, but reduced one-half in strength, which won't suit American palates. Something more must be done. Easy! There are a dozen things to do that with. We use cayenne and capsicum-seed, and, for pungency, a proportionate quantity of grains of paradise seed. Nothing is wanted now but that the liquor shall bead, and cling to the side of the glass, as all good liquor should. To do this we use a little sulphuric acid and almond oil, dissolved in spirits of wine. There you have a gin that will do you good to look at. It has body, a fine complexion, a good head, strength, and pungency. What can you want more?'

'I have in my pocket,' said he, 'a few recipes. I took them from a book published a short time since in London, and thought of sufficient consequence by Hassall to be quoted in his great work on adulteration. This little volume is called "Tricks of Trade." I will give you from it a recipe for making "London gin:"—"Take 700 gallons of second quality rectified spirits; add to this 70 pounds juniper-berries, 70 pounds coriander-seed, 3½ pounds oil of almond cake, 1½ pound angelica root, 6 pounds liquorice, 8 pounds sulphuric acid." Nice, isn't it?'

I am free to confess all this time that I was spilling my gin under the table. However much a man may have confidence in what he eats and drinks, it certainly is a very awkward thing to have these objectionable ideas paraded before you at the very moment of raising the suspected article to your lips. Not so with Biggs; his glass always seemed to go down in a natural ratio, whether it was that he was making a martyr of himself as an experiment for scientific purposes, or whether he was like that waiter in "David Copperfield," who drank the strong ale that killed everybody else, because he was hardened to it, and wished to save David from the terrible results.

I saw, therefore, that Biggs' tumbler was empty. I saw it with dismay; for, in spite of my prejudices in favour of the Nonsuch House, I feared to recommend any special drink, and most certainly I could not say to Biggs again, 'Gin!' I ran over in my mind all the vocabulary of fermented liquors, and at last stumbled blindfold at——

'What do you say now to a little Scotch whisky?'

Biggs looked inquiringly into the bottom of his glass. What he saw there I am unable to say; but in a few moments he looked up, and said, deliberately,

'No! Scotch whisky is a captious thing, even if obtained in its purity, which in this country is next to an impossibility. When the whiskies of Scotland got their reputation they were the products of a thousand stills scattered through the hills and bogs of that land. Then the liquor was made by honest men, who disdained to do anything worse with it than cheat the gauger. They prided themselves on the skill of their brewing, and did not know the meaning of the word "doctoring." That day has gone by; the illicit stills are almost extirpated; and the making of Scotch and Irish whiskies is in the hands of the large distillers, who pay the chemist about as much money for "extracts" as they pay the farmer for grain. From their hands it goes into that of the importers or jobbers, who make it to suit this market. The principle of "dressing," as it is termed, is about the same as that followed in gin, with the exception of getting that smoky taste, which is supposed to be a certain part of a good Scotch or Irish whisky. Of late years, however, a taste has arisen in this country for an Irish whisky without smoke. They give us, therefore, an article they are pleased to term a "sweet Irish malt whisky." As to that smoke, sir, it ought to be indicted, sir;' and Biggs rapped the table with his knuckles till the glasses danced. 'It is nothing but creosote, sir! deadly poison, sir! No, sir, I never drink Scotch whisky.'

'What do you say to a drop of Bourbon, or Monongahela, I suggested, quietly.

Biggs didn't say no, but stared vacantly at the ceiling for a few minutes, while

while the boy brought the Bourbon; and then he woke up, as it were, and looked into the glasses, as much as to say, 'How the deuce came this here?' Then he began:

'I don't know that there is any more objection to Bourbon whisky than there is to any other liquor, if it's only made right.'

With this prelude, he emptied his glass with one swallow, and continued:

'But the truth is, there's such an infamous system carried on with our native whiskies, that it gives one a double dose; for by the time they are drugged by the distillers, drugged by the jobbers, and drugged by the retailers, they become a pretty mess. Each of these individuals acts upon the idea that he alone is the "doctor," or, to illustrate it more fully, they go on the plan of the parishioners of a certain curé, in a French village, who determined to give the priest a barrel of wine. This was to be accomplished by each of them bringing a bottle, and emptying it in a barrel prepared and set up in front of the good man's house. The day came, and so came each parishioner with his bottle, which was speedily emptied in the barrel. When the job was done, the curé came, smacking his lips, to taste his wine, because, as a supposable case, each would bring a bottle of the best to the holy father. He tasted, and looked, and lo, and behold! the good father had only a barrel of water. Each parishioner believing, with commendable charity, that he was the only rogue in the community, brought a bottle of that fluid to empty into his neighbour's wine.

'This is precisely the case with our native whiskies. For a number of years the hogs through the western country that were fed on the slop of the distillers died at a ruinous rate. All the hog-doctors bothered their brains to know the cause. They christened it "Hog cholera." It was not uncommon for a fine apparently healthy porker to give up the ghost after an attack of one hour or less, independent of medical aid. About this time some wiseacre, who wished, as wiseacres will, you know, to meddle a little, undertook to analyze some of this swill, or distillery wash, and, lo! he detected strychnine in large quantities. At first the distillers were very indignant with Mr. Wiseacre; but now, the cat being once out of the bag, they make no hesitation in declaring that they use the drug to aid them in obtaining more spirit out of the same quantity of corn. The physicians tell us, that since this *improvement* in the manufacture of whisky, delirium tremens is an incurable disease. By-the-by, some years ago, when the parliamentary inquiry arose upon the adulteration of food and liquors in England, it came out that M. Pelletier, the great chemical manufacturer of Paris, had the curiosity to inquire where the immense quantities of strychnine went for which he received orders. He thought he traced it to England, where it was supposed to be used for brewing purposes. Now, what do you say to the hypothesis that all this nice stuff came to the land of the free and the home of the brave for whisky manufacture? Eh, sir? One thing is a certain fact, that the importation of strychnine has increased to an enormous extent, while, ten years ago, the drug was scarcely known.'

By this time I confess to have become slightly disgusted with Biggs; but, like the young medical student, who, though he shudders with real horror upon first entering a dissecting-room, afterwards rather enjoys the disgusting detail. I think it must have been partially from this cause, and partially from my desire to show Biggs that I had something rather good at home, that I was induced to say to him, 'Come up to my house and drink a glass of wine,' which, of course, he acceded to directly. And I think it must have been wholly from this morbid idea that I gave way to the question while going up, 'What is your opinion now about porter and ale?'

'Porter and ale,' said Biggs, sententiously, 'may do well for very healthy men, who are too healthy to be affected by vitriol or prussic acid, or for old gentlemen who are case-hardened or anxious to depart from this sphere. What do I think of porter and ale, eh? Well, I'll tell you what I think. In the first place, porter and ale, if ever so honest, is a bilious way of a man taking his sustenance. But, independent of this fact, sir, I challenge the denial that all brewers use, more or less, foreign elements than malt and hops for the production of their beverages.

'In England, a few years since, public

public attention was called strongly to this, and the result was some terrible revelations as to what that intelligent British public had been swallowing. It was found that salt, molasses, sulphate of iron, gentian, quassia, camomile, ginger, coriander, paradise-seeds, liquorice, alum, sulphuric acid, capsicum, cocculus indicus, tobacco, opium, and strychnine were component parts of the different specimens of porter and ale obtained from various beer-shops through the city of London. In this free country we have no parliamentary committees of inquiry, therefore we don't know the exact nature of the dose; but I have the authority of a first-class drug-house in the city of Philadelphia that they sell to brewers large quantities of cocculus indicus, which is used as a substitute for malt and hops, and is considered by the brewers as making the beer keep, and prevents a re-fermentation after bottling. Therefore, in all ale or porter bottled for a warm climate it is used freely, saving the breakage of bottles, and adding at least forty per cent. to the intoxicating power: the same firm told me they sold alum, which was invariably used to give the ale a smack of age, which, by-the-by, puts me in mind that in Dr. Normanby's "Commercial Handbook of Chemical Analysis," he mentions the fact of seeing a druggist's cart, on which was painted, in large, staring letters, "Brewers' Druggist." Isn't that funny?

'Now, here's a recipe from the keeper of a first-class chop and ale-house for doctoring porter. When he gets in the barrel, he first draws off one-third of the liquor, which he replaces with the same quantity of water. To this he adds two quarts of molasses, and one pound of coopers' size dissolved. Then he dashes in a handful of common salt, as a cleanser. Then, to restore the bitter flavour, quassia in proper quantity; sulphate of ammonia, to bring the old colour again; a dash of sulphate of iron; and, if age is wanted, a piece of alum as big as a lump of chalk will do the business. "And then, sir," says Boniface, "you have a porter much superior to the original, because it makes drunk come quick." There's an English book in existence called "Brewing Malt Liquors," by Morris, which unblushingly recommends various articles for brewing malt liquors, and for *improving* them after they are brewed. He styles it "colouring," and it is composed of cocculus indicus, flag-root, capsicum, paradise-seed, beans, oyster-shells, and pulverized alum. "The colouring," he says, "gives a good face to the beer, and enables you to gratify the sight of your different customers." Mind you, he says "sight." And again, says Morris, "Beans tend to mellow malt liquor, and from their properties add much to the inebriating qualities; but they must not be used in too large a quantity." Now, sir, do you know why the considerate Morris does not wish to give his customers too much beans? It is because the ale in such case would become a purgative and an emetic. If you doubt it, sir, chew raw beans as an experiment.'

I respectfully declined the test.

'I have a friend,' Biggs went on, 'who always drinks the ale of a certain well-known brewer, and will never touch any other; not because he thinks it more pure, but because the effects on him are the same as "cannabis indicus" or "hasheesh," one quart of the deadly mixture sending him into the seventh heaven of insensibility. I give that man twelve months more to live, sir—twelve months, mind you. It is no argument, sir, that the same ale should not have the same effect on others: all men are not affected alike by medicine.'

By this time we had arrived at my domicile. I had inwardly determined on a masterstroke of policy with Biggs; I would leave him to the selection of his own wine, by which I flattered myself his taste would be filled, and his power of analysis cut off. With this view, I said to Biggs, 'Now, what say you, champagne, port, sherry, Rhine wine, Burgundy, claret, muscat, whatever you like?'

With his usual way of eluding a question, or answering it by another, Biggs only said, as he threw himself into my very easiest of easy chairs: 'Ah! now this is the sensible way of drinking. If one is forced to go through with this custom, let it be done at home. There is far more respectability, sir, in getting drunk in the bosom of one's family than travelling from bar-room to bar-room, swallowing every villanous compound. This reminds me of a certain dramatic friend of mine, an Englishman, who, when Ellen Tree, now Mrs. Charles Kean,

first

first came to this country, was anxious to be introduced to his talented countrywoman. As I knew her well, I presented him one evening, on the stage, when the curtain was down, between the acts. The lady had a charming manner, and the actor was delighted. As a matter of course, the lady asked him how long he had been in this country.

'"About a matter of four year, mem," answered the professional, rubbing his hands with undisguised joy at the complaisance of the great star.

'"And how do you like the country, Mr. F——?"

'"Ah! very tol'able country, mem, very. There's only one thing I object to in this country, that's the confounded system, mem, of perpendicular drinking, mem."

'Poor F—— never got rid of that "perpendicular drinking," by which, of course, he meant this American custom of standing up at a bar and swallowing endless drinks in rapid succession. I think so, too, sir, "perpendicular drinking" is an ungentlemanly practice. Good wine, sir, is a thing that should not be abused. Somewhere I have met with an account of a Mr. Van Horn, who had in his life consumed 35,688 bottles of port. Think of it! Why, if this man had been drinking thirty-five years, this would have been an average of three bottles per day. Such a man, sir, should be debarred from drinking for ever. Some old sage says, "A two-bottle-port man is only a wine-funnel." That's true. If we are obliged to drink, sir, let us drink humanly—drink to quench thirst. Now, what is thirst? Magendie says, Thirst is supposed to be the effect of evaporation, the mouth and throat being constantly exposed to the atmosphere. When there is sufficient fluidity of the blood, the secretion is so much more copious than the evaporation that a constant moisture is preserved." Now, this is just equivalent to saying that nature really demands very little fluid; therefore a man who swallows three bottles of any liquid substance, be it only water, is flying directly in the face of nature. A true gentleman wine-drinker is no braggart, like Darius, who declared he could drink much wine, and bear it nobly. The man who boasts of his power to drink large quantities, only boasts of his own vulgarity. Bacon, or somebody else, says, "Of all who take wine, the moderate only enjoy it." The chemical composition of wine is——'

'Oh! bother the chemical compositions; the question is, "What'll you drink?"' said I to Biggs.

Biggs looked me straight in the eye, and repeating his last sentence with strong emphasis, went on. 'The chemical—composition—of—wine—is—mind you, I mean real wine—(I'll take a little sherry: thank you)—is sugar, acid, water, tannin, œnanthic ether, carbonic acid, acetic acid, chloride of sodium, and potassium, gum, gluten, aroma, tartrate potash, sulphate potash, bi-tartrate potash, extractive matter, and colouring matter. There, now! to think of the presumption of human wisdom, after having found out, by the prying of chemistry, all these things, that it should dare to go to work to make wine by mixing them together.'

I brought the bottle of sherry to Biggs just as it was in the cellar, without offering to decant it. I was rather anxious he should see the dust on the bottle.

'Ah! ah! my boy,' said Biggs, as I came into the room, 'don't disturb the bottle, don't stand it upright, if you love me. Easy, now; let me take it: so—there, now. Sherry is a noble wine, the prince of Andalusian wines, if it be good; but, bless you, they never bring it good to this country. When it isn't made entirely from a white wine body, touched up with brandy, bitter almonds, molasses, sugar-candy, and scalding water, it is always "doctored" at home, more or less, notwithstanding it is the most delicate wine to meddle with in the world.'

Biggs by this time had drawn the cork, and filled our glasses brimming.

'Bumpers,' said he, 'in respect for ancient customs. Did you ever hear of Liebeg's analyzation of twenty-four samples of champagne? He found them to contain one volume of carbonic acid gas, and two of protoxide of nitrogen (or laughing gas). These gases are hurtful in the highest degree to the healthy, but to such as are inclined to consumption, they are fatal. In all cases they tend directly to apoplexy. There is no wine so much drunk as champagne, and consequently none so extensively counterfeited. Under any circumstances, it is not a natural wine. The great champagne-makers—who, having got a reputation,

putation, are supposed to grow all the wine they export themselves — are simply the fixers and doctors of the wines of other people. Just as in the case of the brandy districts, the growers of white wine through the land of the champagne bring it in the crude still state to the great wine proprietor, who buys it at a stated low rate. It then goes through a long process of refining, sugaring, shaking, fermenting, brandying, and various other methods of manufacturing, until the original vine might look it full in the face, and never recognize the child. And this is the so-called genuine wine! Of this genuine wine, there is about one bottle made to every twenty of so-called champagne drunk throughout the world. The real wine cannot be bought upon the spot of its manufacture for less than five francs (or four shillings) per bottle; and yet, sir, we have offered daily, in the New York market, an article of champagne for eight dollars (thirty-two shillings) per dozen, so closely resembling it, that some very nice judges have been rather bothered to tell the difference. We have some fine manufactories of champagne, sir, in New York, which are a credit to our domestic industry. At one of these, which boasts of doing a business of nearly 60,000 dollars per annum, I happened, some year or so ago, to get behind the scenes. Here is the recipe for making.'

Biggs fumbled away in his pockets a few minutes, and then brought forth a small piece of dirty paper, and read:

'"White wine, one barrel (worth about half a crown per gallon); white sugar, 20 pounds; colouring matter for the yellow tint, 17 pounds light brown sugar; 1¼ oz. tartaric acid; 2 gallons brandy; 4 gallons alcohol. Boil this and skim it well. When cool, by adding 4 pounds of bruised strawberries, or other accessible fruit, the mixture is much improved."

'Now, this I consider a very fine article, and comparatively harmless. If all our domestic manufacture of champagne is equally so, I shall declare in its favour rather than the European article, in which are such nice substances as gypsum, arsenite of copper, sugar of lead—a delightful thing to inoculate one with the painter's colic—essences of celery and sage. They make it in large quantities for the American market at Cette, Marseilles, and Lyons; one house at the latter place shipping 80,000 bottles per annum. It is this stuff that Brande and Henderson analyzed and exposed, declaring that its use created sickness, permanent derangement, nausea, headache, dyspepsia, and paralysis. Now, sir, I ask any sensible person— Hallo! are you asleep?'

I am afraid I was, for I started in a very ridiculous way, and said, in a stupid sort of a tone—

'What'll you drink? A little port?' 'No.' 'Claret?' 'No.' 'Rhine wine?' 'No.' 'Burgundy?'

'Ah, Burgundy! Burgundy is not so bad; red as a ruby, fragrant as a flower; truly a gentleman's wine. Let it be Burgundy. I don't drink port. I lack confidence. It is too easily made. That rich fruity bouquet has brought forth the skill of the chemists and doctors in wine. There is no wine to which more attention has been paid in the manufacture of first-class imitations than port. This comes from the large quantities consumed in England, and formerly in this country. But we are beginning to lose confidence in our port. The day has gone by for the manufacture of a superior port from logwood. Science, my dear fellow, has been at work. First they make us a fine decoction of elderberry juice, which they have christened Hrupiga; to this we will introduce a certain quantity of water, or, if we wish to be extravagant, cheap white wine. Good! Now, we will put in a little unfermented grape juice, and brandy enough to give the mixture strength. Now we must set the colour; alum will do that, and give it clearness. Why, a dash of gypsum, of course. Then, for astringency, what is better than tannin?—a touch of the wood oak sawdust? And now comes the delicate bouquet: extract sweetbriar, orris-root, cherry laurel water, seeds of the grape, salts of tartar. Carefully, carefully, my dear boy! slip them in gently, and taste. Ah! there's a wine; what do you want better than that? Why, sir, that wine, if mixed by a skilful hand, will be smacked by connoisseurs with a real gusto. Now we must put it in casks or bottles. We must make a hot solution of cream of tartar and Brazil wood, which must be poured into the [illegible] bottles; and the cork [illegible] on the end that goes [illegible] Good! only one [illegible]

water not reaching to their necks. This for the crust, my boy! There, you have a splendid old port, fit for a king! If your taste is for a cheaper article, it can be gratified by mixing forty-five gallons of cider with six of brandy, two extract sloes, eight of real port (allowing it is to be had), Sanders wood for colour, powdered catechu for astringency, and you have it.

'And even the noble Burgundy suffers in the same way, though it is something to be thankful for that they have not reached the same skill as in port. We have a very pretty article of Burgundy got up now on a Medoc body, or perhaps on the white Rhine wine, treated much the same as port, with the slightest touch in the world of green vitriol and arsenite of copper, and a dash of litharge, or some preparation of lead, to keep it from turning. In a very few years, my dear boy, there will not be the slightest occasion for vineyards, or the cultivation of the grape: science will do it much better. We improve every day; I have no prejudices, I assure you. There may be some real wines—may be; but I must be excused, you see, if I have my preferences. This is the reason, my boy, that I never drink claret. It is an easy article of manufacture, cheap, and consequently in large demand. Under these circumstances, many good intellects have been brought to bear upon it, until the secret is wrung away; and it is a matter of deep question, whether the vineyards in the obscure lofts and cellars of New York are not equalling those of Medoc, Montiquan, and Graves. In one of my pockets, my boy, I have a pleasant little volume, made up from the manuscript of M. Paquirre, of Bourdeaux, who wrote in 1825, after spending a lifetime in the study of wines.'

I had given up being astonished at Biggs, as I am confident, had the occasion demanded, he would have pulled the Astor Library from his pocket in support of his assertions. I therefore contented myself with saying, as I looked at the empty Burgundy bottle, 'I don't object to betting you a nice little spread—say a dinner for six—that I have a claret, genuine, and of fine bouquet, colour, and answering all the requirements for a stout, fine wine.'

'Why don't you bring it out, my boy, then?' says Biggs.

By this time he had produced a dingy-looking 16mo. from his pocket, and began to read, while I produced the wine, uncorked, and poured it out. I noticed, as rather a singular mode of testing, that Biggs filled his glass twice, and drank it absently, while hunting up the required paragraphs. I mention this fact because I knew to a certainty that all great wine-tasters, or liquor-judges, do not at first drink it when they are about to pass judgment. The most celebrated I ever knew would put only one spoonful in a half-tumbler of water, and rinse his mouth; after which he would pronounce an opinion, from which there was no use of appeal. Men who appreciate good wines, or would be capable of telling what they are drinking, do not spoil their mouths and palates by great gulps, or rapid refilling and emptying of glasses; nor yet by eating cheese, nuts, olives, or any article of foreign flavour, to create an appetite.

'Now,' said he, 'hear what M. Paquirre says of claret. "The wine, if it has succeeded, ought to be clear, transparent, of a fine soft colour, a lively smell, and balsamic taste, slightly piquant, but agreeable, inclining to that of raspberry, violet, or mignionette; filling the mouth, and passing without irritating the throat, giving a gentle heat to the stomach, and not getting too quickly into the head." Well, sir! how does this answer to your ideas of claret?' says this disagreeable Biggs, detecting me in the very act of smelling and tasting my wine. Biggs went on.

'Hear what M. Paquirre says about "doctoring" the real wine. "But in order to give the Bourdeaux wines some resemblance to those wines of Spain and Portugal which are used in England (and this will suit the locality of the United States also), to render them to the taste preferred, they are obliged to work them; that is, to mix them by means of a particular operation, so that those wines which are shipped can no longer be known as the same wines that are produced in the Department of the Gironde, or that remain at Bourdeaux." This particular operation, M. Paquirre describes. "It is achieved by using orris root for restoring the bouquet, touching up with raspberry brandy; using mineral crystal (which simply means alum), and isinglass." All this is done to the genuine wine. But what further it gets, when it has once crossed the Atlantic, would be beyond telling.

Now,

Now, let us see how we shall make a splendid article of claret that shall possess colour, flavour, body, and strength; and which we must sell for from ten to twelve shillings per dozen, the usual price, bottles, boxes, and straw included. We will take thirty gallons of water, two of alcohol, logwood sufficient for colouring, a little bitartrate of potash, a small quantity of gypsum, powdered catechu, a trifle of cocculus indicus, and we have a very good article at a very low price. If we are extravagant, we will improve this by colouring by elderberries or mulberries instead of logwood, or we will add the red beet well crushed; we will improve it with a gallon or two of raspberry juice, possibly a little brandy. We must not, however, be too lavish, or we shall convert our claret into a Burgundy or a dry port. And here I have in my pocket a little vial, with which I shall work wonders.'

'Now, my boy,' said he, 'perceive what I am about to do. This vial contains a solution of caustic potash. I shall drop a single grain of it in this claret. If the wine is pure, it will not be affected; if it is coloured with logwood, it will turn reddish purple; if elderberries, dark purple; if with mulberries, light purple; if with beet-root, clear red; if with Brazil wood, muddy red; if with litmus, light violet. Now, look out!'

Of all the impudent things I ever knew mortal man to be guilty of, I think this beat all. To test a man's wine in his own house, chemically, right under his nose, and that after finishing several bottles! I emphatically refuse to state what colour my wine turned. I shall only say that I have lost to Biggs that dinner for six; and Biggs is not a man to forget it. He coolly corked his vial again, and restored it to his waistcoat pocket.

'There, sir, what I have said about claret applies equally well to all the German and Rhine wines. The cheaper the wine, the more poisonous. I defy contradiction, sir; I defy it, sir; I defy all the world, sir; I defy you, sir!'

I shall never lose the idea that at this special moment I saved the life of Biggs (though why I did it I cannot imagine) by seizing the glass containing the balance of the claret to which he had administered a dose of caustic potash, and which, in his forgetfulness and excitement, he was raising to his lips.

'Give us,' said Biggs, 'pure liquors; make it death to adulterate, or make it death to drink.'

'It is,' I ventured to remark.

'Hold your tongue, sir,' responded Biggs. 'Let this Government, sir, appoint an Envoy Extra-or-di-nor-di-nary, and a Minister Plen-i-po-pen-i-ten-tia-ry, sir, to go to the wine districts, sir, and see, sir, that the wines come to us, sir, pure and un-a-dul-ter-a-ted, sir. Then, sir, throw open your ports—"free trade and sailors' rights"—and admit 'em, sir, without duty. For, said the great patriot, Jefferson, "Gentleman," says he, "I rejoice as a moralist on the prospect of the reduction of duties on wine by our National Legislature. It is an error to have a tax on that liquor as merely a tax on the rich. It is a prohibition of its use to the middling classes of our citizens, and a condemnation of them to the poison of spirits, which is desolating their homes. No nation is drunken where wine is cheap; and none sober where the dearness of wine substitutes — ardent — spirits—as the—common beverage."

'That's it, sir. How—do—like—it, sir?'

Biggs was showing evident signs of sleep. 'John, John! Here, bring a carriage for Mr. Biggs.'

'Steady, now; there, take my arm. —So.'

'Good-by, ol—fel—a—'

Art. VII.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

WHATEVER may be the difficulties, which the aspect of foreign affairs and the new complications of our relations in the East appear likely to introduce into our political discussions, the ensuing month will not be barren of events interesting to friends of social reform. By the time this brief sketch of the quarter's progress will be in the press, the meeting of the British Association at Aberdeen will have taken place, and science will have derived some real or fancied advantage from the patronage

Consort. As the discussions of the various sections have not any very direct relation to social reform, it will hardly form part of our duty to record them: but of late years a section has been added in which our readers will have an interest, and of which, as we know, several important papers will be presented, we shall hope to offer some account in our next quarter's summary.

The great event of the future, however, will be the assembly of the Social Science Congress at Bradford on the 10th October. It will be presided over by the Earl of Shaftesbury. The various sections are well represented in their officers; and as it is reported that Lord Brougham, now permanent President of the Council, has devoted especial attention to his inaugural address, and that he will express his judgment on many debateable points which we have introduced to the notice of our readers, we anticipate a very successful and very useful meeting.

It may appear strange that we should gossip about future events, when we profess to be recording the transactions of the past quarter; but the truth is that we have little to record. The only arena upon which questions of social reform have been discussed has been the floor of the various courts of assize, and the chief orators have been judges upon circuit. During the past few months, as upon all previous occasions when criminal law has been administered, one continual cry of lamentation for the results of intemperance has been raised over the land. In one calendar murders, in another robbery, in a third nearly all the offences of every kind, turn out, when the circumstances attending the crime come to be investigated, to have been associated with strong drink. We have never been more struck than when running through the history of the last quarter of a year for the purposes of this sketch, with the all-absorbing importance of this question of national drunkenness. It appears to have been almost the one question before the country. And yet indifference still prevails, and we are declared, even by some of our own readers, to be fanatical, because so vital a discussion occupies a prominent space in our pages. It is much to be regretted that some full and accurate statistics of the connection of crime with drunkenness are not within reach; but probably this connection can never be set forth in all its appalling accuracy. The records of crime contain a register only of the crime for which the prisoner is indicted. The circumstances horrify a court, but are then forgotten; and the man who carries the stain of blood upon his hand stands condemned as a manslayer, while the agent which excited his passion or nerved his arm remains concealed.

Men of thought and influence have, however, been aroused, and the magistrates of the country have been awakened to a sense of their duty. No circumstance appears to us more hopeful than the presentment of the grand jury of the county of Lancaster, at Liverpool. Our readers well know that our views as to the remedy for the mischiefs complained of are very definite, and not entirely in accordance with those set forth in the presentment; but without entering upon the ungracious task of criticism or objection, we reprint the document as being itself a fact in the history of social reform during the past three months. It runs as follows:—

'GRAND JURY—LIVERPOOL CROWN COURT, AUG. 1859.

(Before Mr. Baron Watson.)

'Sir James Philip Kay Shuttleworth, Bart., foreman—John Bibby, Esq., Hart Hill, Allerton—John Ireland Blackburne, Esq., jun., Hale, Warrington—Thomas Brocklebank, Esq., Liverpool—David Bromilow, Esq., Haresfinch House, St. Helens—John Campbell, Esq., South Hill Grove, Liverpool — Frederic William Earle, Esq., Edenhurst, Prescot—Nathaniel Eckersley, Esq., Shelley Grove, Wigan —Josiah Evans, Esq., The Heys, Haydock—Frederic Sewalis Gerard, Esq., Liverpool—Sir Thomas George Hesketh, Bart., Rufford Hall—Arthur Henry Heywood, Esq., Claremont, Manchester — Samuel Holme, Esq., Holmestead, Liverpool — Duncan M'Vicar, Esq., Liverpool — John Myers, Esq., Crosby House, Liverpool —William Preston, Esq., Rock House, West Derby—Albert Hudson Royds, Esq., Mount Falinge, Rochdale — Henry Royds, Esq., Elm House, Wavertree — Samuel Taylor, Esq., Ibbotsholme, Windermere — Charles Turner,

Turner, Esq., Dingle Head, Liverpool —Robert Theakstone, Esq., Booth—James Hardy Wrigley, Esq., Southport—Edward Gibbon, Esq.

'My Lord Judge,—The grand jury of this assize for the county palatine of Lancaster desire to make the following presentment to your lordship: —In the charge, with which your lordship opened this assize, you directed the attention of the grand jury to those acts of violence which occupy a prominent place in the calendar. You informed them that it contained "thirty-five cases of cutting, stabbing, and wounding, by which eight persons had come to their deaths." Your lordship concluded your charge by directing the attention of the jury to those means of prevention which might be wisely adopted to check the growth of crime. The grand jury have carefully borne in mind both parts of your lordship's charge. They find that the acts of violence to which your lordship directed their attention have been of an aggravated description. A large proportion resulted from quarrels commenced within the walls of licensed public-houses, after drinking prolonged for hours, and indeed until it had produced a brutal frenzy. After savage blows struck in the house—sometimes producing severe injury—the combat has been renewed in the yard, or the adjoining road, or the street, and in some cases an unmanly use has been made of knives—stabs with dangerous bleeding or immediate loss of life, or blows and kicks have been given with such barbarity as to cause death. In cases where the grand jury had not before them evidence of the commencement of the quarrel in a particular public-house, it has been clear that the parties had been infuriated with drink. The grand jury desire emphatically to express their opinion that, apart from the moral mischief which the excessive use of intoxicating drinks occasions in families and in society, *all the poisons sold to malefactors, or wantonly or carelessly used, cause far fewer deaths than the unregulated sale of beer or spirits.* The chaplains of our gaols have for many years called the attention of the magistrates of this county to drunkenness as the chief source of crime. But the magistrates have only a very limited power over beer-houses, inasmuch as they cannot limit the number of licenses; and their discretion as to the suspension or removal of the license of public-houses is subjected to embarrassing restrictions. It is especially to be regretted that the law does not enable the magistrates to secure the personal residence of the licensed victualler in his public-house. The grand jury nevertheless suggest that in all cases of intoxication causing any breach of the peace, the police should be directed to ascertain, and report to the justices in petty sessions, what were the houses in which the several parties had been permitted to obtain drink in excess. They would urge that the justices should pursue these inquiries, so as to impress on all who are entrusted with the sale of intoxicating liquors that they become parties to disorder, to much moral mischief, to breaches of the peace and acts of brutal violence ending in homicide, by permitting drink to be taken in excess. They therefore frustrate the intentions of the Legislature —that the license should be held on condition of co-operation with the justices of the peace to prevent the abuse of intoxicating drinks, and should be withdrawn if this condition were not fulfilled. The grand jury conceive that the justices in petty sessions may be strengthened in the discharge of such duties if, from this assize, their attention be called to all those cases of violence caused by intoxication, and commencing in public-houses, which have been sent for trial by your lordship, and that they be requested to consider whether they should take such measures with respect to the licenses of such publicans as may issue in their suspension or removal. Some such immediate exercise of the authority of the justices, followed by a vigorous and persevering administration of the law, *has become indispensable.* The grand jury, however, feel that if these efforts were successful they would leave untouched the mischievous influences of beer-houses, kept by a ruder class of persons than the licensed victuallers. Either, on the one hand, the sale of beer and spirituous liquors may be safely made an open trade, both without reference to the character of the dealers or to any guarantee for their good conduct; or, if such a trade cannot be suffered without control, then the security which the Legislature has required from the licensed victuallers should be rendered thoroughly effectual,

tual, and extended to beer-houses. Such security should be sought, not only in the provisions of the statute, but also by an administration of the law, prompt, earnest, and free from personal or party favour or interest. The present law neither effectually promotes wholesome restraint, nor is it consistent with an unfettered trade. It is administered by two classes of functionaries, on two conflicting and ill-defined principles, so as to cause a confusion most injurious to those who are supported by manual labour, and to become a fruitful source of crime. The grand jury are of opinion that the laws as to the sale of intoxicating drinks in beer-houses and public-houses should be assimilated, and that authority administering the law should be made uniform, and should be such as to secure a prompt, pure, and faithful enforcement of the intention of the Legislature. *The grand jury venture to say that no graver question of domestic legislation awaits the action of the executive government.* The grand jury cannot conclude this presentment without expressing their earnest concurrence with your lordship as to the supreme importance which you attached to all the moral means for the prevention of crime afforded by the religious bringing up of our youth, by private example, and in efficient schools. They likewise desire to rejoice with your lordship in the marked success which has hitherto attended the institutions, of late created, for the reformation especially of females and of juvenile offenders. They would further urge that the associations of "patronage," which aid the reformed adult prisoner, on his discharge, to obtain an honest livelihood by work, deserve confidence, and that an immediate extension of such societies is rendered desirable by the practical abolition of the punishment of transportation.

'J. P. KAY SHUTTLEWORTH,
Foreman.'

We must not terminate this hasty summary without one word in relation to the Royal Commission which has been occupied in Scotland in an inquiry into the license system of that country, and especially into the operation of Lord Kennaird's, or Forbes M'Kenzie's Act. The inquiry itself was originated by the publicans, and for some time resisted by friends of the Act; but eventually the fears entertained of the partiality of a parliamentary committee were removed by the appointment of a Royal Commission, who should take evidence on the spot. From the reports which have reached us we fear the change will not be much better than the original suggestion. The commissioners have apparently arrived at foregone conclusions, and we shall not be at all surprised if their report turn out unsatisfactory. The integrity of the law will not be maintained by the strict adherence of its supporters, for the inquiry has presented the strange anomaly of leading temperance men *recommending* a relaxation of its provisions. It is curious how the fear of some small defeat leads to a sacrifice of principle—insuring future loss for some problematic present gain. It would surely have been better to lay before the commissioners some distinct and definite suggestions involving a principle upon which those advancing the suggestions believed legislation in regard to the trade in strong drink should always proceed.

The great case which has almost entirely concentrated popular interest, that of Dr. Smethurst, is not without its suggestive points. It is very doubtful whether 'scientific evidence' has not been pushed to the utmost verge of safety, and it is a grave question for legal and social reformers how far a man's life should be perilled upon the speculations of a chemist or the theories of a physiologist. Actual facts alone should constitute the basis upon which a criminal conviction should rest. But the still more important question is suggested by the case alluded to, 'Ought not provision to be made to allow the possibility of a new trial in criminal cases? No doubt many considerations may be advanced on either side of the argument, but it does appear anomalous that while in a civil case errors on the part of a jury may be corrected, that a verdict in a criminal trial must be final and conclusive, whatever its circumstances or obvious impropriety.

Meliora.

ART. I.—1. *Memoirs of Libraries.* By Edward Edwards. 2 vols. 1859. Trübner and Co., Paternoster Row.
2. *Report of the House of Commons on Public Libraries.* 1849.
3. *Free Public Libraries and Museums.* A Paper read at the Birmingham Meeting of the National Association, by David Chadwick, Esq. 1857.
4. *Act of Parliament for the Establishment of Free Libraries and Museums.* 1855.
5. *Annual Reports of the Committees of the Free Public Libraries in Liverpool, Birkenhead, Manchester, Salford, Cambridge, and Norwich, for* 1858-9.
6. *Report of the Pure Literature Society.* 1859.

THE time is past when it was needful to demonstrate the expediency, safety, or propriety of intellectual development for all classes of society; and the transition state in which our country now finds herself, in passing from an uneducated to an educated condition, leaves us no alternative but to throw our influence for good into the advancing current, promoting, to the utmost of our power, every direct and indirect agency for the right education of the masses.

In reviewing our national history, it is impossible not to be struck with the glaring neglect, the criminal indifference to the improvement of the people which characterized the successive administrations of our government, till within no very distant period; and it is a singular fact, that while the continental system of centralization is utterly inconsistent with the education of a people to freedom, yet in some respects it secures to the nation so governed, advantages which in our happy country, we even yet possess but imperfectly.

The radical cause of these deficiencies in Great Britain, we trace to the very defective state of education for the upper and middle classes of society which has prevailed, and which has been ill calculated to give enlarged views of the requirements of national progress: thus the executive and legislative bodies, being composed of persons who have had inadequate and indistinct ideas of the benefits to be conferred, by the wide diffusion of scientific and other useful knowledge, have viewed with indifference the absence

of appliances for such purposes, and have made no attempt to remedy such deficiency.

Among the most valuable agencies for the intellectual development of a great nation, must be placed, as of the highest importance, the free circulation of a sound and healthful literature; and the question of the means by which this great end is to be obtained, is one of the most interesting of the present day. If 'books,' as Milton has said in his 'Areopagitica,' 'contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul whose progeny they are,' surely it behoves us to see that that life shall be widely diffused. 'I know,' continues the poet of 'Paradise Lost,' 'that they are as lively and as vigorously productive as those fabulous dragon's teeth, and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men.'

It is obvious that to supply the intellectual wants of the inhabitants of large cities and towns, and those of scattered, thinly-populated districts, distinct appliances and machinery will be required. The public library will, in a great measure, answer the demands of the first class, and colportage, and other agencies of a similar character, the second. It may well be asked, with regard to the first part of our subject, how far are the existing provisions and present utility of our public libraries proportionate to the position, wealth, and literary renown of Great Britain among the nations of Europe? Have these 'mind armouries' been estimated at their proper value; or is it a fact that, notwithstanding their acknowledged utility, we have been behind other countries in establishing and providing them for the people?

A full answer to these questions is to be found in two valuable volumes lately published, called 'Memoirs of Libraries,' copies of which, we hope, may find a place in every public library of our country. The rise and progress of collections of books is a subject intimately connected with the history of ancient and modern civilization; and the information given by Mr. Edwards, which has been collected by him with the greatest care and labour, we consider an important contribution to the past and present history of mankind. Distinctive as are the civilizations of the pagan nations of antiquity, and those of modern Christendom, we may learn not a few lessons of wisdom from the ancient, mediæval, and present history of these storehouses of the intellect.

In the volumes which lie before us, Mr. Edwards first gives a view of the principal facts that are known respecting the libraries of the ancient world, then notices of the most important book 'collections of the middle ages,' concluding the first part of his subject by full historical notes on modern libraries. The second division of his subject, which might well have formed a separate volume, relates to the economy of libraries; and Mr. Edwards divides it into—I. Book Collecting; II. Buildings; III. Classification

cation and Catalogues; IV. Internal Administration and Public Service.

We must confine ourselves, in our notice of this valuable work, to the first part, viz.—The History of Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern Libraries.

Among the most interesting facts that are known respecting the libraries of the ancient world, must be ranked the identification of the well-known palace temple near Thebes, popularly known as the 'Memnonium' with the library described by Diodorus as 'The Dispensary of the Mind,' and which is ascribed to the fourteenth century B.C. Inscriptions which record the appropriation of plots of land to libraries, occur on the walls of Egyptian tombs, one of which is close to the great pyramid of Cheops, and has been rendered 'the land of the library of Suphis' (or Cheops).

In any survey of ancient libraries, must not be omitted the discoveries of Layard and Botta, of those inscribed tablets or bricks in Assyria and Babylon, to which a French savant, M. Jules Oppert, has given the very appropriate term of 'libraries of clay.' As the Chaldean priests kept their astronomical observations on bricks baked in the furnace, so M. Jules Oppert believes, after the careful study of the Assyrian inscriptions, that there is a large class of them expressly prepared for purposes of public instruction. The first public library in Greece is alleged to have been founded by Pisistratus, in Athens (B.C. 537—527). Aristotle, according to Strabo, was the first known collector of a library; and the honour was also due to him of having suggested to the Ptolemies the formation of the celebrated Alexandrian library, founded by Ptolemy Soter. The most conflicting accounts are given of the extent of this library, Seneca telling us it contained 400,000 volumes, while Eusebius says that at the death of Philadelphus (B.C. 247) the number was 100,000.

The Pergamus library, founded by Attalus I. (B.C. 241—197), became a formidable rival to that of Alexandria, in spite of the jealousy of the Ptolemies, who even prohibited the exportation of papyrus, in the hope of obstructing its progress. When sent by Antony to Cleopatra, as a gift and trophy of successful war, to supply its rival's place at Alexandria, Plutarch affirms that it contained 200,000 volumes. Pliny asserts that C. Asinius Pollio was the first who established a public library in Rome; but as we know from Suetonius, that Julius Cæsar directed one to be formed for public use under the care of Varro, it is most probable that Pollio assisted in carrying out Cæsar's plan.

The private library of Lucullus was not only remarkable for its extent, but for the generous use made of it by the owner. It was open to all, Plutarch tells us. 'The Greeks who were at Rome resorted thither as it were to the retreat of the Muses.' Under

the Roman emperors arose distinct libraries of Greek and Latin authors, and the famous Ulpian library, founded by Trajan, was added, by way of adornment, to the baths of Diocletian. At one time great hopes were entertained that the libraries discovered in the long-buried cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum, would have yielded important additions to classical learning; but while their bibliographical interest must always be great, the results of research have been too fragmentary for any important discovery. When Constantine the Great gave a new metropolis to the Roman empire, he is said to have bestowed special pains on the collection of a library, and the work was continued by his successors. Notwithstanding repeated disasters by fire and conquest, the great libraries of Europe owe to Constantinople their greatest treasures collected by the Greek emperors. 'For many generations, foreign ambassadors, learned academicians, sent for special research, and even private travellers, have brought thence many precious manuscripts.'

The rise and progress of monastic libraries form a most important feature in the history of the middle ages. The book collections of that period were either monastic or palatial, though the former were the most important, and it was within monastic walls that learning found its safest asylum during the flood-tide of barbaric invasion. The services rendered by monks either to ancient or modern literature, by the preservation and diffusion of books, are vividly portrayed by the author of 'Memoirs of Libraries.' Nearly all the great monastic institutions possessed libraries more or less famous in their day; and the labour of transcription was carried on so vigorously, that one scriptorium furnished in the course of years no small collection of books.

St. Augustine is said to have brought with him on his mission to England nine precious volumes sent by Gregory the Great, viz.—1. The Holy Bible, in two volumes; 2. The Psalter; 3. The Gospels; 4. Another Psalter; 5. Another copy of the Gospels; 6. The (Apocryphal) Lives of the Apostles; 7. The Lives of the Martyrs; 8. An Exposition of the Gospels and Epistles. Thus, according to the Canterbury chartulary preserved in Trinity Hall, Cambridge, was the first English library founded. A catalogue is still preserved of the valuable library contained in St. Augustine's Monastery at Canterbury, the fame of which was rivalled ere long by that at York, founded by Archbishop Egbert, and from which Alcuin acquired his love for literature. Perhaps of all orders, the Benedictine was the one to which Europe is most indebted for its literary labours, and the libraries and remains still extant belonging to the German, Italian, and French Benedictines attest this fact. Even the mendicant friars formed in many cases large and noble libraries, and

complaint

complaint was on one occasion made to the pope that they evinced such eagerness in the acquisition of books, that scarcely could other ecclesiastics purchase any. The decline of learning in English monasteries, which preceded their dissolution, was a natural consequence of the luxury and corruption which had crept into them; yet it is a stigma upon those who were engaged in their suppression, that while the instructions given to the Royal Commissioners demanded full inquiry into the temporalities of each community, even extending to the state of the bedding and number of utensils, no curiosity was manifested respecting the collections of books, or the learning of the fraternity. The appropriation of the spoil was often so reckless that we cannot wonder that the monastic libraries were dispersed and wantonly plundered; and even 'ardent Reformers agree with sturdy Romanists in lamenting the gross neglect which suffered them, for the most part, to perish.' It is satisfactory to know that through the labours of Leland, many precious volumes saved by him from monastic ruins, are to be found in different collections in England, as in the Bodleian and the British Museum.

Until nearly the close of the middle ages, we find few records of private collections of books, though the names of royal, noble, and plebeian collectors occasionally meet us, to be entirely eclipsed by those of the three illustrious princes, Lorenzo de' Medici, Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, and Frederick Duke of Urbino, whose splendid collections comprised many of the treasures formerly belonging to Constantinople.

On the modern libraries of Great Britain and Ireland, Mr. Edwards gives us much valuable information: thus he traces the formation and growth of the several collections which eventually became the library of the British Museum, the Royal, Cottonian, Harleian, and Sloanian, and collectively were the nucleus around which other valuable libraries were successively brought together, to form ultimately an aggregate that may bear comparison with the largest library in the world.

The history of the formation of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, of the Public University Library of Cambridge, and of the minor libraries of the two universities, are full of interest to the scholar, and we regret that our space does not allow us to do more than refer our reader to Mr. Edwards's work. It is gratifying to know that there is a general desire among the University authorities to render many of these libraries much more generally useful. The English archiepiscopal and cathedral libraries possess large and varied literary wealth, in many cases including remnants of very ancient collections, and it is to be regretted that they are not rendered more accessible to the public.

The management or rather mismanagement of the older libraries

of English towns by municipal corporations, is a subject on which Mr. Edwards dilates with righteous indignation. That of Bristol, with the consent of the corporation, was diverted from its original public foundation to a private society, and is but one instance out of many such abuses. The first foundation of the parochial libraries of England was laid when, in 1537, the published injunction was issued, that Bibles should be placed in all churches, in some convenient place, for the parishioners to resort to read them. Other books were occasionally added by the same authority, and at a later period these small collections of books, in many cases, formed the nucleus of parochial libraries of no small value, which have too often been dispersed, or permitted to fall into neglect and dilapidation.

Before referring to the efforts recently made in England to remedy the great deficiency which has prevailed with regard to public libraries free of access to all classes, we will take a hasty glance at the advantages bestowed by other countries, and we shall find that in nearly all the capitals of Europe, large and important public libraries are accessible, in most instances, not only to the student and the scholar, but to the general public; showing that, with our immense resources, we have allowed ourselves to be surpassed by other countries, in institutions fitted to supply the intellectual demands of the people. The Imperial Library at Paris, which in 1858 numbered 858,000 printed books, besides manuscripts, charts, &c., has been freely opened to the public, the only restrictions to this national library being, that children under fifteen years of age must produce a card, signed and delivered by a relative, or by the head of an establishment of public instruction, guaranteeing that books may be intrusted to the bearer. An Englishman, who resided in Paris at the commencement of the imperial epoch, is loud in praise of the liberality of the regulations respecting public admission:—'I have been more particular,' he adds, 'in describing these minute proceedings, because they form a striking contrast to the confined and illiberal plans of similar institutions among us;' and Mr. Edwards remarks, that a subsidiary illustration of this phase of international contrast may be afforded by the fact, that long before the opening of any English private library to students of all ranks, we find several such instances of liberality co-existing in Paris: the libraries, whose owners liberally opened their doors in early days, were the beginnings of those fine collections which in recent times call every well-conducted visitor their master, whether he be Frenchman or foreigner. The provincial libraries of France are on the same liberal basis as those of the capital, the admission generally being entirely free, and unattended by any preliminary formalities. Various regulations exist with regard

gard to the lending of books. In Norway and Sweden, Belgium, Bavaria, Switzerland, Austria, Hanover, Greece, Prussia, Sardinia, Tuscany, and other parts of Italy, the same freedom of access prevails, while in many states books are also lent.

Even in Brazil, and other states of South America, national free libraries have preceded the establishment of such institutions in our country. Thus at Rio de Janeiro 'all decently-clad persons are admitted, and are allowed the perusal of such books as they choose to call for;' and similar regulations exist at Maranham, and in the public libraries of Mexico.

The provision of college and state libraries in the United States is an honourable one, but their usefulness being limited, led to a movement in 1848, by which town or city libraries should be provided in the Union, to be entirely free and enjoyable by all the townspeople. Thus, while such a library was first founded in Boston, in 1848, no such library existed in the United Kingdom till after the passing of the Libraries Act in 1850. 'Whilst,' writes Mr. Edwards, 'the Old Bay State was beginning to form town libraries, by wise and foreseeing legislation, aided by the munificence of merchants who may, without any flattery, be said to be "as princes in the earth," that munificence unaided was providing, in the chief city of the "Empire State," a library on the largest scale and of the widest accessibility.' On the 1st of February, 1854, the Astor Free Library of New York, containing 80,000 volumes, was opened, the 'noblest contribution towards the dispelling of popular ignorance, and the facilitating of mental culture, which any American citizen has yet left behind him.' The school and district libraries of the United States are more or less completely organized, and form free public libraries of great value. Even in the newer States of Indiana and Michigan, express legislative enactment has led to the formation of township libraries. Thus, in Michigan there are upwards of 300 libraries in the 425 townships of the State, and these libraries circulate over 1,349 districts, very gratifying evidence being constantly afforded of their usefulness.

A conviction of the great necessity that existed in Great Britain for some new machinery that should remedy the deficiencies of the past, and popularize the advantages of public libraries, had long been felt by enlightened men, and ultimately led to an important measure, which, although as yet but a short time in operation, has greatly accelerated the formation and growth of public libraries. Private individuals had in vain attempted to found such institutions, but, as Mr. Edwards remarks, 'Without some assured provision of the means of continued increase, as well as of simple preservation, no man ever secured to posterity the true advantages of a public library.'

Two

Two principles of primary importance were laid down by the originators of this movement. First, that free libraries must be formed in a catholic spirit, and that these new institutions should have nothing to do with party influences. Second, that they should not be dependent for their support on gifts or current subscriptions, but that a rate levied on the whole tax-paying community should provide for their maintenance. In these principles was involved a third obvious and inevitable conclusion.

'The new libraries must know nothing of *classes* in the community. Supported alike by the taxation of the wealthiest capitalist, and of the humblest ten-pound householder, they must be so formed, so augmented, and so governed as to be useful to both. They must be in no sense "Professional Libraries," or "Tradesmen's Libraries," or "Working Men's Libraries," but Town Libraries. To that end, they must contain, in fair proportions, the books that are attractive to the uneducated and half-educated as well as those which subserve the studies and assist the pursuits of the clergyman, the merchant, the politician, and the professional scholar. They must be unrestrictedly open to every visitor. They must offer to all men not only the practical science, the temporal excitements, and the prevalent opinions of the passing day, but the wisdom of preceding generations, the treasures of a remote antiquity, the hopes and the evidences of the world to come.'

In 1848, this important subject was at last brought under the notice of parliament by William Ewart, Esq., Member for the Dumfries Burghs, who gave notice of a select committee for the coming session. Mr. Ewart's attention had been drawn to the libraries question by a paper printed in the Journal of the London Statistical Society, in March, 1848, called 'A Statistical View of Public Libraries in Europe and America.' A view of our national deficiencies was given in this article, and the statistics given could not but arouse the attention of all into whose hands it fell. Shortly afterwards further information on the subject of public libraries was laid before Mr. Ewart's committee.

The original proposition of Mr. Ewart was 'that a select committee be appointed on existing public libraries in Great Britain and Ireland, and on the best means of extending the establishment of libraries freely open to the public, especially in large towns;' but objection was made by Sir George Grey to the words 'existing public libraries in Great Britain and Ireland,' as including some which ought not to come within the scope of the present inquiry, among which were specified the deanery and parochial libraries. That the management of these required investigation, Mr. Edwards shows in the following quotation:—

'"About seven years ago," wrote a correspondent to the Editor of "Notes and Queries," "I found the collection of books at Swaffham, in Norfolk, in a most disgraceful state, covered with dust and the dung of mice and bats: many of the books were torn from their bindings." "About ten years since," writes another correspondent, "several works with the inscription 'Reepham Church Library' were sold indiscriminately with the rector's books." Speaking of the parochial library at Boston, in Lincolnshire: "I have been informed," says the Rev. Thomas Collis, "by a gentleman, that he remembers two or more cart-loads of books

books being sold by the churchwardens . . . at waste paper price." . . . Finally, Dr. Maitland, who had taken unusual pains to make himself acquainted with the contents and condition of church libraries, said in 1849: "There are (or were) books up and down the country . . . . thousands of books which . . . . have been lying rotting, and have been destroyed and made away with, in a great many instances, by those who did not know their value."' *

With modified terms of reference to existing public libraries, Mr. Ewart's committee was appointed. The evidence was voluminous and interesting, and in their abstract of the principal points of the evidence the committee reported that—

'We have, it is stated, only one library in Great Britain equally accessible with these numerous libraries abroad. . . Nor is this contrast displayed by the European continent alone. Our younger brethren, the people of the United States of America, have already anticipated us in the formation of libraries. . . . Entirely open to the public. . . . Every witness examined on the subject has given an opinion favourable to the grant of assistance on certain strict conditions, by the government, for the formation of public libraries. This is one of those cases in which a comparatively small aid may accomplish a large portion of public good. . . . The principle is recognized in our votes for school-houses and for schools of design. . . . Your committee further recommend that a power be given by parliament, enabling town councils to levy a small rate for the creation and support of town libraries. . . . Your committee feel convinced that the people of a country like our own, abounding in capital, in energy, and in an honest desire, not only to imitate, but to imitate whatsoever is good and useful, will not long linger behind the people of other countries, in the acquisition of such valuable institutions as freely accessible public libraries. Our present inferior position is unworthy of the power, the liberality, and the literature of the country.'†

In 1850, on the 14th of February, Mr. Ewart moved the House for leave to bring in a Bill for enabling town councils to establish public libraries and museums, by a rate not exceeding one halfpenny in the pound. The Bill reached its second reading on the 13th of March, when a debate, which afforded no slight amusement to intelligent lookers-on occurred, Colonel Sibthorp beginning the opposition by the expression of his conviction that 'However excellent food for the mind might be, food for the body was now most wanted for the people. I do not like reading at all,' said the speaker, 'and hated it when I was at Oxford.' After moving the rejection of the Bill, this enlightened member was seconded by Mr. Buck, who informed the House that 'the additional taxation which the Bill proposes at a time when the nation is so generally impoverished, is considered a great grievance by the manufacturing as well as the landed interest of the country.'

Mr. Spooner feared that 'by the institution of lectures, hereafter these libraries might be converted into normal schools of agitation;' and after other brilliant displays of like eloquence a division being taken, the Ayes were 118, the Noes 101. On the 10th of April, in a further debate, Mr. Buck announced that if the Bill

* Minutes of Evidence taken before the Commissioners on the British Museum, (1849), 502. Q. 7826.

† Report of the Select Committee.

proceede[d]

proceeded, he should 'certainly demand the exemption of the agricultural interest from the liabilities it created,' and with such opposition at every stage, the Bill did not pass the House of Commons till July. In all respects it was a simple permissive Bill, the initiative being left in the hands of town councils, who, after proper notice, could poll the burgesses on the question whether they would adopt the Libraries Act. In 1854, Mr. Ewart moved for leave to bring in a Bill to amend and extend the Act for enabling town councils to establish free libraries and museums; but delays prevented the measure being prosecuted till the next session, when a great change had taken place in the opinions of some who had previously opposed the Bill. In 1855, the new Act received the royal assent. It is called 'An Act for further promoting the establishment of Free Public Libraries and Museums in municipal towns, and for extending it to towns governed under Local Improvement Acts, and to Parishes.' While this Act repeals the Act of 1850, it enacts that all libraries founded under that Act shall be maintained under the provisions of the present Act. The former Act had been restricted in its operation to such corporate towns as contained 10,000 inhabitants. A great improvement in the Act of 1855 made it apply to municipal boroughs of more than 5,000 inhabitants, to all districts of like population, possessing a Board of Improvement Commissioners, to any parish having such a population, or any two or more neighbouring parishes having such an aggregate number of inhabitants, who may unite to establish a public library.

After suitable notice, a meeting having been convened by the mayor, commissioners, or overseers of the poor, the proposition for the adoption of the Act must be voted for, by at least two-thirds of the persons present. The Act comes into operation immediately after such a vote. If negatived, a year must elapse before the question be again brought before a meeting. When the Act is adopted in a borough or district, the expenses may be defrayed either by the borough or improvement rate, or a separate rate may be levied, called the library rate, not to exceed one penny in the pound on the rateable value of the property assessed. The library accounts are to be kept separately, and to be accessible to the public. When adopted in a parish, the vestry must appoint not less than three, or more than nine ratepayers as commissioners; one-third of such commissioners to go out of office yearly by ballot; but to be re-eligible.

We will now say a few words on the reception of the Act in English towns.

Even while the Bill was still pending, Sir John Potter had set on foot a subscription in Manchester for the foundation of a free library; and this city has the honour of being the first in which a library

library under the new Act was established in 1850. At Warrington and Salford small collections of books had previously been formed in connection with museums maintained under the 'Museum Act' of 1845. In Liverpool, the example of Manchester was quickly followed, and a subscription raised to open a library under the Act of 1850; but the bequest, meantime, by the Earl of Derby, of a museum, rendered larger powers desirable, and in 1852 a local Act, known as the 'Liverpool Library and Museum Act,' was obtained, and the library was formally opened in October of the same year. The city of Norwich was the first out of Lancashire in which the Act was adopted, the votes for its adoption being 150, and 7 against it. In Exeter, where a similar attempt was made a few months afterwards, out of 971 votes, 853 were against the adoption of the Act, but 118 in its favour. Up to the present time the Act has been adopted in 17 towns, and negatived in 8.

Our two ancient universities, our largest inland city, and our greatest seaport, have been foremost to avail themselves of the advantages it bestows; and the libraries established under it in Manchester, Salford, and Liverpool are considerable enough to warrant some special details. How the infant libraries of other towns have worked thus far may be briefly indicated in a few sentences, chiefly from returns recently laid before the House of Commons. At Cambridge, the 'Committee of the Town Council have every reason to be satisfied with the general results which have been obtained. They contemplate the formation of a lending library in addition to the present library of reference.' At Oxford, the chairman of the Committee, Mr. Alderman Sadler, says:—'I have pleasure in declaring that the establishment of the free public library has, in my judgment, proved of more real benefit, and has rendered more solid advantages, than any other measure which has been adopted during the forty years of my public life.' 'We need in Oxford,' writes also a distinguished member of the university, Dr. Acland (Radcliffe Librarian), 'nothing more at present, in this respect, except increased space for the city library, and the further development of its resources.' 'The general results of the establishment of the library,' says the Corporation of Bolton, 'have been most satisfactory, and the increased provision lately made by the legislature will be of great advantage.' And that of Sheffield: 'The results hitherto have been most cheering and satisfactory.' And again, that of Hertford: 'The results have been favourable, the attendance in the reading-room large, and the demand for books very general. It is proposed, as soon as possible, to construct a suite of rooms for the purposes of the library.'

In Manchester, the public subscription for the foundation of the Free

Free City Library amounted to 12,823*l.*, of which sum nearly 5,000*l.* was raised by Sir John Potter's personal exertions. On the subscription list were found the names of persons of all classes, while the amount of their subscriptions varied from 500*l.* to one shilling. The building purchased for the library was one raised also by a large subscription by the adherents of Robert Owen. The latter had himself laid the foundation stone; but his scheme of social regeneration had but a short existence, and the building having fallen into bad hands, and being applied to improper purposes, had become a public nuisance. The expense of purchase and adaptation of this edifice to the purposes of a public library was 7,013*l.*, while the cost of volumes purchased as the nucleus of the future collection was 4,156*l.* The number of books presented to the library was 3,200; five hundred of these were valuable gifts from public boards, or learned societies, while the remainder were of very small value. 'The whole experience,' remarks Mr. Edwards, 'of this library, in that respect, as of so many more, tends to confirm the opinion elsewhere expressed, that casual donations is a totally untrustworthy source for the formation of public libraries, under any circumstances.'

The Manchester library was the first institution in Great Britain, under Ewart's Act, which combined a free library of reference and a free library of circulation. It is most gratifying to know that a large number of those who borrow books from this institution are youths and boys, and even at this early stage of their existence the lending libraries have done much good. From the day on which this library was opened, September 6th, 1852, to 31st December, 1857, the aggregate of books issued to readers and borrowers was 864,104, or an average of 523 volumes for each day the library is open to the public.

The free library of Salford now possesses 20,503 volumes, and in their last report, the Committee mention the increased appreciation of the institution evinced by the public. The total issues in the reference and reading department up to 31st October, 1857, amounted to 579,788 volumes.

In 1852, the free library of Liverpool was opened with about 12,000 volumes; and one year later two branch lending libraries were established in other parts of the town. The aggregate issues from 18th October, 1852, to 31st August, 1857, have amounted to 1,382,609 volumes. The rapid increase of the library having rendered a new building necessary, William Brown, Esq., late M.P. for South Lancashire, is munificently erecting a building at a cost of 25,000*l.* as a free library and museum, the site being provided by the corporation.

With one important observation by Mr. Edwards, which is, we consider, eminently suggestive to our public men, and those interested

terested in the intellectual progress of their country, we conclude a subject to which we may have occasion to return:—

'Amongst the means of improving existing libraries which have been indicated, is that of thorough inquiry into their history, condition, and capability. This one measure more or less underlies all the others, enwraps within itself an indefinite latent force, and is immediately available. Inquiry involves publicity. If every library in this country, on which the public has any fair claim, could be brought distinctly under public view by a precise and periodical statement, comprising three particulars:—1. What is it—2. What it has, and 3. What it does—a long train of improvements would inevitably follow. But the systematic inspection of public libraries to be effective must be national.'

But were free libraries provided for all the cities, towns, and parishes of our country, there would still be a large amount of existing ignorance which can only be combated by aggressive agencies, such as are found in a well-organized system of colportage, or book-hawking societies. Even in towns there will be many who are too indifferent to the advantages offered by the public library to make use of them, and in country districts and isolated dwellings an intellectual famine must prevail unless a different machinery be employed to that we have just sketched. The different circumstances in which our urban and rural populations are placed require certain adaptations to accomplish a given purpose for each, and while we view the free public library as an appliance of the highest value for aiding the mental progress of the people, we cannot help earnestly desiring to see coincident with this movement a wide extension of colportage in Great Britain. In a future article we propose to introduce this subject to our readers.

ART. II.—1. *Woman and Work.* By Barbara Leigh Smith. London: Bosworth and Harrison.

2. *Ragged Homes and How to Mend them.* By Mrs. Bayly. London: Nisbett.

3. *Social and Industrial Position of Women.* London: John Chapman.

WE have no intention of adding to the countless volumes which have been written on woman's 'mission,' and the grandeur of her 'vocation.' We dislike counterfeits of sacred things, and cannot bear to see domestic virtues hawked about the world like bad pictures. In an age when books are so multiplied that people will hardly take the trouble to understand what they read, let us entreat the literary spoilers to leave some sentiment untouched, and not to drag all that is good and beautiful from its natural hiding-place. Most pernicious are perpetual arguments concerning undefinable boundaries of duty, or attempts to meddle with that

mysterious paradox which adduces dignity from submission, strength from weakness, and exalted happiness from conscious dependence. The pedant would do well to leave such things untouched, for they are beyond his philosophy, and to speak of them is only to involve him in a maze of riddles.

The middle-class women of England never occupied a more honourable or a more judiciously selected position than they hold at present.

In all stages of civilization, from the politeness of the Greeks to the chivalric devotion of the Middle Ages, the Utopian theories of the modern Germans, and the astounding innovations of the Americans, there has always been one or more type upheld, as the natural and most perfect position for the sex. When has this ideal of ease and happiness been more nearly realized than at present amongst us?

The Englishwoman is nurtured like a garden plant in the genial atmosphere of home. She is no longer superficially taught, nor required to concentrate all her energies on the acquirement of superficial accomplishments. She is not levelled to the rank of a clothes-horse, nor obliged to be mentally gyved and fettered by the opinions of others; but she is allowed to use her own faculties like a reasonable creature. Comparatively free, on the one hand, from that flattery which would nourish her vanity and egotism, and not subjected to a long course of that selfish excitement which is the sure pioneer of ennui and hysteria; on the other, she is allowed that domestic seclusion which is most favourable to her moral vigour, and entitled to that respect and esteem which defend her from suffering and pain.

She is not impelled, like the Italian recluse, to find her only rest and happiness in luxurious self-renunciation. She has no reason to envy the Frenchwoman in her promiscuous association with the *beau monde*, nor the American in her vehement struggle for power; but is able to feel that happiness which is the constant 'reflex of unimpeded energy,' having influence enough to make her responsible, though it be without noise, and having agencies not the less mighty because they are silent and latent.

So far, so well. As long as our women are in their normal state, and surrounded by all the blessings of life, they are treated with a wisdom and gentleness which might call forth the admiration of a Howard, or meet with the approbation of Solomon. Arguing from analogy, a stranger visiting this country might feel confident that the same benevolence would be extended tenfold to those who were deprived of their natural protectors, and dependent on their own efforts for the necessaries of existence.

By no means. It is as if the decree were inevitable that from her that hath not, 'must be taken away even that which she seemeth

seemeth to have.' The chivalry of England lends every assistance to those women who are lapped in luxury, and have no more than their natural work to perform; whilst it scarcely recognizes those who stand alone in their weakness, and, with all the secret and keen sensitiveness of their natures, have to endure a lifelong struggle with poverty.

The fine gentlemen who can pay soft compliments in fashionable drawing-rooms are not troubled by the thought of the 'strange, dark spots of inextinguishable red' on the very clothes they are wearing; and whilst they delight in the superficial graces of some ball-room belle, they do not see other faces as young and delicate rising before them, pale with the dews of death, and their beauty prematurely filched away by night watches, close atmosphere, and cruel oppression. The mother whose benevolent heart is set on the well-being of her daughter, though the pauses in her night-dreams are filled with prayers for her children,* has forgotten the orphan beneath her roof, who longs in vain for some word of sympathy to make her office of governess more endurable.

Many benevolent people are anxiously looking for some opportunity of ameliorating the sad condition of these suffering women. But in order to discover a specific for their improvement, we must first investigate the nature of their misfortunes. In doing this, our thoughts will naturally divide themselves under three heads—The present condition of the countless women in England who, either from choice or necessity, are their own 'bread-winners;' the causes of the difficulties with which they have to contend; and the remedies which may be provided for those difficulties.

The present condition of women who work for their maintenance.—Statistics are stubborn facts, which the sentimentalist cannot gainsay or the utilitarian deny. Theoretically, the proper condition of woman is in domestic life. Her natural sphere is home. But, practically, this country contains two millions of unmarried females who are compelled to work for their subsistence. In a paper written by Mr. Hastings on the industrial employment of women, we read: 'Few people have any adequate sense of the extent to which the female sex has been already admitted to industry. Three-fourths of the adult unmarried women of Great Britain, two-thirds of the widowed, and about one-seventh of the married are returned by our census as earning their bread by independent labour; and besides these, there is a large multitude that, as wives and daughters, share in the ordinary industrial avocations of their relations.'

---

* 'In a mother undefiled,
Prayer goeth on in sleep, as true
And pauseless as the pulses do.'
Mrs. Browning's 'Lay of the Brown Rosaries.'

Of these occupations, those which are most overstocked are teaching, working with the needle, washing, and domestic service. To these, therefore, we will give our first consideration. There are 150,000 women in London whose wages are no higher than a shilling a day; often they are thankful to earn sixpence. The last census acquainted us with the fact that there are 267,791 milliners and dressmakers, 73,068 seamstresses and shirtmakers in England alone.

One-third of the adult female population maintain themselves by independent work; but this work is usually inadequately remunerated.

The means of livelihood open to the middle classes are remarkably few. Those who engage in literature, painting, designing, or singing in public, form the exceptional cases; whilst book-keeping, and superintendence of workhouses or hospitals, are too seldom undertaken as a means of earning money.

Where there is a large family with an insufficient income, the daughters of clergymen and of professional men are almost invariably compelled to be 'governesses.' This is an evil which reacts on the children of the rich.

Teaching should not be a *pis aller*, undertaken without a decided vocation. Young girls are forced into an employment for which they have a distaste, and which they sometimes regard contemptuously as a degradation. Nurslings of tender mothers, with characters enervated by luxury, they go out into the world to find themselves pariahs of society, excluded by prejudices of caste from many social amusements. Hysteria and ennui often gradually take the place of strong emotions and passionate hopes; for in delicate constitutions there is an intimate connexion between the mind and the body. Mental depression is sometimes increased by organic derangement, and the governess sinks into a querulous invalid. Often her salary is inadequate to provide for her declining years, so that in old age she becomes a helpless dependent upon charity, or dies unregarded in a hospital. Fortunately there are many exceptional cases, in which the mind is strong enough to endure an isolated life, or in which there is a relaxation of those conventionalities which separate the employer and the employed. But too often the whole existence of a governess might be described in Carlyle's words, 'To work sore, and gain nothing, to be heartworn, weary, isolated, girt round with a cold universal *laissez faire*—it is to die slowly all our life long.'

Liberty and knowledge may satisfy the wants of self-sufficing manhood; but few women can live without an atmosphere of kindness. If we want an extreme instance of the misery endured in such situations by women of refined sensibilities and luxurious tastes, we may instance three sisters—the unfortunate Brontés.

Amongst

Amongst the philanthropic institutions for the benefit of this class, we may mention the asylum which provides a temporary home for those who are unable to find occupation, and the establishment of female colleges for the purpose of supplying teachers with an inexpensive and efficient education. But why should our young women be expected to be proficient in every conceivable branch of knowledge? It is a moral impossibility that any governess should be competent to teach all branches of English learning, *plus* foreign languages and every imaginable accomplishment. Such a system of dull cramming and endless drudgery is more likely to engender idiotcy than to develop the intellect of the teacher.

The miseries of dressmakers and milliners (the 'white slaves' of English society) are too well known to need repeating. Yet they are nearly as widely and as deeply spread as they ever have been. This Juggernaut of labour which grinds the bodies of the poor is driven by delicate hands.

Fashionable ladies do not loathe their finery though it be stained with the life-blood of poverty-stricken sempstresses. The price of work is beaten down by barbarous purchasers. The sedentary position of these operatives, their deprivation of fresh air and exercise, the close atmosphere in which they work, and the necessity of toiling long hours through Sundays or through the nights, because women in the higher classes thoughtlessly enforce a premature accomplishment of their orders, are all well-known facts. The constant recurrence of consumption and other fatal diseases is also well known. An act of sudden suicide is condemned by the laws of our land, but the gradual suicide which is caused by overtaxed strength and exposure to bad air is systematically encouraged. An act of violence on the part of the employer is also illegal, but not the murderous exaction of double labour which causes many lives to be sacrificed. The occasional loss of sight in those who are constantly engaged in making mourning is well known to oculists. The advance of civilization has renounced the cruelty of punishing the greatest crimes by destroying the sight of the delinquent, but this system of oppression remains untouched by any interference of legislation.

The wages of women are depressed to a much lower minimum than those of men. The minimum (as Mr. Mill remarks), in the case of single women, is the pittance absolutely necessary to support existence. The *ne plus ultra* of the lowest wages to which men can be reduced allows some margin for the maintenance of others. But in the case of women there is no such surplus. In the ordinary state of things, a single woman is condemned to sickening drudgery for the whole of her existence. On the conclusion of her day's work, the sempstress is scarcely able to provide herself with a miserable lodging in the vitiated air of some unhealthy alley,

whilst decent clothing is almost beyond her reach. No provision can be made for sickness. In old age there is the workhouse—

> 'A parish shell at last, and the little bell
> Tolled hastily for the pauper's funeral.'

But there are two classes of needlewomen who experience the consequences of this evil in its most aggravated form. We refer to those who have others dependent on them for support, and to those cases of utter and sudden destitution in which unskilled young women are reduced suddenly to this employment, and unable to support themselves by it.

In the first case, women who have sick husbands, or children depending on them for subsistence, have been known to work themselves to death. 'A little extra pay will keep them toiling all night.' There are no labourers like these women, who are more uncomplaining than the Spartans. Is it not a disgrace to humanity that employers should be found to take advantage of this spirit of self-sacrifice, and with diabolical calculation to fill their money-bags, and compute their profits quietly under such circumstances as these?

Well may Victor Hugo exclaim—

> 'Dieu pourquoi l'orphelin, dans ses langes funèbres,
> Dit-il, "J'ai faim." L'enfant n'est-ce pas un oiseau?
> Pourquoi le nid a-t-il ce qui manque au berceau?'

The four-footed creatures in our stables have their wants satisfied, whilst the children of the poor are dying of inanition. There are few men in England so utterly hardened that they do not feel some reverence for the holy bond which exists between mother and child. Our artistic taste for Raphaels and Correggios shows that, in theory, we recognize the poetry of the sentiment; but, in reality, we solace our consciences for our indifference to the predominant wretchedness of children by the doctrine of the criminality of 'improvident marriages,' and by prudential considerations as to the necessity of proportioning population to the existing means of subsistence. Were this doctrine always to be carried out into its furthest consequences, it would condemn the greater proportion of our working men to 'hopeless celibacy for life.'

On the death of many a poor woman's husband begins that wearing struggle, that life-long slavery, which she has entailed upon herself by a few years of happiness. We cannot describe it as we have seen it, or our heart would rise up in too strong indignation against the refined cruelty of this nineteenth century, which binds its heaviest burdens upon the weakest shoulders, and causes the tender children to pass through the fire to Moloch.

The picture is dark enough without drawing aside the curtain which veils the blackest shadows. What shall we say of the tendency

tendency to madness, of the terrible prevalence of infanticide, or of the diseases engendered by unhealthy food, which often cause these children to die off, one by one, till the 'unencumbered' mother is enabled to re-enter some comfortable place of service? Nor are the occupations of charing and washing more advantageous. A woman cannot undertake washing on her own account, unless she have some capital to commence with. Convenient drying-grounds are not to be found in London, whilst the distance of the suburbs makes the carrier's aid indispensable. The labour of the hired ironers and washers is therefore attended with an extra difficulty, for the profits of the laundress have to be deducted from their meagre earnings.

But there are individual cases in which the uncertainty of employment is felt in its worst form. Hundreds of beautiful girls, through the improvidence or the death of their parents, or through other adventitious circumstances, are suddenly thrown friendless upon the world. This is a subject of great mournfulness, which causes some of the 'deepest blots upon human civilization.' Alone and uncared for, ignorant and without education (in some cases never having entered a church in their lives), these helpless beings have no one to counsel them or to suggest means of employment. Temptations abound in great cities. 'Despair is the most effectual slave-driver to crime;' and these unfortunate creatures often fall into irremediable drunkenness or worse forms of depravity.

Girls of eight or ten years of age creep about our London streets, with no smiles on their young faces, gnawed by perpetual hunger or devoured by fever, sleeping in the vilest hovels, and exposed to the most terrible mental contamination. Day has scarcely dawned for them, and yet they are weary of life. They are condemned to work like perpetual machines, and are rewarded by cruel words and hard blows.

Here is one who finds herself alone at the age of sixteen, without parents and without friends. Never mind: she has a brave heart, and knows the use of a needle. By working all day and part of the night she can earn a little, and she is happy. But winter comes, cold and bleak, and wages are no higher. She has pawned her mother's Bible, and everything she possesses. Poor child! she works and struggles still, but misery is a demon who has many temptations to whisper. One day there is no work to be had. Must she die?

Civilization cannot be expected to provide against such contingencies, or to supply the necessities of excessive want; but civilization must treat its consequences with the utmost severity. It must 'break down the bridge behind the repentant sinner.' Drink in such cases is the only balm. Maddening recollection and unbearable despair can only be relieved by

Then that miserable shadow, which we shudder to gaze upon (as if it were Satan's burlesque upon the glory of womanhood), that wretched creature who staggers from our gin-palaces, must at last be supported at the expense of government in our prisons.

The prudent way to secure our own interest as a nation would be to show charity in the outset. That is a miserable, short-sighted policy which allows the children of the poor to grow up in want and ignorance, for thus we are preparing future lazzaroni to live at our expense; whilst we are incurring as great a danger as the Spartans feared from their helots and the Americans dread from their slaves. Prevention is better than cure. Prisons are more expensive than refuges and lodging-houses.

Perhaps of all the ordinary occupations which are open to unmarried females, that of domestic service is the most agreeable, and the least open to objection.

A great deal of mischief amongst the higher classes is doubtless attributable to the encouragement which is extended to 'livery servants.' The effeminate indolence of these lazy flunkies has been satirized in vain by Thackeray, Dickens, and many of our best writers. Their profanity and insolence are public nuisances; whilst they are degraded by smart apparel, and encouraged in the worst forms of idleness. Yet the superfluous wages of these fellows must be deducted from the earnings of a more defenceless class; and whilst they are lounging in ease, the female domestics are often injured by lifting heavy weights, and toiling beyond their strength.

Domestics, when good, may be said to form the 'cement of society.' But the complaints which we often hear of 'bad servants' (a theme of endless vituperation) suggest the reflection whether some of their disqualifications may not be owing to the faulty habits of their employers. 'To treat persons like things is to reduce them to the level of slaves, and to produce the most frightful social anomalies.'

To treat them with indifference, as 'necessary evils,' is also productive of endless mischief. The mistress of a family should inquire into the characters of her servants, and consider herself responsible for the evil which transpires in her kitchen. In the higher circles and larger establishments this might be intrusted to conscientious housekeepers. Much of the mischief might also be averted by parochial and industrial schools, where the servant should be properly qualified for her duties, instead of her teaching being left to chance.

Amongst the less common occupations in which women still hold a more uncertain footing, we may mention trading, or otherwise serving in shops, working in mines or mills, aiding in manufactures (such as watchmaking, bookbinding, and boot-making),

making), and occupying subordinate positions in theatrical exhibitions.

Of those who are engaged in commercial occupations, there are two classes: 1. Those who have capital enough to trade on their own account; 2. Those who are paid for the produce of the day's industry.

The first class is necessarily very small. The keeping of toy warehouses, Berlin wool repositories, trading in confectionery, millinery, and such branches, are the only sources which women can hope will yield them increasing profit. Even here an enormous stake depends on the speculation upon which they risk their all. The mischievous principle of advertising, and underselling the profits of others, is fortunately little understood by women. But there is usually a painful struggle to keep up appearances, which involves the necessity of sacrificing the just remuneration of those who are still poorer; and yet often sooner or later the shop is closed, and the hopeless effort is abandoned.

The second class is much larger, and, we may hope, will be larger still. As a question of political economy, it is a waste of useful energy to condemn our able-bodied men to the humiliating occupation of measuring out yards of ribbon and carrying bales of calico. It was an evil which required to be spoken of gravely and sternly in such a crisis as the late Indian war, when a little handful of heroes was contending unassisted against fearful odds. Is there nothing better for our men to do, that they must spend their lives talking of the newest fashions, and waiting on the nods and becks of fashionable ladies, whilst hundreds of their fellow-creatures are thus excluded from a useful employment? It has been urged that the health of women is injured by long standing behind counters. But thousands of girls are found strong enough to overcome this obstacle, and a sedentary life is often far more injurious. It has also been declared that women are too languid to engage the interest of customers; but this defect might be remedied (and is remedied in many instances) by effective training to develop their instinctive 'acuteness and superior address.' There remains another difficulty, connected with the lifting of heavy weights, which threatens to impair the efficacy of female service in large establishments, but possibly this might be obviated by the assistance of porters.

It has been said that it is too late to throw discouragement on the threatened change of admitting women to industrial labour. 'The revolution is already irrevocably effected.' It is reasonably deplored that the movement has been developed by no fostering care which might have mollified the evils attending it.

There is not that tendency to surplus in the skilled departments of trade and manufacture which is productive of such di[illegible]

co

consequences in the unskilled departments of labour. Still, the women engaged in factories are necessarily 'absorbed into that great industrial system' which takes no account of their weakness, and their wants, but 'subjects all to the great law of supply and demand.'

The attention of the public has already been drawn to the crying evils of the factory system, and much has been done to alleviate these causes of sorrow. The more equitable apportioning of time, which renders the confinement less trying, the attention which has been given to the question of ventilation, and other attempts to neutralize the enfeebling effect of too great physical exertion, have not been without their beneficial influence. The fatal demoralization which was consequent on the inattention and culpable carelessness of employers, is now often remedied by a conscientious system of careful surveillance. The shortening of human life which was formerly caused by the premature labour of boys and girls, has called forth the indignation of mankind, and legislation has interposed to prohibit these criminal excesses.

Still much remains to be done. There are evils which appear to be inevitably connected with the association of female labour under the existing factory system—evils which will probably be diminished when a greater amount of thought is brought to bear on the subject by those reflecting men who are the real though the 'unrecognized rulers' of the land. It would be easy to state many of these evils. In his paper on the Birmingham Factories,* Mr. Wright laments that the labour of very young girls is still available from the ages of seven to ten. Young women thus learn to rely upon their own efforts, and, leaving home at an early age, contract imprudent marriages. The morals of a manufactory are too entirely dependent on the influence and habits of the employers. The habit of delaying the payment of wages till late on Saturday nights, and the absence of any week-day half-holidays are errors which are seriously felt. Also (as it has been remarked) the factory system makes a home impossible, and undermines social ties. The work which is necessary for mere 'bread-getting' should never interfere with that work which is more particularly the province of women.

Prejudice still keeps back many women of the better class from these means of livelihood. Degradation to those employed results from the fact that women engaged in industrial work are often regarded as outcasts and oppressed.

The labour of women is now available in many classes of manufactory. Button, steel pen, jewellery, tin, japan, screw, brass foundry, and papier maché works are already open to them. In

* Transactions of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science for 1857. Birmingham

Birmingham alone from 1100 to 1200 girls work at steel pens, 600 at tin work, and 300 at pin making. Here the competition is free. Men and women work at the same employments, and are paid according to their respective physical power, with equal advantages. Occupations like weaving, which bring efficiency to the test, are paid by the piece, without any reference to the worker. Very different this (as Mr. Mill remarks) from those other employments open to both sexes, in which the efficiency is equal but the pay unequal, and where, from a custom of society, grounded on prejudice, men are systematically given the lion's share.

The prospects of the unfortunate class engaged in mining avocations are far less hopeful than those of the women working at factories.

The frightful revelations which were made some years ago of the suffering and degradation endured by the wives and families of miners, who were often immersed for life in the 'untold horrors of these subterranean hells,' were appalling beyond description. The drunkenness and profligacy which were fostered in these gloomy abodes (excluded from the air of heaven and the light of day) have been since then somewhat abated by the efforts of humane proprietors, who, it is to be hoped, were formerly ignorant of the extent of these atrocities.

Yet the evils connected with this system had so long existed in full vigour that it will be long before their demoralizing effects can be cured by the approaching amelioration, and, meanwhile, the employment of women in these departments of labour can be regarded only as an unmitigated evil which humanity is bound to resent.

For if the ordinary occupation in coal mines is necessarily of such a description as to exhaust the strength of the most vigorous men, we can scarcely imagine how terrible must be the exertion to delicate women. The indignity of chaining English maidens and matrons to the horrible slavery of the corve; the cruelty of heaping heavy coal-baskets upon their weak backs, which must be bent double to endure the protracted exertion; and the barbarity of leaving young children to shiver with cold and terror for twelve or fourteen hours in the darkness of trapping, should necessarily exclude even the poorest class of women from an occupation which would be too severe a punishment for felons.

There is no lack of employment in home manufacture. Women may work at home at any such occupations as stitching books preparatory for binding, aiding in the making of shoes, or (as Mr. Bennett has proposed) in assisting watchmakers. But another difficulty occurs here from the fact that those trades are usually worst paid in which the wives and families assist the men. It has been

been remarked that in such cases the collective earnings of the family often make a smaller sum total than the earnings of the man alone in other departments of trade. Mr. Mill is of opinion that the advantage of independence to women may be considered as more than equivalent to this misfortune. But the income often remains little improved. When there is a second source upon which women can depend for their actual maintenance, it is well to take up these employments as a means of earning a little extra wages. Women in Switzerland do not earn their livelihood by making watches. They work in the fields in summer, and are only employed in putting watches together in the winter months. There is a division of labour connected with watch-making into which Mr. Bennett proposes to associate women. He remarks: 'No factory system is necessary for the successful manufacture of that beautiful little machine, the watch. The father has but to teach his own daughters, wife, and female relations at his own home, and then, just as leisure suits, each can perform her part, without necessarily interfering with the most indispensable of domestic duties.' This is well as far as it goes. But when the question is extended, it becomes much less simple. There is not a tenth part of the watches made in England which are made in Switzerland, and there is consequently less demand for fresh hands. The apprentices at Coventry are paid 7*s.* a week, while the steady workmen earn 25*s.* But there is no regular opening for women: the men are opposed to the innovation.

Far more encouraging is the fact, that, in consequence of a popular movement in their favour, many women are now permitted to find employment in telegraphic offices; whilst other occupations, such as bookkeeping, the superintendence of workhouses and hospitals, designing, and assisting in literature, are gradually being thrown open to the middle classes.

Hitherto we have been pointing out evils rather than suggesting remedies for their cure. But the due appreciation of the extent of any evil must be the proximate step to its reform, whereas the investigation of particular errors prepares the way for their improvement. What we want in such cases is no false rhetoric, and no violent outbursts of passion, but clear statements of that vivid truth which contains the intrinsic elements of reformation amongst mankind. The true philanthropist is the man whose judgment is on a par with his feeling, and who recognizes the fact that there is some positive meaning in every particle of suffering around us. Some of this wretchedness is remediable, the result of actual causes which may be altered, though much is beyond human control. In an age like this, however we may toil to overtake the urgent needs of our own time, the difficulty

is,

is, at the same time, calmly and deliberately to satisfy the fresh wants which may daily arise—keeping pace with them. With the heavy defalcations from past years weighing upon them, our statesmen and economists are often bewildered at the magnitude of their engagements. The best and wisest amongst us are crushed and appalled by the new and giant evils which are constantly being brought to light: so that we are forced to work by jerks and spasms, appeasing only the most pressing calls, and looking hardly beyond the surface of things, having little means or opportunity to investigate the causes which bring those things into perpetual operation.

Excitement and enthusiasm will only lead to unsteady work, but earnest thought is the true incentive to action.

Amongst the causes in the case before us, which appear to us susceptible of alleviation, we may distinguish, 1. The money-getting and money-spending spirit of the age. 2. The imprudence and drunkenness of parents. 3. The vicious social arrangements, which prejudices induce us to retain. 4. The want of good feeling between the employer and employed.

1. Unfortunately the mammon worship, which is the peculiar characteristic of this age, is one of those general and universally recognized evils for which no individual considers himself responsible. Earnest-minded men like Dr. Arnold, have sometimes been overwhelmed by it with the deepest despondency. 'Too late,' he writes, 'are the words I should be inclined to affix to every plan for reforming society in England; we are engulfed, I believe, inevitably, and must go down the cataract.' 'Unsteady work undertaken for mere profit,' writes another philanthropist, 'is a disease which has its root in a habit of mind communicated from the upper to the lower classes.' 'A gross materialism, a habit of estimating things for their immediate money value,' complains Ernest Renan, 'is taking more and more the direction of humanity, and losing the substance in the shadow.' And Carlyle wildly laments, 'England is full of wealth and multifarious produce; yet England is dying of inanition. The terror of not succeeding and of not making money is the modern hell.'

While our consciences must allow the truth of many of these remarks, we protest against that spirit of despondency which is likely to relax the power of healthy action. Every vice is a virtue overstepped, and we must not forget that the love of succeeding, which occasions so much suffering to the weak, is in itself praiseworthy. But let us see the evils of its exaggeration in this case.

The first evil consists in that rage for getting money which occasions a large accumulation of wealth and increase of

amongst the higher classes, whilst the privations and distress amongst operatives increase to a corresponding extent. This is a great social disease, which pervades the whole body politic, and turns 'growth into plethora,' instead of useful abundance. The second evil is caused by the false and extravagant state of society. That love of show, which is called 'style,' induces a large proportion of the families in the middle classes to live beyond the limits of their proper income. In order to maintain this position, it is necessary to beat down the wages of dependents, and prices are consequently lowered between the consumers and producers. The daughters of these families are educated in habits of idleness and unnatural parade, whilst at any moment some unlooked-for contingency may throw them helpless on the world. Flirting is gradually taking the place of marriage. The sons must look out for fortunes, and the daughters must obtain 'advantageous settlements:' these double interests clash with each other.

The evil of example infects the servant girls, who, from some inexplicable necessity, are constrained to spend all their wages on bonnets and crinoline, thus leaving no provision for their old age. The poor women of our days dress as queens did formerly; but England has gained little by replacing her simple peasant beauties with a race of vulgar underbred ladies. Yet such is the excitement caused by this anomalous mode of life, that hundreds of women would rather starve in London than live in plenty in what they consider the dull monotony of the country. Extravagance is a fashion which infects the poor through the rich. 'It is,' as Mr. Hazlitt remarks, 'a continual struggle between the great vulgar and the small, to get the start of, or keep up with each other in the race of appearances.' Who can wonder that the paltry shifts and fastidious pretensions of this restless vanity should result in much misery?

2. But it must be remembered that the poorer classes are responsible for much of the evil. Poverty is in many cases the result of idleness, and the descendants of the improvident must suffer for the sins of their ancestors. As long as the world exists, there must be some barter for industrious energy; and could we pauperize ourselves to restore the indolent to their former position, the result would be to annul the acts of an omnipotent agent. These sufferings are often entailed upon the wives and daughters of a family through the drunkenness or selfishness of that man who should have been their natural protector, but who, through drink or idleness, descends from one grade to another, till he becomes a helpless 'downdraft' upon all the efforts of his wife and children.

It is impossible to interfere with the results of such causes; for these results must subserve in some mysterious way to the steady governance

governance of mankind. Nor are we likely to effect reformation, by urging impracticable theories for their cure to their utmost tether, the result of which is often an obstinate revulsion on the other side. Our principal hope lies in steady effort to abate the growth of these causes, but this can only be effectual by a slow and gradual process.

3. We have already referred to many of the social arrangements which cramp and fetter the efforts of starving women to help themselves. We are like Pharoah's taskmasters, crying, 'Ye are idle, ye are idle,' whilst we withhold the materials without which the bricks cannot be made.

Certain causes co-operate to increase this bondage, and to depress the wages of women. The laws can impose no restrictions upon free competition. It is a struggle of strength in which the more vigorous must depress the weaker.

A third source of depression has been noticed, which affects the wages of women—a want of organization in their ranks. But sudden remedies will not meet this difficulty. 'Christian socialism' and 'joint-stock companies' are easier in theory than in practice. 'It will not do for small sections of the community to organize separate class interests, in antagonism to the general body of labourers.' Union in parts increases disunion as a whole. What we want is to prevent the monopoly of certain classes of labourers against the rest.

4. Much has been said of the ill-feeling between the employers and employed. We believe this is often over-stated, and is more often the result of indifference and carelessness than of deliberate cruelty.

There is a sort of moral vertigo in prosperity, which is often calculated to nourish vanity in all its narrow disguises, and to cause us in cold selfishness to shut our hearts against inferiors. An unhealthy longing for pre-eminence and self-indulgence on the one side, with the exasperation caused by an irritating sense of injustice on the other, loosen the bonds of fellowship between the upper and lower classes. But to look upon human society as a conspiracy divided against itself, its noblest instincts withered, and its best feelings dried up, is a very shallow and unfair conclusion. Most masters and mistresses mean well, but, accustomed themselves to all the excitements of an active life, they do not consider the deadness of heart which may be caused in others by a few unkind words.

We cannot be so bold as to hope that we shall remedy these evils at once. Still less should we sit down in hopeless despair, forgetting that when we fall behind the obvious religious and social necessities of our age, we may still hope to overtake these necessities by combined and vigorous effort. Perfection is the attainment

attainment of all conceivable excellence, which cannot be reached upon earth. The old poets expressed a deep truth when they introduced the goddess of discord into the garden of the Hesperides. For even whilst we are congratulating ourselves on the perfection of our political arrangements, things are spontaneously changing for the worse, and evils are growing up where we least expect them.

We felicitate ourselves, when we contrast the present condition of Englishwomen with their physical and moral degradation in ancient times; but even here arises fresh wretchedness which it is our duty to remedy. We shift our personal responsibility to the government, forgetting that the 'nation' is an aggregate of human beings, each of whom can act in his individual capacity. It is a mistake to look after 'political novelties,' and to seek for uncommon things, forgetting the opportunities which lie at our feet, and the truisms which should be acted out in our daily lives. We do not want any new theories about the state of women, but merely to develop the kindly feeling which is already in the world, and which teaches us that the promise to honour and succour the weaker sex is not to be narrowed only to the marriage service, but has a more extended and a wider meaning. It is better to reiterate hackneyed truths than to bring forth false specifics, and 'remedies of a partial nature' to attract the multitude, just because they are new. Many of these ordinary improvements will sometimes flash for the first time with full force upon the mind of that man who makes his observations from real life, and to him they will not appear common. We enumerate a few.

1. The courage that is needful to oppose the extravagance of society.

2. The necessity of placing existing employments for women upon a better basis, and of widening the circles of labour.

3. The necessity of special training to fit women for special employments.

4. The assistance which may be rendered by the organization of philanthropic societies.

5. The strengthening of the bonds of sympathy between the upper and lower classes.

1. The miseries of private life are amongst the ills that 'laws or kings cannot cure.' Every nation and every family has an hour of temptation in its history, when some seducer has enticed it with worldly prosperity, and said, 'All these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me.' He is a brave and stalwart man whose moral standard is never lowered by contact with the world, whose feelings are never hardened by the love of making money, and who never hesitates to consider whether this is profitable or that expedient. Giving entertainments, or dressing beyond our

our means, is always a species of cheating. Dignified simplicity is better than showy splendour; and unhealthy longing for admiration and show lead us into the darkest depths of cruelty.

It is the principle of selfishness which distorts our judgment. We need to exchange our benevolent dilettantism for sincerity. Mere justice demands that we should not profit by the work of others without paying their fair wages. Half the ready-made linen shops in London are not supported by a legitimate business, but by false competition. If each customer were fairly to inquire into the system, and steadily to resolve never to buy the exactions of toil at the lowest possible rate, a reformation might easily be effected. But customers too seldom think of those whose ill-paid toil made their linen so cheap, and that—

> 'Tis not linen they are wearing out,
> But human creatures' lives.'

2. The remedies which can be applied to the present condition of needlewomen must necessarily be partial, but the society for their assistance does much. Householders may aid effectually by making it a plan to give out all plain needlework, having only the mending done at home. It is possible to increase the usefulness of Dorcas societies, by employing a certain number of poor women in every parish, who are properly paid for making the garments, which can afterwards be used for clothing clubs, or otherwise distributed to the poor. The improvement in sanitary arrangements, and in the wretched lanes and courts in which these creatures sleep, should also be regulated. It has been suggested that other women should be employed as readers, in apartments where large numbers work together, and if this improvement could be effected it would do away with many of the evils which result from indiscriminate gossip.

The early shop-closing movement has already removed a great wrong. It is satisfactory to see that many shopkeepers can act 'as if the gains of trade are not worth the sacrifice of souls and bodies.' We hope the time will come when sons of professional men will be no longer driven to monopolize the counter, but will be successfully replaced by active women. High stools might be more frequently used for the necessity of resting; and girls might be instructed in arithmetic and fitted to keep accounts. The condition of domestic servants might be greatly improved by the encouragement of industrial schools. Girls of this class are too often forgotten between the ages of fourteen and twenty, when their characters are forming, and when they need most attention. To meet this want, we propose the establishment of adult Sunday-schools, which may be attended by those in their first situation.

By throwing open fresh professions to the middle class

shall best widen the circle of labour for the poorer women. When all ranks have occupations fitted to their status, their rivalry will cease with each other.

The late Lady Morgan was accustomed to say (with emphatic flourishes of her green fan) that no young woman should be allowed to grow up in England without being properly skilled in some bread-getting employment. This statement should not only affect those women who are prepared to help themselves, but those fashionable idlers, the 'vacuums' of whose minds soon become 'plenums' full of weariness and dismal ennui.

'The latest gospel in this world' is to know our work and to do it. 'Labour is life,' whether we work for money, or from a simple wish to do our duty to others.

It has been well remarked that the strength of man belongs to production, and that of woman to economizing and finishing this raw material. For the two sexes to fulfil their rightful callings each must act as the complement of the other. Their difference in intellect and character sufficiently proves the advantages which would result from successful combination. Women might help men in literature and in art.

The suggestions proposed by Mr. Scott in his work on Domestic Architecture, include many improvements, such as painting on plaster or on walls, on wooden doors or ceilings, the ornamentation of mantelpieces or fireplaces, the staining of glass, and the modelling of figures, in which it appears to us that women of taste and skill might be successfully associated. In other forms of designing, such as wall paper and chintz, their services have been already admitted. In engraving and in photography (which when made permanent, and able to render the true relations of colour, will probably supersede engraving) they have been found useful. The annual exhibitions of female art sufficiently prove that anatomical difficulties are almost insuperable to women. But it is well known that such painters as Rubens, Raffaelle, and Da Vinci admitted the assistance of pupils in the production of their most vigorous works. And in the growing demand for paintings from our colonies, or for original water-colour drawings to ornament the rooms of the middle class (and as a certain amount of mediocrity is inseparable from the low market price), we do not see why masters of their art should not avail themselves of female assistance for the less important parts of their work. This principle might be extended to the painting of panoramas and frescoes. The admission of women to the superintendence of hospitals and workhouses is a movement so decided, that in its present state it only requires organization. The indisposition of Miss Nightingale is greatly to be deplored, though her published pamphlet has furnished us with important hints.

3. The

3. The call for the interposition of female interest, and the necessity for careful education, continue urgent. There is a want of system and method in the employments open to women, and an unsteadiness amongst the workers which must bring its own punishment. There is a special education needed by those who compete for higher employments, whilst those who are engaged in trade should become more familiar with the ways of business. The sisters of charity in foreign countries become novices, and go through regular training. Without such a knowledge of the value of method, Miss Nightingale would not have proved so invaluable in the hour of need. And without much drudgery to insure proficiency, our popular band of female writers (Mrs. Browning, Miss Proctor, Miss Muloch, Miss Yonge, and Miss Evans) could never have reached the exalted position which they fill. As it has been remarked, female population must be supported in some way, and that arrangement is most economical which makes their labour available to the community.

Supposing a farmer to have an increase of labourers at harvest-time, he will be too wise to allow a few covetous men to monopolize all the employment. Rather he will find out fresh fields to be drained, fresh crops to be raised, and as he advances his tried hands to the more onerous posts, he will fill up the vacancies by those who are beginners in the work, thus enlarging his outlay, whilst he doubly increases his profits. England, as Ruskin has reminded us, is a farm on a gigantic scale. There is occupation enough for all hands, if we know how to economize it with method.

4. At this crisis we find it advisable to avail ourselves of the assistance rendered by organized societies. Perpetual innovation is far less advantageous than that noble conservatism which is willing to work out the plans of others.

We do not want fresh societies when there are so many within our reach that their machinery only needs fresh hands to set them going.

It is impossible to refer to more than a few of these social schemes. The Refuges which have lately been established in some of the worst parts of London for the admission and training of young girls (who have hitherto been left to wander about our lanes and alleys, totally unassisted, and hopeless for the future) are institutions which need special encouragement. The number of girls who are thus rescued from misery and sin, and at a proper age drafted off, as respectable members of society, to commence a new life in our foreign colonies, is by no means small. Most of them turn out well.

Mr. Maurice's classes in Great Ormond Street, for the instruction of working women, and the Ladies' National Association for the Diffusion of Sanitary Knowledge [illegible] hopeful features in

the times. The establishment of institutions for the training of pupil teachers, and the nurses of children, have fulfilled our utmost expectations.

The plan of introducing Bible-women, to act as female missionaries in some of the parishes of London, is already working well; and it appears advisable that such women should organize lodging-houses, to provide respectable and inexpensive maintenance for those of their own grade in life.

A new society has lately been organized 'for promoting the employment of women.' It is its intention to establish a large school for girls and young women, where they may be specially trained to wait in shops, and where they may be thoroughly instructed in book-keeping. 'Girls educated in this school will be capable of becoming clerks, cashiers, and ticket-sellers at railway stations.'

It is also contemplated to establish workshops in connexion with schools, where girls might be taught other trades, now almost exclusively in the hands of men, such as printing and hairdressing. Those who apply to this society are expected to bring certificates of good character, and certificates of health from medical men. Its present resources will not extend far, but the Institution is decidedly a step in the right direction, which in due time must meet with assistance and support.

5. When such spontaneous local effort and organized association can be brought to bear upon the question, we shall hear no more of a want of sympathy between the rich and the poor. Men will no longer work together in 'strife, rivalry, and hate,' and women will cease to be treated with degradation, as if they were mere 'wages-receiving animals.' Those complex varieties of fraud, which betray the 'cunning selfishness of the savage' in the midst of civilization, will be ashamed to manifest themselves in their grosser forms. The different orders of society will be bound together by 'links of gratitude and esteem.' The poor will be emancipated from the tyranny of wealth, and we shall learn to show proper reverence for that which is beneath us. Then our gallantry will not be that false flattery which seeks to raise one woman above another. It will be a feeling proving the origin of man, who was made in the image of his Maker, and testifying that generosity by which the stronger protects the weaker, which finds the greatest pleasure in giving to those who have not, and which covers as a thick cloud the deficiencies of the erring. Then our charity (to use an old comparison) will be as a river which gathers as it flows onward, and depends not on the quality of the soil through which it passes; and our government will be, as it professes, 'the executive fulfilment, by formal human methods, of the will of the Father of mankind respecting His children.'

ART. III.—1. *La Léyende des Siècles.* By Victor Hugo. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris. M. Levy.

2. *Essais sur le Génie de Pindare et sur la Poésie Lyrique.* By M. Villemain. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris. Firmin Didot.

THIS last work of Villemain's is in many respects a curious one. It is curious from its subject, from its writer, and from the period of its publication as from the country in which it is published. It is in prose the panegyric of poetry, the homage rendered to inspiration by intelligence, and to original composition, by perhaps (since Goethe's death) the foremost æsthetician of the age. It is a hymn to whatever is most immaterial in this most seemingly material epoch, and the deliberate recognition of the superiority of the beautiful and heroic over the useful in the most calculating country on the face of the globe. Scarcely a sentiment or rule of conduct can we point to whereby modern France has shaped her course which is not reproved in these eloquent pages; and scarcely an example of intellectual dignity do they hold up to admiration which has not been repudiated by the acts of the nation in whose language such examples are recorded. M. Villemain has, we believe, said himself—and if so, has said with perfect truth—that his Essay on Lyrical Poetry might be denominated 'a History of Enthusiasm in its Influence on the Human Race.'

It is not impossible that the very lowness of the level to which the public pre-occupations of France have sunk (what we would fain term the inferiority of the national thought), has acted upon a mind of natural nobility, and forced it beyond even its wonted worship of mere beauty. 'There comes a time,' says one of the greatest prose-poets of this or any age—the author of 'Eöthen,'—'there comes a time for thinking that Shakspere and Shelley, and other mere dead people were greater in death than the first living lord of the treasury;' and we sincerely believe nothing conduces so much towards the preference given to the ideal over the real by certain minds as the base tendencies of the crowd by whom they are every day surrounded. It is when the 'living lords of the treasury' are more than usually corrupt that the offended sense of the generous few ardently reverts to the Shaksperes, Shelleys, and 'other mere dead people,' and finds a sort of passionate satisfaction in the utter disinterestedness of its admiration. Opposition is so much one of our most natural instincts that between the elevation of spirit and tone of the men, who in an age of grandeur think and write grandly, and those who, in a lesser epoch, PROTEST by every thought and written line against the narrowness of their age, there can be but slight room for com-

parison: the latter are incomparably superior to the former; and they are so by all the superiority of indignation over acquiescence.

'Is the age of enthusiasm for ever gone by for the nations of our earth?' exclaims Villemain, 'or are the treasures of imagination exhausted? Is that divine light which the Beautiful has shed over Europe for upwards of five centuries—is that about for ever to hide its rays and become extinct?'

We will note at once that Villemain throughout this 'Treatise on Enthusiasm,' as he himself styles it, takes his stand by Cato's side, determinedly espousing the 'cause of the vanquished,' accounting immeasurably higher than all others those who protest against no matter what injustice, no matter what oppression; raising the mere fact of protestation into a virtue, and rather, perhaps, inclining to regard the bare accident of success as a crime. This we at once admit to be the failing—if such it can be called—of the Protestant few in a corrupt and servile country. This is the point upon which they are exposed to the attacks of the majority of their contemporaries, who, because they are passionless, declare themselves impartial, and proclaim 'well regulated' such minds only as never aspire to the unattainably impossibly sublime. This is an old struggle, and none the less fierce for being ancient. It is no use to quarrel with those whom mere success can neither subjugate nor convince. Their indignation is their virtue, and it is because they are indignant that they are strong. They must even be accepted as they are. There will for the honour of mankind, we imagine, always be found a small number of indocile, unpractical spirits, to sympathize with these preverse contemners of brute force, these scorners of positive prosperity, who—whether they are the purest or the proudest of their species (which is a question we will not attempt to solve)—have at all events this one merit, that they soar where others are content to serve.

But whatever their vital principle—purity or pride, simplicity or overweening self-respect—let them be accepted, we say, as they are, and tenderly dealt with, these generous Protestant few who in France rescue an entire race and an age from the opprobrium of being perfectly fitted for serfdom. If amongst our nearest neighbours the conduct of millions has been such as to induce in us the belief that they had hearts and heads 'vacant of our glorious gains,' it would be unjust not to say that the higher classes of society have furnished an amount of resistance to despotic power that it would be difficult to extol too highly. The natural result of the situation is of course to circumscribe somewhat the domain of lyrical poetry, and to deprive, for instance, the purely descriptive style of half its value. It is only necessary to cast a glance at Villemain's Essay, to see what he means by that 'ardeur de l'âme,' as he very finely calls enthusiasm, whence, according

according to him, all poetic effusions, worthy of the name, exclusively spring.

'The kind of self-complacent materialism,' he exclaims, 'in which the idolaters of a despotic rule would have us believe that a portion of the human race enveloped itself under the equality of oppression of ancient Rome, never really existed. That slumber of the soul in undisturbed servitude never was, never will be. Setting aside often-recurring revolutions, and the other various accidents which more than compensate the advantages of absolute power to its possessor, there existed, during the entire period which it is sought to present to us as "safe from any agitation," a permanently active rebellion of the collective moral sense against tyranny. Under different forms, this was, let it be remarked, an epoch of enthusiasm in action, and of faith carried to heroism. Nor was there ever, in reality, a condition or state of human society established, in which all instinct of generous disquietude was extinct, in which dependency in all its shapes was calmly submitted to, or in which a community shut out from every nobler conquest deemed itself content because its daily subsistence was insured. From over study of the laws and proclamations of the Cæsars, you come to ignore the few who protested against their empire, you wilfully forget the outcries of the oppressed, their hymns and odes, the lyrical outpourings of their indignation. . . . . The apparent external repose wherewith despotism and servility together tried to wrap round ancient Rome was therefore not complete. Enthusiasm lived on still, and its flame burnt purely as ever . . . . . This help from above, this immaterial support which was not denied to the pagan world, at the period of its great transformation, shall it then fail us, Christians of the world of this day? Devoted to positive interests, ready for submission to brute force as we are supposed to be, who is there yet among us who will dare assert that the loss of enthusiasm would be a gain? that the recognition of the uselessness of poetry would be a progress? and that to the recognition of that uselessness we must inevitably be led by the successive developments attained to by whatsoever is tangible, material in our life? . . . . . No! this is not so—never can be so: whatever increases the amount of man's power over the exterior world, whatever contributes to double the sum of time that he has to dispose of, or to diminish the obstacle of space, will—must—in the end serve to bring the soul back upon itself, and, by delivering the human being from what were hitherto so many external trammels, isolate him more and more, and oblige him to self-communion. Man, in reality, is only great by those conceptions that spring from his own original thought, and that are born of the strong pulsation of his own inmost heart. . . . . Mankind cannot be and enthusiasm die away.'

Now, in examining what the condition and tendencies of lyrical poetry are at this present moment in France, it has seemed to us more important even to invoke this testimony of M. Villemain's than to have recourse to any mere poet for our examples. This eminent critic, this 'learned judge' of literary excellence, whose life has been employed in calmly pointing out the beauties and defects of the literatures of all countries and ages, and who, suddenly, in the full maturity of years and judgment, gives his vote in favour of inspiration, and proclaims man superior only in proportion as he possesses the faculty, the 'flame' of enthusiasm—this occurring too, as it does, under the debasing despotism of the second empire, and at a moment when gold-worship is the avowed religion of France, seems to us to teach far more than could be possibly taught us by scores of volumes filled with [illegible] verses of scores of so-called lyrical poets.

Of the latter, as the world appreciates them, [illegible]

applies to them the term 'lyrical,' there are but too many in France—poets whose capacity for word-painting is something deplorable, whose mere 'talent' is of the very first order, and who, if they had but anything to say, could say it in any way you might choose to set down for them. They know every secret of the language, but their fault is that they have nothing to say, that they feel nothing, that in them the flame of enthusiasm burns not. Of these, and such as these, it would be worse than loss of time to speak. The fact to remark upon is, that when a real poet—a man to whom his worst enemies cannot deny the perfect poetic temperament and genius—when a poet like Hugo gives to France a volume of lyrical poems, they are the complete exemplification of all that Villemain says—the practice of the theories he lays down. Victor Hugo's 'Châtiments,' his 'Contemplations,' and his present work, 'La Légende des Siècles,' are one and all the produce of a brain genuinely fired by enthusiasm. That 'ardeur de l'âme' spoken of by Villemain glows in every line. There are, in all the three last works of the author of 'Hernani' (and of so many other dramas, that we should be sorry to have to praise); there are defects by hundreds, glaring defects, chiefly to be traced to certain literary crotchets obstinately held to by the writer; but there is scarcely a page whence is absent that sacred flame of enthusiasm without which no poet is.

The illustrious author of the 'Essay on Lyrical Poetry' does not stand alone in his opinion that nothing great is ever produced save from the communings of man with his own soul. St. Augustine —than whose no temperament more essentially, more grandly poetical was ever vouchsafed to a created being—St. Augustine in his 'Confessions,' magnificently imposes upon mankind this duty of the stedfast, incessant research of their own souls.

Whatever his other faults, here is another of Hugo's merits. Out of the two volumes lying before us there is nothing that does not spring from the writer's own original thought; and throughout you feel the 'strong pulsation of the heart,' or at least of that portion of the heart which true poets place in their imagination only.

We again repeat it: let the host of unknown 'highly talented' (alas!) lyrical poets of modern France string words together as they will—denominating the performance 'poetry,' and 'lyrical' to boot—when a real poet steps forward, he is 'lyrical' precisely according to the loftily classical definition of lyrism given by such a lofty-minded æsthetician as Villemain.

We are not prepared to say that this new work of Victor Hugo's is, as to talent, the most important that he has published since his exile in 1851; but it is in some respects, and especially in its tendencies, most remarkable. We take 'Les Châtiments' to be upon the whole its author's finest work, *his* finest production incontestably,

contestably, and one of the finest of any age or country. But then it is monotonous, because there is but one source of inspiration; and however splendid in itself each verse may be, upwards of six thousand verses born of violent indignation are too much. 'Les Châtiments' was inspired by the *coup d'état* of the 2nd of December, and is only the outpouring of irrepressible wrath; magnificent because really irrepressible, springing from the soul's very inmost depths. We again say monotonous, and necessarily so. 'Les Contemplations' were of a gentler order, and decidedly inferior in genuine talent and inspiration. The predominant character of the poems contained in 'Les Contemplations' was, we should say, gracefulness. When they have all been read over and over, we feel that what the memory clings to delightedly is, above all, the tender effusions addressed to the poet's children. Hugo's prematurely lost daughter appears to us as the muse of 'Les Contemplations.'

With the 'Légende des Siècles' the case is different. We look upon them as the direct counterpart of the 'Châtiments:' we say the counterpart rather than the completion, for a reason we will explain later. These poems may be divided into two distinct classes: one, in which the purely descriptive element predominates; the other, in which a moral is aimed at, a lesson or a reproach conveyed. The 'Mariage de Roland,' the 'Rose de l'Infante,' 'Les Raisons du Momotombo,' and 'Bivar,' belong to the first category; 'Le Parricide,' 'Eviradnus,' and 'Le Regiment du Baron Madruce' are exclusively of the second species. The four first poems we allude to are the evident product of what it is customary to call imagination, namely, of that faculty in us which is as strongly impressed by something which is *not* as by something which really *is*. In each one of these four pieces, an image has struck the poet's sense, and he has forcedly described and painted what his mental vision saw. He has not subjected ideas to a preconceived plan of his own, and pressed images into his service in order to make this or that argument victorious.

In the 'Parricide,' in 'Eviradnus,' and in the 'Baron Madruce,' on the contrary, it is Hugo the historical philosopher, Hugo the moralist, Hugo the exile, who stands foremost, and obliges Hugo the poet to interpret his ideas. Most magnificently he does so; but the purely imaginative faculties are not those principally resorted to in this case. The imagination is subordinate to the moral conviction.

Two of the finest compositions in Victor Hugo's new work are of a mixed character, and derived from the two sources we have pointed out. 'Aymerillot' and '[redacted] portant as to quantity of the volumes [redacted] irresistible inspiration by wh[redacted]

compelled as they do to the preconception of the thinker who always seeks to overrule expression, or to the indignation of the patriot. It would not be difficult to select passages from either of these two fine creations, in which the influence of the two sources of inspiration so curiously and almost equally mingle, that which predominates becomes a question. Sometimes, from the mere description of an image that has impressed his fancy, the writer suddenly ascends to the highest spheres of thought, and what imagination commenced philosophy concludes. Sometimes it is just the reverse, and the fiery words of the patriotic enthusiast lead imperceptibly, and by the very seductive beauty of expression, into what is the domain of the descriptive poet only.

But the character of the entire work is one eminently deserving of notice. We have said that it seems to us to be the counterpart of 'Les Châtiments,' and we will now explain our meaning.

The capacity of indignation is only so very fine, so very rare a quality, because it presupposes another finer and loftier still—the capacity of admiration. Upon the genuine sentiment of revolt against wrong is based the faculty of absolute devotion to right. Those minds only really abhor the base, the unjust, and the untrue, who are capable of every sacrifice to what is noblest—to justice and to truth. We take this to be the true test of a soul's nobility. No generous nature abides by indignation. The veriest misanthropists in the universe are they who form so exalted an abstract notion of what are the duties of mankind that they hesitate to believe in the perfect performance of them by this or that man in particular. To be obliged to permanent indignation strains too strongly the human faculties, would warp them in the end. To find an object for boundless admiration is a relief upon which minds of any refinement eagerly seize.

In the 'Châtiments,' Victor Hugo was, as we have said, inspired only by indignation. The whole book was a fierce protest against what he regarded as one of the foulest deeds in history. Every force within him strengthened the feeling of revolt. But he would not have been the great, the real poet he is, if that feeling could have endured. He has turned both in mournfulness and in wrath from the miserable present, and, looking down through the depths of ages—ages darker and harder, if you will, but simpler and truer than ours—he has at last found relief in the possibility of admiration. Chivalry we take to be the muse of 'La Légende des Siècles.'

Now this is a progress amongst our neighbours. We place Hugo pre-eminently in the ranks of the Protestant few who go against the spirit of the age in France. But the public who reads, admires, and buys, does in some measure go with him. 'La Légende

Légende des Siècles' has achieved an immense popularity, and it is the first book of contemporary France the tendencies whereof are purely, unmistakably chivalrous.

These few lines, taken amongst a hundred others expressive of the same sentiment, show what the ideal of the poet is—what his conception of genuine, heroic worth:

'Il est toujours en marche attendu qu'on moleste
Bien des infortunés sous la voûte céleste.

. . . . .

Malheur à l'action mauvaise qui s'approache
Trop près d'Eviradnus, le champion d'acier!
La mort tombe de lui comme l'eau du glacier.
Il est héros!

This, be it observed, proclaims an ideal totally different from any 'ideal' hitherto admitted by French poetry of any kind or age. You may remount the course of years, neither in the sixteenth nor the seventeenth centuries, which are foremost in the literary history of France, will you find any chivalrous ideal. Racine is not chivalrous, nor Marot, nor Ronsard: there is no trace in any of them of the force that is gentle, or of the gentleness that is strong. There is wit, grace—what they themselves term 'de la galanterie;' there is even every now and then a species of sentiment verging upon romance, as in Racine's 'Bérénice,' but of chivalry there is not, we repeat it, a trace; Corneille, being the loftiest, simplest of his countrymen, and of his contemporaries, approaching the nearest to the fulfilment of that condition laid down by Macaulay as indispensable to a poet, namely, the assumption of the primitive or child-like nature.* Corneille is, of all French poets, the one who has most of the chivalric spirit in his works. But pure chivalry in Corneille is crossed by the preoccupation of the antique, and the Christian knight is fettered by the folds of the Roman citizen's toga. Even the Cid of the great French dramatic poet (and his greatness is undeniable) is spoilt by this, and what is not classical about him is affected. None of Corneille's heroes have the purity and child-like simplicity that is one of the essentials of the heroes of chivalrous times. They are all too Roman, too declamatory, too pagan, to be able to say of them,

'De sa vie il n'a fait d'action qui ne fût
Sainte, blanche et loyale.'

They are not Christian knights, which, in his 'Légende des Siècles,' every one of Hugo's heroes really are.

The lines we have quoted are taken from one of the longest of the poems of the first volume from 'Eviradnus.'

The subject is simply this:—

A markgraf of Lusatia is dead, leaving his throne to [illegible]

* Essay on Milton.

ter, the beautiful Lady Maud. An ancient custom of the land requires that every sovereign of Lusatia, upon his advent to power, shall take his first repast at midnight in the Castle of Corbus, in the middle of the equestrian statues of the ancestors of his house. With only the attendants requisite to wait upon him at table, the new lord of Lusatia must pass his first night of new authority in the gloomiest hall of the gloomiest residence the imagination ever conceived. Maud repairs, according to custom, to the Castle of Corbus, attended by two henchmen, who are no other than the Emperor Sigismund and King Ladislas of Poland, in disguise. When supper is at an end, the eyes of the margravine close heavily, and she sinks into a slumber, occasioned by a narcotic administered by her traitorous attendants. She is laid upon the stone pavement in her brilliant robes, and the emperor and king, who equally sigh for the land of Lusatia and for its lovely mistress, cast dice as to which of the two shall be lord of the land and which lord of the lady. Fate assigns Lusatia to Sigismund, and Maud to Ladislas. But the latter proposes a more tragical termination, namely, to divide the territory, and kill the princess, whom, he says, they both love too violently for either to allow the other to possess her.

But the whole scene has had a witness.

Eviradnus, of whom it has been said that he lives only to protect the weak against the strong, had overheard some days before the plot of the two princes to betray Maud, and he was beforehand with them in the gloomy hall of ancestors at the Castle of Corbus. When the margravine entered that dark vaulted chamber, all the plated corslets and mailed vestments of all the mounted horsemen were not empty. Upon the marble steed that headed the long right-hand line of phantom cavaliers sat a living knight, and the eyes of Eviradnus glare upon the felon princes from the barred helmet of a Lusatian markgraf long since dead. Just as the king and the emperor are preparing to raise up the inanimate form of their victim and carry it to a trap that opens upon the mountain chasm below, they see what they take for a spectre:

> 'Tous deux peuvent voir, là sous un cintre obscur,
> Un des grands chevaliers rangés le long du mur,
> Qui se lève et descend de cheval; ce fantôme,
> Tranquille sous le masque horrible de son heaume,
> Vient vers eux. . . .'

Of course the alarm of the miscreants, as is always the case with such base natures, is abject in the extreme. They let the lifeless margravine drop upon the pavement, and cower before the majestic figure of Eviradnus, who stands with uplifted sword between them and the yawning pit into which they were about to precipitate their prey. Naturally, the whole terminates by the death of the two felons, but the details of the punishment ultimately dealt

dealt upon them by the knight errant are of singular beauty and grandeur. No words are wasted; not a line is written that might be spared; and the action marches onwards as straightly, as simply, as inevitably to its end as it would in the dry hard terms of a judicial procès verbal.

'L'heure où vous existiez est une heure sonnée,
Rien ne peut plus bouger dans votre destinée,'

says the avenger to the two cowards who tremble and quiver at his feet, taking him, as they have done all along, for the habitant of another sphere. At this, however, the loyal chevalier is offended, and superbly disdainful. He exclaims—

Princes, votre façon d'être lâches me gêne.
Je suis homme, et non spectre. Allons! debout! mon bras
Est le bras d'un vivant. Il ne me convient pas
De faire une autre peur que celle où j'ai coutume.
Je suis Eviradnus!'

The entire scene is one of marvellous power, and we unfeignedly regret to be forced by want of space merely to point out its most remarkable passages. As the action progresses you feel it could not be otherwise told—the narration is a true one; the words in which it is told are necessary, every one of them, and could not be other than what they are. You recognize pre-eminently the merit marked out by Shelley of 'that, being presented in verse which could not be presented in prose.' The verse is no obstacle either to the writer or to you who read. On the contrary, all is grand and natural, and so natural because so very grand.

We spoke just now of Corneille's Cid. There is in Hugo's first volume a Rodrigues de Bivar, which is incomparably finer in simplicity of conception than any part of the great tragic poet's *chef d'œuvre.*

It is early morning. To the ancient castle of Bivar comes a Moorish prince on horseback as a visitor. These few lines describe the whole.

'Bivar était au fond d'un bois sombre, un manoir
Carré flanqué de tours, fort vieux et d'aspect noir.
La cour était petite et la porte était laide
Quand le Scheik Jabias, depuis Roi de Tolède,
Vint visiter le Cid au retour de Cintra;
Dans l'étroit *patio* le Prince Maure entra;
Un homme qui tenait à la main une étrille,
Pansait une jument attachée à la grille;

. . . . . .

Ce Don Diègue, ce père, était encore vivant.

. . . . . .

Le Scheik, sans ébaucher même un "*buenos Dias*"
Dit: "Manant! je viens voir le [illegible] Dias,
Le grand *Campeador* des [illegible]
Se retournant lui dit: "[illegible]

We think it impos[illegible]

simpler, and, unless in the early Greeks, we should be at a loss to parallel this in straightforwardness of action by any example of mere poetic recital. The Moor, at finding before him in the exercise of a menial office the great hero of all Spain, is naturally moved to express his intense surprise. He does so chiefly by recalling to Rodrigues the very different state in which he appeared before him the only time they had met. "You were then proud enough," he exclaims. "*J'étais chez le Roi*," is the answer of the Cid. "And now, engaged in so lowly an occupation!" continues the Moor. "*Je suis chez mon Père!*" says Rodrigues.

The whole tale does not occupy quite four pages, yet a sense of grandeur is left upon the mind that four times four pages of the finest 'description' in the world would fail to produce. Besides, everything in this beautiful little poem is true. The humility of the great warrior, and his filial subserviency is true; and with how much more truth brought home to the reader by the simple fact recounted of his attending to his father's favourite mare than by the traditional scene in Corneille.

'Rodrigue! as-tu du cœur?
Tout autre que mon père l'éprouverait sur l'heure!'

Hugo's Cid is the genuine Spanish nobleman, proud as Lucifer with the powers that reign on earth, humble as a child with the representatives of holy rights. The impossibility, too, of the Moor understanding what he witnesses is admirably true to Oriental nature, and the contrast is striking between the follower of Mahomet, who loves to associate great deeds and glorious renown with external pomp and inflexible authority, and the simple follower of Christ, who never believes any amount of glory could release him from the scrupulous fulfilment of Christian duties. The purest spirit of chivalry, we maintain, breathes through every line of the short story entitled 'Bivar;' and once read, it remains in the memory, which loves to recur to it as to all things true: it is truly Christian and truly chivalrous.

'Ratbert' and 'Aymerillot,' the two principal poems of the whole collection, if length is to be taken into account, owe, as we have said, their existence to a double inspiration: they are the produce of the imagination and of the moral sense at the same time.

'Ratbert' is the story of the aggressions, frauds, and various other 'princely' crimes of an Italian prince, who 'calls himself Emperor, but is, in fact, only King of Arles.' The measure of his iniquities is pretty well full, when it suits him to devise the plan of an expedition against 'Final,' a small neighbouring state, ruled over by Fabrice, Marquis d'Albenga, whose sole heir is a young girl named Isora. The great potentate calls together all his

his court, and invites every single eminent functionary—military, judicial, or ecclesiastical—to express his opinion upon the expedition. Of course all, in obedience to the sovereign's behest, give utterance to the echo only of his own thought, and the particular form alone of the general baseness is varied. When this discussion in the council-chamber is ended, we are fairly launched upon the ocean of pure imagination, with a descriptive poet at the helm. The picture of the frail, delicate Isora, born to a throne she is never to mount, and of her true-hearted, unsuspicious grandfather, the Marquis Fabrice, is drawn exclusively from the resources of fancy: there is no *parti-pris* in all this; neither is there any in the description of the confidence so loyally awarded by Fabrice, so unworthily betrayed by Ratbert. The expedition, too, of the latter, is as much a matter of imagination—of the faculty of producing outwardly what is inwardly witnessed—as is any scene in the 'Orlando' of Ariosto or the 'Gerusalemme' of Tasso. Only, when the description of the image that strikes him has led the poet to a certain height, he finds himself face to face with a great thought, and compelled, as it were, to teach a great lesson. Here the moralist, and, as we said in the beginning, the exile, suddenly springs to life, and in the concluding lines of 'Ratbert' we have the poet of the 'Châtiments' unmistakably. This conclusion is, however, one of his very finest achievements. Ratbert has invaded his neighbour's territory, sacked his towns, murdered his grandchild, and sits in judgment upon a vanquished foe. The proud head of the Marquis Fabrice—who, to the last, crushes the 'emperor' under the weight of his honest contempt—falls under the headsman's sword: but here is the miracle—the legendary act of Divine wrath. As the head of the victim is severed from his body, so is also the head of the tyrant by a viewless hand; and whilst it sinks into the earth, which opens a flaming mouth to receive it, the head of the just man soars upwards on silver wings, as the heads of the cherubim in the glories of ancient pictures. Who punished Ratbert, we are not told, but at that same hour a humble pious priest sees an archangel in the sky wiping blood from his sword upon a passing cloud.

We must not be unmindful of the fact that to the utterly pure-minded, thoroughly holy, man alone is made apparent the act of Divine justice, which to the multitude remains for ever an impenetrable mystery.

In 'Ratbert,' we are disposed to believe that mere description has led the poet on to contemplations of a higher order, whereas in 'Aymerillot' we incline to the directly reverse supposition. The latter seems to us commenced with a predetermination to parallel the campaign of 1814, and the general defection of the veteran

veteran marshals of Napoleon, and to suffer the imaginative faculty to divert it from its preconceived aim.

Charlemagne is returning home from a victorious campaign against the Moors of Spain, and passes by the town of Narbonne. He asks the name of the fair city haughtily seated on a sea-crowning height. His chief warriors answer evasively. The name, however, is wrung from them in the end, and the emperor says he 'must have' Narbonne, and asks which of those around him will take it. All hang back, one from this reason, one from that. In vain the glorious Cæsar talks to them of glory and fame, or even of riches—in vain he promises Narbonne itself to whomever will make it his own. There is no temptation sufficient for these chieftains, who are full of prosperity and weariness at once. The Duke of Bavaria suggests that the emperor should 'buy' Narbonne, not besiege it, for he says they have all had enough of that kind of work. The Comte de Dreux declares himself 'sick, and needful of repose;' Hugues de Cotentin affirms that his 'very saddle is falling to pieces,' that his accoutrements are out of order, and that he envies the day labourer in the fields. 'Donnez Narbonne à d'autres' is his answer; Richard of Normandy, and the Count of Ghent, and Eustace of Nancy, and Gerard of Roussillon, and Eudes of Burgundy, and Ozier of Denmark, and all his 'peers,' all, refuse Charlemagne to do any more work!

Scarcely has the great chief covered his followers with shame in a bitterly indignant harangue, than a beardless boy stands forth from the ranks of the glutted elders, and breathes a benison upon Charlemagne. 'Saint Denis guard the king!' says the lad, respectfully; at which the 'king and emperor' turns round, exclaiming 'Who and what art thou? and what is it thou seekest?' The boy looks him steadily in the face, answering, 'I wish to be he of whom it shall be said, that "he took Narbonne!"' The concluding lines of the poem are too remarkable for us to deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting them.

"Hé! c'est Aymerillot, le petit compagnon."
"Aymerillot reprit le Roi, dis-nous ton nom."
"Aymery! Je suis pauvre autant qu'un pauvre moine
J'ai vingt ans.
. . . . . .
Deux liards couvriraient fort bien toutes mes terres
Mais tout le grand ciel bleu n'emplirait pas mon cœur.
J'entrerai dans Narbonne et je serai vainqueur,
Après, je châticrai les rieurs, s'il en reste."
Charles, plus rayonnant que l'archange céleste,
S'écria:
"Tu seras, pour ce propos hautain,
Aymery de Narbonne et Comte Palatin;
Et l'on te parlera d'une façon civile,
Va, fils!"
Le lendemain, Amery prit la ville.'

Now

Now it is our belief that Victor Hugo began this beautiful poem chiefly with the intention, as we have said, of stigmatizing the conduct of Napoleon's marshals in 1814, and holding up to shame those who, when their personal interests have nothing more to demand, seek enjoyment and repose, and unchivalrously refuse to serve any longer or to deserve. But once fairly launched into his subject, mere imagination evidently takes the place of other faculties, and we have a poet only instead of a moralist or a patriot. Aymerillot springs, all armed and radiant, from the poet's brain with Minerva-like suddenness. The brave boy, with his purity and simplicity, his material poverty and boundless mental wealth, owes nothing to any preconceived plan, or any desire, whether to teach or preach: he is perfectly chivalrous, and exclusively poetical.

We wish our limits would permit of our speaking at equal length of several of the other poems contained in the two volumes before us. We should have much to say, especially of 'Le Parricide,' of 'Le Petit Roi de Galice,' of 'Le Regiment du Baron Madruce,' and of 'Les Raisons du Momotombo.' In 'Le Regiment du Baron Madruce,' occurs one of the finest apostrophes to Liberty that we know of in any tongue, not excepting Coleridge's glorious 'Ode to France,' or the perhaps even finer burst of patriotism entitled 'Fears in Solitude,' inspired by the invasion-panic of 1798.

But this name leads us back to Villemain, than whom no one of all our native critics has ever more truly appreciated the 'fine frenzy,' the Pindaric inspiration of Coleridge. Speaking of him from the point of view of the sources of his inspiration, Villemain calls him 'a bright witness of the past;' and says 'he is the image of a great moral influence exercised over the human mind,' and 'the example of a soul's rebound towards justice and truth, when crushed beneath the weight of the meannesses and iniquities attendant on conquest and the brutal rule of force.'

It is from this point of view precisely that we must judge Victor Hugo (who, be it noted *en passant*, has more of Coleridge than it is easy to conceive in a Frenchman), and it is this point of view also that forces us back to M. Villemain and his 'Treatise on Enthusiasm,' which, as we said in our opening pages, is of even greater importance to the cause of lyrical poetry itself than would be volumes upon volumes filled with the verses of lyrical poets. For Villemain, lyrical poetry in this present age of debasement in France, means 'the soul's best and surest escape from wrong,' and therefore, forasmuch as it does really represent this strong Protestant feeling is it well that we should register its manifestations.

The fact to be marked is this: [illegible] soundest, freest,

loftiest, *youngest*, is deliberately set down in the book we speak of as right. What the wise denominate foolish, and the weak, imprudent; what is too passionate for the cold-hearted, too generous for the calculating, too bold for the timid, too uncompromising for the worldly, too simple for the cautious, too true for the conventional—all this is proposed, held up to universal admiration by a man whom his worst enemies cannot call other than grave among the gravest. Had a dreamer of two-and-twenty ventured to say all that Villemain has said in his Essay—above all, if he said it in verse—it could easily be smiled down by that formidable phalanx of the 'respectable,' whose bond of union, formed by their moral and intellectual deficiencies, is perhaps the very strongest of any. But what is to be attempted against a work in prose, alarming even to some from its implacable erudition, and whose author, after fashioning the mind of the youth of his country for a quarter of a century, and taking a leading, active part in the councils of the state, forces society to acknowledge the triple authority of talent, experience, and character? That such a book by such a writer may fall unpleasantly upon that portion of the French public whose every thought and deed justify the most indignant protestations of the book, that is conceivable; but revolt against it is possible from no side. The mass of the enslaved and the corrupt have nothing for it but submission, for in this book are laid down intellectual laws. 'Dura lex' as much as you choose, 'sed lex.' Here are no hymns, or odes, or sudden outpourings of the heart which you condemn (!) by stigmatizing them as youthful—here are literary dogmas which you must obey or be content to pass for a literary heretic, even with the elders of your own faith. Yet here, in these pages, more than in 'La Légende des Siècles,' is laid down the usefulness of all that you have pronounced useless, the gravity of what you would fain believe to be futile—the usefulness of poetry, the advisability of enthusiasm!

This perfect concordance between a great poet and a great thinker, between two men so utterly different in all other respects as Victor Hugo and Villemain, appears to us a great fact, and one that it would be wrong not to notice seriously. The tendencies of both—the one from instinct the other from reflection—are heroic; and while the one almost unconsciously, and thanks to that 'flame of enthusiasm' that is burning within him sings of chivalrous and heroic deeds, the other calmly, and in the tone, we repeat, of a literary legislator, pronounces that 'flame' to be a good, wise, noble, useful thing.

There must be something wondrously compelling in the reaction of mind against matter, of spirit against clay, of the bright, the bold, the pure, against the groping, the base, and the mean, for [illegible] in two countries which have not one thought or feeling alike

in the past, present, or future, nothing save only antagonism, making a very virtue of dislike, here in France and in England we have lyrical poetry manifesting the same identical tendencies, and Tennyson and Hugo going, as it were, hand in hand. Both turn in the same distaste from the materialism of our age, and equally aspire towards 'a period of heroic manners, heroic deeds, and heroic characters;'* and whilst the one finds what is prompted him by inspiration, laid down as precept by the greatest æsthetician of the day, the other meets his panegyrist in a Chancellor of the Exchequer. Both have with equal earnestness striven to glorify 'that great name which,' as Mr. Gladstone said some months ago, 'the admiration of all ages has consecrated—the name of hero.'

This identity of purpose (shown so lately) between Victor Hugo and our own Tennyson is not a circumstance that should pass by unnoticed. We would advise all our readers to turn from the 'Idylls of the King' to the poems we have quoted in 'La Légende des Siècles.' They will find in one as in the other that 'flame of enthusiasm,' esteemed so highly by Villemain, that strong Protestant feeling which makes lyrical poetry 'the soul's escape from wrong.'

ART. IV.—1. *The People's Friend.* Amsterdam: 1859. Art. on Liberty: by H. J. Berlin.

2. *On Liberty.* By John Stuart Mill. London: 1859.

THAT the modern literature of Southern Europe should be tinged with despairing views of liberty and progress is not to be wondered at. This fact is the natural result and reflex of the later history of Italy—a history of short-lived triumphs, of inspiring hopes, and of sad and long reverses. A feeling of doubt and despondency is impressed upon the productions of its greatest writers, of which Leopardi may be cited as a fair example. How bitterly he felt the degradation of his native land—on whose glories he had mused, while a prodigy of learning at twelve, and to whose welfare and moral liberation he had devoted his genius until prematurely worn out at the age of thirty-two—may be gathered from his noble apostrophe to his 'Italia.'

'Why thus unarmed, with naked breast and brow?
What mean that deathly pallor, those shivering pains?
To heaven and earth I lift my voice, to know
What hand hath brought thee to this sad estate?
Who, worst of all, hath loaded thee with chains,
So that cowell'd, and with dishevell'd hair,
Thou sittest on the ground, disconsolate,
A [illegible] of despair?'

* Mr. Gladstone's [illegible] on the Church Missions to Africa.

It

It is a notable fact, however, that a comprehensive survey of Europe at large, and of the conditions of society both at home and abroad, has left a similar feeling of distrust and dissatisfaction in the minds of some of our own most eminent writers. Occasionally we hear it remarked that 'liberal institutions are upon their trial' in America, or at the antipodes; but if we revert honestly to the experiences of the last hundred years,—if we look at the revolutions in France and Germany, Spain and Greece; at the heroic struggles of the Pole, and of the 'uncrowned demigods' of Hungary; at the Crimean war in defence of the vitality and independence of Turkey,—and then survey the present aspect of all those kingdoms, we shall be led to conclude that there is some deeper and wider principle at the bottom of this condition of things than any one mere form or mechanism of government. It is a question of civilization, of morals, and of universal liberty which awaits solution. One or two terrible facts cannot be hidden: for, in spite of our talk of progress—in spite of press, platform, and pulpit,—in the face of the moral suasions of every kind, with which we have been deluged during the last seventy years,—standing armies and national debts have increased to a prodigious extent,—constitutional kingdoms have been blotted clean out, and at this moment Europe is dominated over by three imperial despotisms of gigantic dimensions; around whose dominions liberty resembles some small spots or oases on the borders of a mighty sahara.

In perfect correspondence with this outside manifestation of the state of Europe, is the interior character of its populations, the psychological condition of its individual minds and classes. The mental barometer is as low and threatening as the political. All things presage change and tempest, and warn us of danger and destruction. The acute and watchful Bunsen, in his 'Signs of the Times,' has drawn a parallel between the condition of Europe now, and that which existed when the Roman Cæsars ascended the throne of universal empire. 'The north is being invaded by those despairing views of the world prevailing in Southern Europe. . . The unimpeachable results of investigation are rejected as infidel, and that which has essentially proceeded from a deep moral and religious earnestness is stigmatized as godless. . . The pretensions to a divine right of the clerical office over conscience, and as far as may be over the whole mental culture of the human race, are everywhere the same. . . The incredible, in one form or other, appears to all parties and peoples credible; nay, the impossible, probable; few or none of the existing powers or faiths are held to be secure. . . The fears of one party are the hopes of the other. Selfishness and passion not only step boldly into the foreground, but bear unblushingly on their brow the sign of the highest and the holiest.' We need not allude to the illustrations derivable from

from old superstitions, or to the new and fantastic forms of credulity exhibited in 'spirit manifestations' and similar epidemics. It is more to our purpose to refer to the rottenness of our political principles and the rapacity of our placemen—to the disgusting revelations of Wakefield and Gloucester; above all, to the unblushing apologies and monstrous sophistries put forth in our senate on behalf of such outrages against God and humanity as the traffic in rum and opium, by which heathen and Mahommedan nations, through the instrumentality of professed Christian merchants and statesmen, are made tenfold more the children of corruption than before; to the deliberate defences of opium-eating in our daily and weekly press, as well as in monthly magazines; and to the strange pleas to be found in our religious periodicals, for the habitual use of an agent which has ever been, to a still greater extent, the fatal foe of man, of missions, and of Christ.

We know not whether the old English spirit of independence, with its intense respect for individual rights, is being absorbed in the blood of the Celtic population, now gradually asserting its numerical supremacy—a calamity for which some new Saxon invasion or Norman conquest would be the fitting remedy—but certainly, both in the transactions of social life and the policies of governments, we have observed an indifference to moral and constitutional principles of the most alarming nature. There is, not so much an ignoble hero worship, as a mere clannish or party leadership, prevalent, combined with a tendency to rest on disgraceful compromises, which is a sure indication of the absence of high governing principles of any kind. We no longer recognize in a wrong inflicted upon a poor man, or a feeble state, the fact that Justice itself is struck at, and the body politic gives no responsive sympathy. Whatever may be the proximate or ulterior causes of this moral indifference, and want of faith in underlying spiritual realities, we trust that the miserable and disappointing issues of the political promises of the past, will serve to strengthen the growing conviction that social and individual reform are elements more nearly concerned in the working out of the great problems of national and political liberty, than any mere forms of government or schemes of representation.

A philosophical writer—in an age when men seem to hanker after political authorities who shall do their thinking for them—looks upon our boasted civilization as expiring from a dearth of intrinsic thought and vitality. We are perishing, thinks Mr. Mill, for want of energetic characters; our greatness is only collective, made up of small individualities; and, like China, we are in danger of sinking into a stagnant, lifeless uniformity. What we need is a quickening intellect and a fresh [illegible] evermore rise above prescriptive custom, and [illegible] forms and

rules by its own living spirit. On this principle Mr. Mill grounds his plea for more liberty and less legislation. Now, in broad terms, we concede that there is some reason for these views, though the truth is one-sided and exaggerated. Society has not progressed, in some directions, so much as we are apt to imagine; and it has often moved in a circle, returning, under some new form, to its old fallacies. Mr. Mill's doctrine of development, however, must have its limitations somewhere; and what, we think, he has failed to perceive and note is this—that there are possibly some powers and some liberties, the development of which would be only evil, and that continually. These, we hold, should be suppressed in order that other and higher developments might not be thwarted. The intellect and conscience of man are entitled to the freest possible play which is consistent with the existence and necessity of society; but we repudiate entirely the application of that doctrine to his lower propensities and baser passions, for these demand guidance, restriction, and in some abnormal cases, repression, total and absolute. As we would extirpate the roots of a cancer, so would we the roots of an unnatural appetite for alcohol, opium, or tobacco. We quite concur with what is observed by the philosopher of Malmesbury, in the preface to his 'Philosophical Rudiments,' as to the close connection between social opinions on this subject, and the actual condition of governments and peoples. 'If,' says he, 'the moral philosophers had as happily discharged their duties (as have the geometers), I know not what could have been added by human industry to the completion of that happiness which is consistent with human life. For were the nature of man's actions distinctly known, ... the strength of avarice and ambition, sustained by the erroneous opinions of the vulgar as touching the nature of right and wrong, would presently faint and languish; and mankind should enjoy such an immortal peace, that, unless it were for habitation, on supposition that the earth should grow too narrow for her inhabitants, there would hardly be left any pretence for war.' Popular discussions on the principles of social rights, and the duties of the governing and governed classes, furnish in our time the sole possible check to the despotism alike of aristocracies and of democracies. As with the individual, only 'he is the freeman whom the truth makes free;' so with communities—true freedom must spring up from the inner fountains of intelligence and virtue, vivifying and sustaining the forms and organizations through which these elements are made to flow.

There is doubtless something very captivating in the doctrine of 'Liberty,' so eloquently propounded by Mr. Mill. We will not affirm that its advocates consciously mean 'license, when they cry liberty;' but there is no denying the fact, that it is a doctrine at once flattering to the pride and subservient to the pleasures

pleasures of men. To say the least of it, *à priori*, it excites suspicion and challenges rigid scrutiny. The origin of the notion of 'liberty,' and its hereditary associations, sufficiently explain the magic power of the word in alarming our prejudices or exciting our enthusiasm. The just liberties which we enjoy as English citizens were won by acts of self-denial and deeds of noble daring on the part of our Saxon forefathers—acts which shed an unfading splendour upon the pages of our history. Our patriot ancestors set limits to the encroachments of tyrants by perilling their life at the scaffold or shedding their blood on the battle-field; and they succeeded, first, in wringing from the ruler a recognition of rights; and, second, in securing a guarantee, through certain constitutional checks, against the aggression of future rulers. When we read of these heroic acts—and, in their issues, most comfortable and convenient deeds for ourselves—not merely do our nerves tingle with a sympathetic glow, but our self-love is at once enlisted in the theme. What wonder, then, that the magic name by which we designate these gains of power, should become a sacred watchword to us, whose sudden utterance has potency to excite a false alarm, as well as make us vigilant in the presence of a real danger; and sometimes, perhaps, lead us to shut our hearts against a true friend, and open our doors for the admission of a deadly enemy who had mastered the password? How much, for example, did the 'liberty to get drunk on the premises,' in the shape of the Beer Bill, contribute to debauch and pervert the liberty of voting for representatives, conceded shortly afterwards in the so-called Reform Bill?

In like manner, the idea of 'Christian liberty' carries with it a notion of deliverance from bondage. The Jewish law included a ritual and ceremonies of an exceedingly minute and burdensome description. Christ's law, on the contrary, radiating from a spiritual centre of light and love, made his 'yoke easy,' and his 'burden light.' In the period of transition from Jewism to Christianity, there was of necessity an occasional conflict; whence arose an emphatic association regarding 'Christian liberty' as conferring a new freedom and privilege of moral life; an association of ideas, unfortunately, which has so far outlasted its occasion, that in modern times we have the anomaly of men pleading their 'Christian liberty' for the doing of that which has neither the sanction of Scripture nor of reason. Let us see, then, if we ca not extricate the conception of 'liberty' from those foreign and accidental elements with which it is vulgarly adulterated, and by exhibiting the essential idea in its universal and harmonious relations, contribute a portion, however small, to that sum of thought which, in the long run, will be found not only the safest pioneer of every just reform, but the firmest foundation of social

justice, the most potent agency of human progression, and the strongest bulwark amidst the dangers of unsettled dogmas and dissolving systems.

The author of the essay 'On Liberty' is characterized by a generally lucid style of composition, and always conveys his meaning clearly to the reader. He sometimes errs, however, in the subtler distinctions of language, and more frequently in the niceties of definition. We may take an example from his description of the first historical meaning of 'liberty.' 'The aim of patriots was to set limits to the power' of the ruler—'this limitation was what they meant by liberty.' Now, we take leave to say, this statement is not only absurd but impossible, if literally rendered. Not only is liberty a positive conception in logic, but we know, as a matter of practical life, that no party whatever would trouble itself with limiting another's power unless with the object of adding to its own. What our ancestors meant by 'liberty' was this additional power—the manner of its acquisition being a mere accident. Social self-government, in like manner, denotes the power of the social-self which governs. In fine, power and liberty are correlative terms which mark and measure each other.

Mr. Mill truly enough observes, that the people who rule are not always the same people with those ruled over; but this only signifies that the governed are destitute of liberty because they are destitute of power. So, if a majority decree to tyrannize over a minority, or a totality over themselves, in some particular direction, or by some particular mode, that too is a restriction of liberty, because it is a deprivation of power. The accident already noted, that many rights were acquired by battling against unjust governments, has, by an unhappy confusion of the circumstances with the essence of the symbol, led to the vulgar fallacy of putting liberty in antagonism with law, which is the expression and the medium of government. This is a most mischievous misconception, arising, like most others, from lax thinking; for it creates a hurtful prejudice against 'law' in the popular mind, where, specially, the wise statesman ought to aim at establishing the deepest respect for law, as the equal protector of all, and the best friend of the weak and poor. That which we should all dread and deprecate alike, in whatever disguise it may come, is the wilful, not the lawful, exercise of power; of that bare 'will' which may be carried out quite as much by a mob as a nobility, or by the ballot of a democracy as by the bullets of a despot. Coercion is but an incident of government—not its essence, but its shield; not its foundation, but its occasional instrument. Government, in the proper sense of the word, is moral power, and coercion but one of its strange relations. Coercion, in short, is the medicine of the state, applicable to abnormal parts of the body politic;

politic; but moral power is its diet, its 'daily bread.' Furthermore, government is the authoritative expression of law, which is but another word for 'rights:' and these, again, consist of such pre-existing powers in the subject as are necessary to the perfect development of his own highest nature, and the safety and well-being of the community. To deprecate law as adverse to liberty, is therefore to contradict the first principles of government, and to strike at the very heart of society and civilization. Freedom, however, is a wider term, and must not be accepted as the synonym of liberty. It carries with it, very palpably, the negative idea of being free from obligation. Liberty, conversely, is the state of a balanced and rational exercise of power, defined by the constitutional limits of the law. Freedom suggests lawlessness, and may be compatible with anarchy and confusion; while liberty is the adjustment of power and right, and is suggestive of harmony, beauty, and order. Freedom may be inconsistent with obligation; but liberty and morality must be coupled in their legal description, for where there are no rights there can be no duties. The terms, 'law, rights, liberty,' are the equal sides of a triangle. 'Liberty' and 'law' are mutually linked by a common term—or, to change the figure, they are the obverse and converse of a medal, right constituting the golden material whereon the impressions are stamped in the Divine mint. As the true liberty of the individual is to fulfil the highest law of his being, so true national liberty consists in fulfilling the just laws of the commonwealth. Moral law alone can give, and social law alone can preserve and guarantee, social liberty and well-being; just as law, throughout every department of the universe, is that divine *archè*, that systematizing, adhering principle of Order, which upholds all things and brings them to their destined development.

Let us here compare our description of liberty with that of Hobbes, who was undoubtedly the most perspicuous of philosophical writers. 'Liberty is the absence of all impediments to action not contained in the intrinsic nature of the agent. Water is said to have liberty to descend by the channel of the river, but we never say it wants the liberty to ascend, but the faculty or power.' It is quite easy to convert this definition from a negative to a positive form, and when we do so, it will be found to correspond with our own idea. 'Liberty is the power to work out the law of the agent's own nature. The law of water is to descend, and, therefore, where no impediments exist, water has the power (or liberty) of descending; but it has not the liberty (or power) to ascend, because it is contrary to the law of gravity by which its nature is governed.' A German writer, describing the conversation of the philosopher Kant, employs the terms 'liberty' and 'law' in the same harmonic sense: 'How often he elevated our thoughts

thoughts and feelings above the trammels of all selfish systems, to the higher consciousness of a pure liberty of will, to an unconditional obedience to the law of reason, and to the lofty sentiment (or law) of disinterested virtue.'

Mr. Mill and his school have striven hard to reduce the functions of government to those of a combined policeman and tax-collector. They would confine legislation to an attempt at protection from actual aggression, by the punishment of 'overt acts' alone. The doctrine of prevention, they argue, must be limited to this single method. Now here we are at issue. Man exists for the development of his higher powers, and society is justified in its existence and limitations solely by the consideration that its order, method, and machinery are essential to this end. If this be not so, then society is not merely a blunder, it is an usurpation and a tyranny. It starts into being by an attack upon the principle of individuality; nay, it is the weakness or waywardness of that principle which necessitates social combination at all. As social law extends, individual whim and freedom are narrowed. Instead of the will of each, society erects the throne of law, and to its decrees all individuality must yield obedience. Its first act is to limit locomotion and define ownership. In the institution of 'property,' it erects a principle of *meum* and *tuum* altogether different from that of individual will or wish; and it makes a law of trespass, which hedges and bounds our walking on every side. The common earth is no longer common; portions of the earth are made sacred and inviolable; and we have not the 'individual liberty' of intruding ourselves at will into an author's study or a gentleman's drawing-room. Society, too, creates a coinage for circulation, and decrees that no other shall be accepted as 'money' save that which comes from its mint, and bears Cæsar's impress. Granting the formula, that 'protection' is the end and scope of government, we must be protected to the extent required by the nature of things and the purposes of society. No abstract doctrine of 'individuality' can be suffered to override the actual necessities and facts of the case. It must be proved how and wherein the valuable faculties, and therefore liberties, of men are unduly stinted in their growth by law, before we can admit the soundness of the objection. Where else shall we stop? If liberty of locomotion, or of ownership, be denied in the very basis of society, why not the liberty of selling certain things which are demonstrated to be destructive of the great purposes of society? 'A right to the end,' as Hobbes puts the case, 'gives a right to the means.' This must be conceded by those who allow government in any form; since, as regards its matter, the dominion of government is coextensive with what the individuality resigns. Moreover, all governments, by necessity, take caution or guarantee for the future. In other words, without waiting

waiting for overt acts, they assume tendencies and dangers, and establish against them the barriers of law, appealing to the fears and interests of men in the shape of prohibitions and their sanctions. Individuality, then, is futile as an abstract objection; to acquire force and validity it must be applied to a special case and to actual powers.

An article in a recent number of the 'Volks-vriend,' a periodical published at Amsterdam by the advocates for the abolition of intoxicating liquor, contains an interesting application of the doctrine of liberty. The writer, Mr. Berlin, lays down the premiss that 'liberty is power,' of which he instances several sorts. We will enlarge his category, for the sake of illustration, to seven kinds. 1. Physical power (dynamical); 2. Intellectual (thought and skill); 3. Moral (Christian liberty and example); 4. Pecuniary (or power of purchase); 5. Social (as privileges, rank, title, &c.); 6. Political (the suffrage); 7. Spiritual power (that is, the Divine life, or indwelling spirit of goodness). Whenever, therefore, we desire to solve the question of more or less liberty, in relation to any measure, we have merely to propose the inquiry in another shape, viz.: Have we gained or lost power? For it must be now sufficiently evident, that whatsoever deprives us of power or faculty, so far likewise lessens liberty; and, conversely, whatsoever augments our power, in the same ratio broadens and enlarges our liberty. Again, if we give our own power to anybody else, whether individual or corporate, we simply transfer a portion of our own liberty; and if we recall that power, we are reassuming that liberty with which we had parted. It follows, that every good or beneficial law is intrinsically a transference of liberty from the individual, unequal holders of it, in order to augment and intensify power by the virtue of combination; and thus increase, and more effectually assure, a real beneficial liberty.* Mr. Berlin's application of the principle to the temperance question is ingenious. The use of intoxicating liquor, he argues, impairs all the divisions of our liberty enumerated, and gives us nothing valuable in return. In this respect, therefore, it is thoroughly anti-social, since society is a combination of capacities, whereby mutual profits are realized and exchanged; and every factory is a proof, on a small scale, of the power gained by a combination of talents and faculties. If society loses by any system, every individual loses also; and if society gains anything, every individual shares in the profit of the transaction, to a greater or lesser extent. Let us see, now, following the seven heads of power indicated, how far the facts in re-

* It is not meant that society embraces in its aggregate all that appertains to its members. Certain interests and relations are essentially private and personal, and with these society has no right to intermeddle, further than to see that they are respected. So the common government has powers which it is impossible for any individual to possess, powers which no individual can arrogate to himself.

lation

lation to strong drink, and the traffic in it, will justify the strong statement of the Dutch philosopher.

1. Alcoholic stimulants, beyond all other known agents, lead to the waste of time, the loss of labour in the present, and by the premature exhaustion of the body to the loss of labour in the future. They induce new, and aggravate old diseases, and send thousands of the victims of their use to an early and dishonoured grave. The strength of the nation, thus poisoned at its core, is, however, but the aggregate of the physical power of the units composing it.

2. Alcoholic drinks, beyond all other agents, pervert the perceptions, and forestall the energies of the intellect. Alcohol is a brain poison, in a peculiar and emphatic sense; and Holy Writ has wisely ascribed to it qualities destructive of memory and judgment. It is the special enemy of skilled manual labour, and of all trades requiring coolness and a nice adjustment of parts in machinery. It is the bane of the artist as well as of the artizan, and seizes and paralyzes untold victims in all the higher professions and departments of life.

3. Alcoholics, beyond all other narcotics, lower the moral tone and aspirations of those who indulge in them; and their use as an article of luxury and an agent of pleasure sensibly diminishes the influence, lessens the power, and tarnishes the character of Christian men, but especially of Christian ministers.

4. Alcoholic liquors, more than all other things of the kind besides, absorb an enormous amount of pecuniary power, both from the pockets of the working and the wealthier classes—a power more than equal (in direct expenditure, not to reckon loss) to the entire expenses of government and the interest of the National Debt combined! Whether we place food under the first head of physical power (of which it is the source), or the saving of food under this head of pecuniary power, we shall reach the same inference. By reserving the corn and fruit now wasted in the production of a liquid which we now swallow with our liberties, we should greatly augment the pecuniary power of the labourer, and increase the reproductive capital of the country.

5. Alcoholic stimulants, beyond all other agents, lessen social power; for not only do they retard promotion towards honours, privileges, and titles; not only do they quench noble aspirations and defile pure ambitions, and thus subtract from the number of citizens who reach to professional and social eminence, but they darken the fame, cut short the days, and diminish the influence for good, of those who do arrive at the post of honour and distinction. The history of the past year furnishes many sad and solemn illustrations of this truth.

6. Alcoholics, far beyond all other agencies employed by political corrupters—those dark panders to a people's prostitution and

and a nation's ruin—render, not only the existing voters of the kingdom, but large masses of our population quite unfit to exercise the suffrage discreetly and conscientiously; a condition of things which naturally excites the mistrust of the wise and cautious amongst the privileged classes, who can alone confer the franchise upon the ranks beneath them. We confess to having small hopes of seeing any material improvement in the future, either with the present or an enlarged suffrage, apart from the destruction of the dram-shop and the beer-house. That which is inconsistent with intelligence and morality — that which creates pauperism and destroys self-respect, which engenders insanity, fosters disturbance and misrule, and excites to the horrible crimes which disgrace our age and country—is essentially incompatible with any political power that can be employed for purposes of good.

We come back, then, to the conclusion that a law which should at once, by the concurrence of government and the votes of the people, abolish the traffic in alcoholic drinks, would be a true enlargement of all our most valuable secular liberties; a limitation of freedom only in the direction of the lower and baser appetites of our being; a vast augmentation of real faculty, whereby the nation, as a consequence, would gain more power, without the expenditure of a single farthing, than any number of rifled cannon or men of war could possibly furnish to it. Let the friends of liberty ponder these facts.

7. Alcohol has equally a deadly hostility to the spiritual life in man. In the words of Professor Miller, the eminent surgeon, it has 'no power to strengthen the morals or the mind, but power to debase the one and pervert the other; power to produce crime and minister to vice, beyond what pen can write or tongue can tell—sensual, devilish.' Its strongest champions admit that it is 'a dangerous and tricksy spirit.' In oriental phrase it is designated as *mater malorum*, 'the mother of sins;' and physiology has revealed the reasons of this. Alcoholic liquor stimulates the animal, and stupefies the moral nature of men who consume it. It quickens the lurking or torpid susceptibilities to sensuous pleasure, and at the same time puts reason asleep. Experience declares strong drink to be as much the cause of declension and backsliding in the Church, as of crime in the world; and, contrariwise, God has frequently made a temperance reformation, not only concomitant, but an occasion and an instrument of religious awakenings. As shown in a preceding article, page 259, the converts in the north of Ireland, notwithstanding the traditions and fallacies of a lifetime, feel with a Divine instinct the essential antagonism between the spirit of wine and the Spirit of holiness, and almost universally abandon the pollution and take the pledge.

It is evident, beyond all necessity of reasoning, that the practice

of abstinence must greatly augment individual energy and independence by increasing *personal faculty* of every valuable kind; while in regard to the new political measure now fairly before the nation—the *Permissive Bill* for empowering the ratepayers to deal with the traffic in strong drink,—a plan which necessitates a preparatory discussion of the greatest interest and importance, as preliminary to absolute suppression,—nothing can be more in harmony with the best principles of constitutional government, or more favourable to the conservation and extension of true political liberty.

Science and experience, in this matter, but confirm the significant intimations of Scripture—intimations which, alas! the Church has been all too loath to understand. Was it not for such qualities as we have pointed out, that the Most High prohibited his priests from using intoxicating wine while engaged in his service? Did not the inspired moralist of the Hebrews declare this truth—'Wine is a mocker—strong drink is raging'? And when he commanded thus—'Look not upon wine when it is red,' did he not assign for reason, the probable and frequent consequence, 'Thine eyes shall look upon strange women and thine heart shall utter perverse things'? Did he not affirm the propriety of judges and rulers abstaining from strong drink, 'lest they forget the law and pervert judgment'? Did he not excuse, really or ironically, the use of it by persons in extremity, on the ground that it had the power to make them 'forget and remember no more'? Does not the same book declare, also, the seductive influence of alcohol, and its power to abolish the moral will, by bringing it into captivity to the abnormal lust which the drink creates? 'They have stricken me, but I felt it not,' is the language ascribed to the drinker, who, while lamenting his miseries, nevertheless exclaims—'I will seek it yet again!' Now, if these are facts—if the whole tenor of Scripture and of experience is not misinterpreted—it will be very difficult to harmonize the use and sanction of such an agent as alcohol with the command—'Quench not the Spirit;' or with the truth—'Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.' If a poor Irish convert experiences a conscious antagonism between alcohol and Christ, how is it that, with such explicit teachings of the Word, in addition to experience, the professional interpreters of Holy Writ have failed to reach so obvious a conclusion? Abstinence and prohibition must, we think, from the very nature of the case, necessarily increase the power of true religion and enlarge Christian liberty.

There is another relation of the temperance question to liberty which must not be overlooked—viz., that which has reference to the internal power of independent individual action, whereon Mr. Mill places great stress, and which may be included partly under moral and partly under social power. Custom, says this author, may become a more terrible tyrant than any formal legislation; and

and he is certainly right. What, then, is the precise social danger to be dreaded, the precise counteracting virtue to be inculcated and fostered? It cannot be that we must either respect or tolerate all opinions and all practices, even if they be possibly genuine. No matter how fanatically devoted the Thug may be to his religion, or how sincere the Mormon may be in professing his patriarchal polygamy, or how thoroughly convinced the Carolinian divine may be of the scripturalness of his 'domestic institution,' no sane, moral community can agree to legalize or to tolerate such organized systems of theoretical homicide, pollution, and iniquity. Delusion may run into crime as easily and readily as into anything else; and cannot be suffered to plead 'individuality' as a reason for toleration. Every system and opinion must be brought to one final test—What are its fruits? If these antagonize the main purposes of social life, then society, by means and virtue of its appropriate powers, moral and legal, is bound either to abate or to abolish the system. Thought is free, no doubt; and the utmost encouragement ought to be given to the moral and rational expression of it. But this principle will by no means justify the preaching of sedition, the utterance of blasphemy, or the publication of obscene books and pictures. Limits must be put to the freedom of publication somewhere. Even if we had no legal prohibitions and penalties, the social ones would operate by inevitable natural law. Mr. Mill is virtually objecting to the moral constitution of human nature when he ought to be pointing out the line where a just principle and right transgresses the law of use. If we speak our minds of wickedness in high places, whether secular or ecclesiastic, the rulers are offended and frown. Why? Because they feel the moral power and truth of our denunciation; the utterance finds an echo and confirmation within their own breasts. If a large number of individuals so speak, then in time, Republican slaveries, British opium trades, Neapolitan atrocities, and Perugian massacres will cease to be—burnt up in the full blaze of the public opinion of the civilized world.* Can Mr. Mill mean to object to this salutary power? Does he claim that vice and infatuation shall be chartered with an exemption from social criticism and moral rebuke? Were this his meaning, he would not himself be so potently contributing to the formation of new opinions, and declaiming so eloquently against custom and convention. The logic of his head transcends the logic of his heart in this matter; for no sane person can possibly wish us not to disapprove of what is vile and mean; not to denounce what is perverse and pernicious;

* 'What is it else to praise,' asks Hobbes, 'but to say a thing is [redacted] I say, for me or for the State?' Now surely the liber[redacted] from all a universal reticence in respect to [redacted] actions.

not to be indignant at cruelty and shameless wrong. Our instinctive desire is always for more not less power in this direction.

> 'O God! for a million tongues
> Of thunder and of flame,
> To utter a cry that shall pierce the sky—
> The indignant cry of shame!'

Mr. Mill tritely remarks, indeed, that 'there is a limit to the legitimate interference of collective opinion with individual independence; and to find that limit, and maintain it against encroachment, is as indispensable to a good condition of human affairs as protection against political despotism.' Now the fallacy consists in assuming that there is some special abstract law or limit in this matter, apart from the nature of the special case itself. Utility—the tendency of a system, and its actual results to society—must be the final test. Law and opinion have alike the right to pass condemnation upon that which is bad; and no individuality ought to be permitted to 'fashion itself after a model of its own,' if that model is found to be very dear and detrimental to society at large. The true law which should govern private and collective opinion, both in its formation and its publication, is the law of charity—by which we do not mean, however, the being blind to the evidence of evil, any more than we mean the being blind to the presence of the good. Let us honestly and fairly seek 'the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.' Let the logic of the reason guide and inspire the anger of the heart: in short, let our praise and blame be determined and directed by our intellect, earnestly exercised and conscientiously informed.

The evil of custom and convention is precisely this—that they are traditions, to which the many bow, and for which no plea of intelligence can be advanced by their worshippers, even when they are sound in themselves. But many customs and conventions must partake of the errors, or reflect the peculiarities, of the past; and to these, by a blind conservative instinct, we are apt to cling when their utility or their excuse has long vanished. Custom never revises its opinions; and hence its régime tends to stereotype the mistakes and perpetuate the oppressions of the past. Thus, for example, by the force of convention—*i. e.* by the fear of each for the opinion of all—duelling survived long after it had ceased to be approved by those who submitted to its dictation; and its neck was only finally broken by that legal action which disgraced it with the brand of felony. Drinking was in the same condition in Shakspeare's day as in our own—felt to be 'more honoured in the breach than the observance.' But who shall 'bell the cat,' and set the custom at defiance? The reflecting few who most clearly perceive the folly and the mischief, and the well-meaning multitude who readily acknowledge the evil, are possibly the very last persons in the world fitted, by moral constitution, for a practical protest.

Shall

Shall we, then, not honour the reformers who first stept out of the tyrannous routine, and who summoned a social band around them, expressly to resist and erase the disastrous dynasty of convention? Fashions and customs there must be; for beauty, truth, and conscience demand forms as much as spirit requires body; but in the new customs and the new fashions, let the outer form be no longer divorced from the inner philosophy.

The temperance movement is a reform instinct with vitality, with inspiration, and with mental freedom. Behold its weapons, its instruments, and its methods! For shield it has sincerity; for sword, the shining blade of evidence; for breastplate, faith, hope, and charity. It is a perpetual conflict of argument against opinion, of intelligence against ignorance, of spirit against flesh, of humanity against interest, of life and progress against fixity, torpor, and death. The amount of intellectual energy and discussion which it has enkindled has, in fact, been paralleled by no movement whatever since the epoch of the Reformation; while in the breadth and variety of its topics, physical, moral, and social, it has far exceeded that great awakening, and is still working at the basis of society, permeating the masses, and redeeming from slavery and debasement.

Glance back some twenty-five years, and we shall be able to estimate better the work which has been accomplished, and the kind of work which it is. Then, the temperance reformer had his armour to seek and his weapons to forge; now he is armed cap-à-pie, in panoply of proof. Then, the ranks consisted of raw recruits, led by mere boys; now, their army is composed of disciplined battalions, generalled by heroes of a hundred fights. Then, temperance had no statistics, no science, no criticism, no formal logic and literature; now, it has both facts and figures, both ancient and modern learning, a lethean logic and a fervid, manifold eloquence, which can maintain its own in the most learned assemblies of the world as a recognized branch of 'Social Science.' Look, too, at the number and power of the obstacles it had to overthrow, and measure the intensity of its force by its unquestioned achievements. The traditions of ages—the timidity of the weak—the ignorance of the strong—the avarice of the interested, the passions of the vile and vicious—above all, the indifference of the good. Its first apostles had to encounter ridicule from the unreasoning, jeers from snobbery, taunts from fast men, sneers from the fashionable, and even things much harder to be borne. Not only had they hurled against them sermons from the pulpit, but 'sermons in stones.' They were plentifully pelted with authorities —and putrid eggs; a most distasteful mixture it must be allowed. When the people began to side with the reformers, who [illegible] be mobbed, publicans would hire ruffians to disturb the [illegible] With legions of foes they had few helpers. Newspa[illegible]

many years, dared not report the proceedings of Temperance Societies, for the political press was in shameful bondage to Bacchus. Caricatures and squibs were placarded on the walls; the daily and weekly press, the monthly magazines and quarterly reviews, were all opposed to the principles, and energetically strove to write them down. What incredible zeal, what noble and persistent self-denial, what undaunted courage, what Herculean power must those early standard-bearers—mostly young, poor, or obscure men—have put forth in this grim contest with the conventions, opinions, and passions of the world! Surely, they have been 'living epistles' of an illustrious individuality, worthy of being held in everlasting honour!

In its theoretical evolution, the temperance enterprise has been a ramified educational agency, a vast quickener of intellectual life. It had to argue its way upwards against the prejudices, the fashions, and the learning of the upper and professional classes. Medical men opposed it with 'authority;' ministers of the Gospel with 'criticism;' litterateurs with a pretentious 'logic;' reviewers with inaccurate views of 'science;' able editors with not-able leaders;—yet not only has it stood its ground, but has gone on steadily from one stage of development to another, gathering statistics, science, and criticism around it, until at last the most veteran statesman and most influential peer in all the kingdom, greets 'the Grand Alliance' with his frank and hearty recognition. Be sure, O libertarian! that this toil and task of twenty-five years has been a notable and providential work of social regeneration—a work which has evoked talent, inspired independence, vindicated free thought and out-spokenness, awakened and purified conscience, revived religion—a work which cannot fail to have broadened and deepened all the foundations of our mental, social, and political liberties.

Our pen fails to portray in fitting colours the glorious results of that final measure at which the movement aims—the legal suppression of the traffic in strong drink. Britannia, self-delivered from her reproach, her incubus, and her curse, will rise immeasurably in character and in power. Her people, rapidly increasing in comfort and in wealth, will eagerly qualify themselves for the exercise of their political privileges, and enter into the temple of the constitution. She will then be too powerful for fear on her own account, and too just to inspire it in others. Strong with a sober strength, strong with an enlightened strength, strong with a moral strength, who shall resist the prestige of her illustrious example?—or the expression of her just will in the councils of the kings? She will remain, not merely the 'mistress of the seas,' but stand forth to all the nations of the civilized word a bright and chivalrous example of loyalty to truth, to humanity, and to God.

ART.

ART. V.—1. *On the Political Economy of Strikes.* Paper read at Bradford Meeting of the National Association for Promotion of Social Science. 1859. By Mr. Fawcett.

2. *On Trades Unions.* Paper read at Bradford Meeting of the National Association for Promotion of Social Science. 1859. By Dr. John Watts.

THE events of the last few months have again directed special attention to trade societies, their constitutions, modes of operation, and results; and assuredly there is no more important economic question demanding settlement than that of the proper positions and modes of action of employers and employed.

What are trade societies and what are their objects? Generally they are combinations of workmen of the same trade, for the protection of wages; and the modes resorted to, are the adoption of rules as to the number of hours which shall constitute a day's work, and the amount of money which shall be accepted as wages for such labour. In the better class of trades, rules are also adopted to 'regulate' the proportion of apprentices to skilled workmen in any given shop, and to prevent the employment of men who have not passed through an apprenticeship to the trade. A breach of any of these rules by a workman subjects him to fine or exclusion from the society, and a breach by an employer subjects him to a strike. In order to secure these objects, funds are subscribed for the relief of men out of employ, and to enable them to travel from place to place in search of work.

In the best trade societies, funds are also subscribed for relief during sickness, and for the assistance of families in the event of the death of the parent, or of disability by accident or otherwise. Now we have first to inquire, Is it right to seek the accomplishment of these objects? and second, if desirable, are these objects possible?

Political economy says that the price of labour, like that of any other commodity, must be dependent on supply and demand, and we find practically, that although working men try to evade the operation of the law, their very evasion is confirmatory of its truth and power; for when a trade society supports men who are out of work rather than allow them to go to work for less wages, what do they but artificially lessen the supply of the commodity of labour, and thus keep up prices; just as a great capitalist occasionally buys up the whole and hoards the greater part of some given commodity for the same purpose. And who gain and who lose by this artifice? Let us inquire.

Here are a set of men kept by their fellow-workmen in idleness (presumably the worst workmen or the worst characters)

otherwise be doing something in exchange for their living, must be making a profit for somebody. Now the savings of the employer come out of his profits, the future wages fund comes out of profits, and the larger this fund the greater will be the future demand for labour, and the higher the wages given for it.*

The first losers by this enforced idleness are the public, for the lessened produce of commodities raises their price; the second losers are the best workmen, for whilst their wages are reduced by their subscriptions to keep the idlers, they have also to pay higher prices for commodities in the market; for although the journeyman machinist may not require to buy machinery, yet the wife must pay more for calico because the manufacturer has had to pay more for his machinery, by means of which his calico is produced. And the third losers are the idlers themselves, who never get so much allowed by the society as they would earn in wages even if paid at less than trade prices; for the society is obliged to protect itself against willing idlers by keeping its allowance low enough to prevent temptation.

The question here rises prominently before us, Ought wages to be protected? Time was when the government of this country tried to regulate the wages of various employments. If the regulation price was above the natural market price, that would be protection, and would, by lessening the demand for the article produced, injure the trade, and throw men out of employment; if it came below the natural price, it would inflict a manifest injustice upon the workmen, for the advantage of the employer.

The fact that all such laws fell into desuetude long before they were formally repealed, is proof that they neither suited the employers nor the workmen. Then why should workmen now try to do what the statute law was unable to accomplish?

The law from 1818 to 1846 attempted to protect profits in the case of the farmer, and what was the result? Corn was almost continually above its natural price, and agricultural distress was perennial.

But if wages are to be protected in one trade, why not in all trades? and if wages are to be kept up, the number of apprentices 'regulated,' and men who have not served an apprenticeship are to be kept out of all trades; then all commodities will be raised in price, and trade societies will be an expensive machinery for taking money out of one pocket to put into the other for each

* That this is so, is demonstrable, for when a man saves money out of profits or out of wages, what does he do with it? He invests it in his own trade, and thus employs more workmen; increases the demand for labour; or he invests it in the Bank, or in a building or loan society, whence other men borrow it, and by its use increase the demand for labour, and by rendering idlers scarce, enable good workmen to increase their earnings.

workman,

workman, and to regulate what would otherwise much better regulate itself. But what is then to become of the men who have not been allowed to be apprenticed, and who, therefore, have no trade? They must live as paupers upon taxes legally levied on wages and profits, or upon taxes illegally levied as beggars or thieves.

All such regulations have the laws of nature for opponents, and must eventually give way. Prudent workmen will seek to apprentice their sons to the best trades, and employers with troublesome workmen will seek to replace them by apprentices: men whose natural tastes have sufficed to enable them to work at a forbidden trade, will find means to fulfil their own desires; and men will always be found who for various reasons will prefer a greater share of liberty of action than the trade society will allow them; and these, together with excluded members, will keep up a competition where otherwise the trade society would rule paramount.

Workmen plead very truly, in defence of their societies, that a bargain between employer and employed should be for the equal advantage of both; but that singly the workman is no match for the great capitalist, and would be obliged to submit to every possible indignity; that although, in the main, demand and supply regulate the prices of labour, yet practically, whilst a very slight falling off in demand will cause a fall in wages, it requires a long run of good trade and a great and combined effort to effect a rise; and that whilst they recognize a strike as a great evil, they still look upon it as the only means of preventing a still greater evil; for that apart from such means the unprincipled employer would take every advantage, and that the others would for their own sakes be obliged to follow him.

Before reasoning this matter out, let us look at a strike practically. Four or five months ago the society men in the building trades in London desired to work nine hours per day instead of ten, and this object was sought to be effected by a strike commencing at Messrs. Trollope's. The reasons assigned were, that such an arrangement would bring the idlers into employ, and give more time to all for mental cultivation.

This, as Bastiat would say, was what was seen by the workmen. But there was a double economic error involved, which was not seen. The very fact of many men being out of employ ought to have been proof of the want of capital in the trade, and, therefore, proof of the impossibility of more employment; and proof, also, that, apart from very great restrictive influences, the vacated places would soon be filled by other men. Such an alteration as that proposed would also have been equivalent to a rise of ten per cent. in wages, and of not much less in the cost of building, etc.

by rendering other trades more profitable in comparison, would have lessened the demand for building, probably much more than ten per cent.; and would, therefore, if conceded, have lessened instead of increasing the numbers in employment. This is what the workmen ought to have seen, but did not see. Of course men ought, either singly or in combination, to be at liberty to fix how many hours they will work, and what wages they will work for; but it is doubtful if any society would be unanimous in such a demand, and if not, then the liberty of the minority is gone.

The strike at Messrs. Trollope's originated, therefore, in an economic error by the workmen, and the first duty of the employers was to meet the leaders of the workmen—show them where and how they were wrong; and had this been clearly done, it is inconceivable that the strike could have gone on in the face of a demonstration that it could not succeed. But had this method failed to convince the leaders of the strike, there was still another and a perfectly natural course for the employers. They at least ought to have known that under the circumstances the strike against Messrs. Trollope could not succeed; and having done their best by reasoning with the workmen, they might have let it alone, and have watched whilst the fire burnt out. Or if they looked on Messrs. Trollope as martyrs for the cause of the employers, they might have divided their pecuniary loss amongst themselves, and so have satisfied their consciences on that score.

But instead of standing calmly by, and minding each man his own business, conscious of the rectitude of their own cause, and confident of success, they grew ill-tempered and petulant: it was not to be endured that a conspiracy should exist against the great employers—that labour should dare to fight with 'money bags;' and they ran to the government to learn if this great evil could not be 'put down.' It was as if they had said to Sir G. C. Lewis, 'What do we support a government for, if not to keep our workmen in order? What are soldiers and police and magistrates for, but to enable us to get profits in peace? Can't you point out, or make a law to help us out of this difficulty?' But for once the modern Jupiter imitated him of old, and only looked out of his cloud, and said, 'Gentlemen waggoners, I see that your wheels are pretty deeply imbedded in the mud; but it is useless to appeal to me. You must go and put your own shoulders to the wheel; the laws of political economy exist for your guidance; you are endowed with reason, and must needs make use of it.'

And then in their wrath, right or wrong, like the great Laurie, they were determined to 'put down' this grievous nuisance, cost what it might; so having denounced the societies of the workmen as illegal combinations, and the strike as a conspiracy to get a rise of ten per cent. at the cost of all other trades, and having threatened

threatened the workmen that this course of conduct would cost them the promised votes under the coming Reform Bill, and thus constituted themselves no longer simply employers seeking their own interests, but guardians of the public property, they came to a resolution to close their workshops, and to turn some thirty thousand workmen with their families into the streets, and never to reopen, until a *declaration* which would destroy all their trade societies was subscribed.

Thus the men who denounced the workmen's combination as illegal formed a combination of their own, and like Herod, who, when he could not lay hold on the young child caused all of two years and under to be slain, so they, unable to lay their hands on the leaders of the strike, not only sacrificed the majority who had decreed the strike, in revenge for the sacrifice of the minority by the society workmen, but they sacrificed all, majority and minority, society men and non-society men alike. These guardians of the public interests, at one stroke increased the number of pauper cases by about thirty thousand men, who with their families numbered one hundred and thirty thousand souls.

And what was the consequence? The men who commenced the nine hours' agitation with doubting hearts now felt their manhood insulted; they were now struck in their most sensitive part, their wives and little ones; and, strong in the conviction of the goodness of their object (for conscientiousness in error is not less strong than conscientiousness in truth), they stood determined rather to die than to give way. Those who wavered before were true now; the labourers clung to the workmen, and the non-society men, punished as if they had been aggressors, were inclined to deserve the punishment inflicted on them, if any deserved it, by joining the society.

And the taxes which poor-law guardians refused to contribute, were sent in voluntarily by workmen of all trades, from all parts of the country, and were supplemented by shopkeepers and others, whose hearts beat for the workmen. And the men stood until famine and death came to the aid of the employers, and the bills of mortality began to tell what the tongues of the workmen refused to utter, that they were being vanquished by starvation, and that the hated document is only less objectionable than the grave.

And now in this month of December the document is being extensively signed; but whether the result will be, as with the amalgamated engineers, to make the societies stronger, instead of destroying them, remains to be seen. But, to show the effect of enforcing an engagement under pressure of starvation, it may well be stated, that the rules of the Amalgamated Engineers' Soc[illegible] do not differ essentially in any respect from those in force bef[illegible] their strike in 1852, and which rules were sought to be destroy[illegible]

by the document under which work was recommenced; yet that society is now fifty per cent. stronger than before the strike in members and in funds.

But now, with these sad results fresh upon the memory; with the loss of half a million of money to the workmen in wages, with the loss of the profits on that amount by the employers; with the loss of profit to shopkeepers, and the loss of wages to those who manufacture the shopkeepers' stocks; and with the further loss by contributions to the strike fund; and with the not very distant view of the great Preston strike, and the amalgamated engineers' strike, where the losses were fully as much in each as in this last case; with the losses involved by many minor strikes in various parts of the country; with the sickness, the famine, the permanent pauperism, and the death consequent thereon; and the permanent lack of the wages paid for future employment, which would have been saved, and would have increased the demand for labour if these strikes had not intervened;—the question rises with more serious aspect than ever: Is there no cure for this canker-worm, no preventive for this destroying mischief?

Let us inquire. Some persons are so convinced of the injurious results of trade societies that they would endeavour to put them down by force of law, forgetting that, although quite illegal, Orange societies, Ribbon societies, Freemasons' and Oddfellows' societies, still exist, and some of them in greater force than at any previous period. The fact is, that the associative spirit is strongly implanted in man; to suppress it is impossible; to direct it properly, or suffer for our neglect, is the only choice before us.

It is important, therefore, to settle within what sphere a trade society may operate without doing mischief. That there are times when the demand for labour in the staple trades is so small that no possible reduction of wages would lead to the employment of all the workmen, will be readily acknowledged: for instance, an extensive failure in the cotton crop would so raise the price of the raw material that many manufactories must needs be closed.

At such a time every barrier between honest labourers and the workhouse is important; for when men have once appeared at the Board of Guardians, once been sent to the stone yard, the oakum shop, or any other unproductive test employment, self-respect is gone, and a large per-centage of permanent pauperism remains when the panic is over. Extra sickness always accompanies bad trade, and on these occasions the prudential investments of trade societies, which often provide relief in sickness as well as during the absence of employment, are of immense service. The sufferers feel that the relief fund is their own, the result of their own industry; they use it without scruple, they tide over the evil time, and are independent.

The

The contribution to a trade society, for relief in sickness and for a sum at death, has this advantage over that to a local sick club, that the member may remove to wherever his trade obtains without loss of membership, and without the many inconveniences which attach to all local clubs. Without the help of the trade society, workmen out of employ would often find it difficult to get a knowledge of the state of affairs in distant localities, and more difficult to get the means of removal, even when the change of place would be certain to afford employment.

We have already seen that societies cannot keep out of trouble whilst they demand the same amount of wages in good trade and in bad trade, for good workmen and for bad workmen. Either of these demands, if conceded, can only result in lessening the numbers in employment, and, by lessening the future wages fund, will extend the mischief to the future as well as the present time. So interference with the number of apprentices, or with competent workmen who have not been apprenticed, is an attack upon the liberty of the employer and of the public, and is certain to meet with resistance.*

But if the supporters of trade societies would endeavour to confine their efforts to the provision of aid in cases of sickness, of accident, of permanent disability, and of death; and, in addition to this, would operate as trade agencies to supply workmen where and when wanted, they might become unmixed social blessings, as worthy of the support of the employers as of the workmen themselves.

For this purpose it would be wise to keep the subscription for sickness and death separate from the regular trade contribution; and then each member could decide for himself what sum to assure for, always with the limitation that the sum receivable during sickness should not exceed one-half, or at most five-eighths of the weekly wages, so that there should be no temptation to remain longer than necessary chargeable upon the funds.

Then, also, each workman would make his own bargain for wages from time to time, and would join the society, and subscribe at his own option for a larger or smaller benefit per week when out of employ, of course with the same limitation as above, and with

* In the discussions on social economy at the late meeting at Bradford, a gentleman rose in the audience and stated that at the close of his apprenticeship he joined the trade society, and then learned that he must not work for less than twenty-four shillings per week. He and his employer both knew that he could not properly earn more than twenty shillings; but as he was not allowed to work for that sum, he had to leave the shop, and after wandering from place to [illegible] was obliged to leave the society before he could get employment. The society, whose rules were intended to secure high wages for inefficient [illegible] for efficient workmen, not only failed in its object, but injured itself by the loss of a member, and had to submit to his competition in wages just as he had been allowed to make his own bargain, and to retain his membership.

the further condition that no person should be chargeable on both funds at the same time.

Past experience would in most of the principal trades be a sufficient guide for the construction of the trade relief table, and the best-established benefit societies would furnish rates of contribution for relief in sickness, &c. The only causes of exclusion from the society would then be non-payment of subscription and immoral conduct; and as the advantages would be very obvious, and liberty of action would still remain to every individual, non-society men could hardly exist.

But how, it will be asked, is this arrangement to operate for the prevention of strikes, unless the workmen submit to every offered indignity, to every exhibition of petty tyranny, to every attempted injustice?

In this way. Let each trade society recognize some particular daily newspaper as its organ, and let it be the duty of the secretary in each town to see that paper regularly. When a dispute arises in any place, let the facts be at once communicated to the local secretary, who, if advised by his committee that it is not prudent to wait upon the employer; or, after having waited upon the employer with an unsatisfactory result, shall at once advertise (in cipher) in a particular column of the organ of the society, and shall ask each secretary in other localities to communicate by first post to him on the state of trade, and the amount of wages for the particular class of hands involved in the dispute, and to say if there is any demand for additional hands. Within forty-eight hours the secretary would have upon his table materials for deciding on the course to be pursued, and would either say to the applicants, 'I can provide for such a number of you at such a place, at as good or better wages than you are now earning, and you can decide for yourselves who will go;' or he would say, 'My friends, there is no chance of anything better elsewhere than you are now offered at home; and as half a loaf is better than no bread, I advise you to pocket the affront and to go on with your work.' In the first case the employer would learn that he was in the wrong, and would for his own sake give way rather than lose his workmen; and in the latter case it is demonstrable that a strike would fail to secure the object sought, and it would be complete folly, under such circumstances, to go into it.

The high-principled employers would find it their interest to support the trade societies within these limits, for they suffer as much as the men from the attempts of the greedy to reduce wages, or to tamper with the clock, and so to gain a few minutes' work per day from a thousand hands; they are by these means undersold in a falling market, and obliged to effect a reduction to save themselves.

It

If it be objected that non-interference with the rate of wages would, by allowing employers to operate in detail with the men, cause frequent declensions, the reply is, that when capital is plentiful the demand for labour will be great, and wages cannot then fall; and the same operation which is effective through the secretary for a shop of workmen, would be equally acceptable to an individual who was being underpaid, and would secure his gratitude; besides the *esprit du corps* of a workshop will generally be sufficient, except in bad times, to keep up the price of the commodity, labour. And in bad times the only choice is a fall in wages or a dismissal of workmen.

If, in addition to the plan here sketched out, that of 'arbitration courts,' composed of half employers, half workmen, with a disinterested umpire, was also adopted, then every possible case of dispute would be provided for, and we should hear no more of those distressing occurrences, strikes and lock-outs, which so seriously lessen the working capital of the country, which stir up angry feelings, and set class against class, increase trouble and privation, pauperism and crime, sickness and untimely death.

ART. VI.—FOR LIFE.

PART I.—THE OUTER LIFE.

'Each man's life is all men's lesson.'
OWEN MEREDITH.

I HOPE I was no worse, I know I was no better than the average of medical students of my time: but as my story does not principally concern myself, I need not enter into details of my student-life further than to say, what may be well known to the experienced of my readers, that there were some among us diligent, many idlers, and many, who though really hard-working, liked the reputation of follies they seldom absolutely yielded to. In the frank horror of being thought 'snobs' or 'shams,' they often became both; assumed a careless swagger and a reckless speech, lingered on the margin of the turbid stream of dissipation, dipping now and then their feet in its foam, and with a wild bravado air were rather pleased to be thought to have plunged fully into its impurities. Some such phase of youthful perversity possessed me twelve years ago, when I accepted an invitation to a supper at a celebrated 'wine shades' in the Haymarket. Two fellow-students were my immediate companions, and we were to meet a set of 'choice spirits,' and make 'a night of it.' I remember being secretly much disappointed at the company and the amusements. My imagination had been either so much better or worse than the reality, that I found myself compelling hollow laughter and boisterous noise to do duty for real spontaneous mirth, and to hide absolute weariness.

Among our company was a young married man—a handsome fellow, with a frame my recent anatomical studies taught me to admire as a fine combination of strength and lightness. I did not like his face: there was nothing to find fault with in the features. The full blue eyes were so bright with natural spirits, they needed no artificial fires to add to their brilliancy. The massive clusters of brown curls fell over a sufficiently high broad white forehead; but the animal predominated in that visage, and what there was of mind looked insolently and defiantly out of the eyes, and gave a scornful curve to the full lips. His name was Warner. He had, as I learned, made a bargain or transfer of some property that afternoon with [redacted]

and gravest, and, I may add, the worst of our company, and finished the business by a drinking-bout. Not that Warner looked anything but sober. As I dallied with my glass, qualifying my drink with soda water, while dreading the raillery of my companions, I saw with astonishment the way in which Warner drank; and some thoughts, even in that reckless time, of the abuse of his glorious gift of strength, crossed my mind. He was the only married man of our party, and a host of jests, noisy if not witty, were levelled at 'the Benedict.' As the wine circulated, and the night reached the small hours, one of our company, a clever mimic, delivered in a well-sustained female voice a lecture to Warner on his late hours, bad company, &c.; and wound up with representing 'Benedict's' contrition. I watched Warner's face narrowly while this scene was being enacted, and beneath his assumed good humour I saw annoyance. A red gleam, that gave his eyes a savage look, shot from them; his flexible upper lip curved from the white teeth, and putting, as I saw, a strong constraint upon himself, he laughingly offered a foolish wager, in words to the effect that none of the poor miserable bachelors among us, living in dread of waspish landladies or domineering spinster relatives, would go home, taking a friend with him, so certain of a pleasant reception as awaited 'Benedict the married man.' The wager was accepted: Warner looked round to choose a companion. 'I promise a supper—by Jove I'd better call it a breakfast,' he said, 'and smiles, gentlemen; not only no murmurs, but smiles.' As he spoke his gaze fell on me: I was the quietest, perhaps the soberest of the group, and so much of sense might be left in Warner, that he recognized these qualities.

I wished to decline, but I was overruled in the boisterous clamour; and without thinking very clearly, or it might be being able to think clearly of the intrusion I was to perpetrate, our party broke up, half, selecting each a companion to testify as to their reception, but saying, 'We promise no smiles; and yours, Warner, is an empty boast.'

How freshly blew the clear night air on our fevered temples, as Warner and myself walked briskly towards a western suburb. It was the end of October, and a healthy breath of coming winter mingled in the breeze. I noticed that my companion, though well wrapped, shivered occasionally, even while he sang snatches of songs, and I had a suspicion that nature, even in that stalwart frame, was avenging the transgression of her laws. Ah! how wise we are for others! How clear often is the justice of the sentence that we read in another's case!

I began to be heartily vexed with myself for my fool's errand, when we stopped at the door of a corner house in what seemed a new built street. A light gleamed from an upper room, and I thought I saw a curtain move.

'There she is,' said Warner, as he rang the bell, with a chuckle of satisfaction that made an indignant glow spread over me.

The window was hastily lifted up, but Warner shouted impatiently, 'Come down Annie, what are you afraid of?'

In a minute after the door was unbolted, and a soft voice said, 'Oh, dear Fred! I feared it was not you, I thought I saw ano—.' She had cautiously brought the light forward screened by her hand, and now saw me as she broke off in the midst of her sentence. 'Yes, Annie, a friend of mine has come home with me to supper,' said Warner entering, I, more embarrassed than I ever felt in my life, sheepishly following him.

There was a moment's pause, in which I did not see how Mrs. Warner looked, for I had the grace to be ashamed of my part in this folly, and I cast my eyes anywhere rather than encounter her glance.

Warner, stung by the silence, went on in a loud voice, and to me insufferable manner. 'Yes, Annie, and be quick; we know that as you did not expect company, you are not prepared: my friend will take pot-luck with us; be quick: what room are you in? We can't go where there is no fire this confounded cold night.'

'The only fire, I regret to say,' replied Mrs. Warner bowing to me, 'is up stairs in,' she half whispered to her husband 'the nursery.'

Here I interposed, and said to Warner, 'Pray allow me to bid you good night. I could not think of intruding further on Mrs. Warner;' and I added significantly, 'all is fulfilled.'

But Warner was peremptory. 'I must stay, and the nursery was as good a room

a room as anywhere.' The wife evidently saw that her husband was not sober, and with a dread of thwarting him, and making his condition more humiliatingly apparent to me, she nervously joined her entreaties to her husband's, and I followed them up stairs into a cosy little room where there was a cheerful fire, and a table before it, with a supper-tray neatly laid. A pair of embroidered slippers were toasting on a stool on the hearth-rug, and a warm dressing-gown lay over the back of the easy chair at the fireside. The room was a picture of home comfort, not by any means lessened by the appearance in a snug recess, close to the arm-chair, of a child's cot, decorated with snowy drapery; and as we entered, Warner still talking and laughing loudly, there was a movement in the cot, and a little curly head rose up, rested a flushed cheek upon a chubby hand, and opened languidly two blue innocent eyes where sleep yet lingered.

With a laugh and a shout the father took his cherub boy from the cot, and the child uttered a frightened cry. Then, for the first time, I ventured to look at the mother, a delicate, fairy-like little creature, with a face made to express love and grief. I took no note of her features except that they were small; but the anxious, fond, tremulous look in her startled eyes, and the flexible eyebrows gave a varied expression to the young face, and to the pliant grace of the form, as she ran to her child and releasing him from Warner's arms hushed him on her bosom, cooing out pretty indistinct words of maternal endearment. I am glad to remember that as I looked at mother and child, I felt myself a very sorry fellow, with a soul that would have gladly crept into a nutshell to have escaped the ordeal of their presence. Warner seemed wholly unimpressed, merely said, 'Annie, what's the boy afraid of that he squalls that way?' tossed the dressing-gown from the back of the chair across the room, saying with a wink at me as he kicked the slippers off the stool, 'You women are such precious coddles.' He then pointed to a chair opposite and bade me be seated, and began helping the supper. I complied mechanically, though shame, indignation, or a something that blended both, which I never felt before, utterly prevented my eating.

Mrs. Warner having stilled her boy, came to the table, and with a smile—a struggling smile, that smote me like a stab—apologized for the servant having retired, and for the slight refreshment set before me.

I stammered out something I know not what, and the child now, thoroughly awake, turned his face half shyly to me, gave a furtive glance like a bird, and then quickly nestled again to his mother's bosom.

'Give me the boy; give him me, I say; and go you down, Annie, to the cellaret. My friend must have better stuff than this "poor Will,"' touching a mug as he spoke.

There was a struggle, I saw, as I kept interposing apologies, in Mrs. Warner's mind between the wifely and the motherly feelings. She would go down; but as the child, with the instinct of infancy, screamed at the thought of being transferred to his father's arms—a flush that was not either confusion or anxiety came to her face. It looked like anger; and streams of light seemed to pour from her eyes; but she put a strong constraint on herself, and resolutely keeping the boy in her arms, down stairs she went, returning in a few minutes with a liquor stand. I employed the interval of her absence in entreaties to be allowed at once to retire. 'The wager was fairly won, I could testify. There had been surely,' I choked at the word, 'a very kind reception.' I felt a strong impulse to dash the glass of water that stood beside me in the face of my host, who, lolling back in his chair, and lazily laughing a cool satisfied laugh, said, 'Benedict, indeed! the fools; don't they know there's no slave like a fond woman? I should like to see the day or the hour she wouldn't give me, and any one I chose to bring to my home, a kind reception; I should like to see that:' and his clenched fist came down on the little table with an impetus that made the tray and glasses clatter. I rose, not daring to trust myself another moment, and as Mrs. Warner entered the room, I bowed, passed her hastily as I called 'Good night' to Warner, and was down the stairs, and out of the house, while he was shouting after me, and, as I heard by his lumbering tread, preparing to follow me. I knew, however, that, in his present state, that was not likely.

Once

Once again out amid the quiet of the night, the few stars that gemmed the darkness looking brightly down, reminded me of the eyes I had just seen: the innocent child and mother in the power of a brute whose reason was over-mastered by his appetites. Yet who was I that I should condemn him? I had helped to make him what he was. I had been the instrument of an insulting intrusion, most painful as I well knew to that young loving wife, whose very virtues were to add to the sum of her miseries. I knew how to honour a good woman. However unworthy I had proved, I had been the son of one; and the incident of that evening tortured me. I saw—I still see—the looks of mingled love, pity, dread—the constrained courtesy, the motherly anguish rising into holy anger, that had flitted over her face, and made it readable as an open volume.

It was the turning-point in my history. I wrote as briefly as possible my testimony to decide the wager, among the wild companions I knew Warner would meet again; and from that time I took seriously to my studies, and was glad to be 'cut' by my 'fast' friends. *I* could avoid and escape them; the very ease with which I did so, frequently brought to mind the condition of those for whom no escape from evil association is possible. The living body, tied to the putrifying corpse, seemed to my newly-awakened perceptions a less dreadful doom. The Warners, what was to be their future? I had had a glimpse of their outward life. It was so unpromising, and yet, as I knew, so common, that I often caught myself uttering the platitude, mentally, 'Poor thing! she must make the best of it—it is for life.'

Part II.—The Darkened Life.

Some years passed away: I had taken a partnership in a large practice, in a great commercial town. I had had experience of paupers and criminals; and what I saw in the dwellings,—too often the hovels, of the poor, in the workhouse, and in the gaol, deepened the conviction that the drinking customs are the fruitful source of at least eighty per cent. of our disease and crime. I was not content, as some of my medical brethren were, with signing testimonials and certificates to that effect. I was eccentric enough to believe that a man's opinion, to be influential, must be corroborated by his practice; so I adhered to the resolution formed on that memorable night of my student life, whose experiences I have recorded. It may sound strange to my readers, but I can assure them that my plan of total abstinence did not promote my interests in my profession. A man with life and death coming constantly before him, required to deal with their myriad forms, should surely be a man so sober that even the slightest suspicion of tampering with the drunkard's drink should not attach to him. Yet, while I had much respect, I had few patients among the more wealthy classes; and the practice that fell to my share was chiefly among the poor. I found no fault with this; but I could not avoid the mental comment, that the physician is best liked whose prescriptions are most agreeable.

One evening I was suddenly summoned to a very crowded part of the town. The messenger was a slip-shod sort of servant or errand-girl. She was crying; and I returned with her to the scene where my services were required. I passed through a crowd of people at the door-way, up a very dirty staircase into a back room on the second floor. The first object I saw was a large, florid man, lying on the hearth-rug, sleeping the heavy sleep of intoxication. It was a disgusting rather than an alarming sight; the man looked strong, and was sleeping off the effects of his potations. I had hardly at a glance taken in this, when my attention was called to a bed in the corner, where a young boy lay insensible; and bending over him, calling him by every name of fond endearment, was a little, attenuated woman—the mother I saw at once. I examined the child as I made my inquiries.

'He—he—Oh, sir!—he fell down stairs,' said the poor woman, in an agitated voice.

'How long since?'

'Two hours ago I picked him up, and my neighbours helped me up stairs with him. I thought he was stunned, sir, and would soon recover; but he does not move. Oh, Archy, my dear boy!—Archy, love, open your eyes!—My darling, look at your mother—my boy—my boy!'

I put

I put her gently aside with a 'hush,' and took my seat by the bed. I soon ascertained there was no hope. I sent for a medical friend; but the fall had caused concussion of the brain. The child was dying.

Meanwhile the man on the hearth-rug still slept. I looked at him, and asked how long he had lain there. The errand-girl answered, 'Since four o'clock.' I calculated the time; it was the time of the child's fall. The mother, in her passion of grief, did not hear me ask these questions. She had become very quiet, white, and cold. Her thin, weary face somehow seemed not unknown to me. Suddenly there was a cry from a cradle in a remote corner. Mechanically the mother took up a wretched, sickly-looking baby, and hushed it on her bosom. In a moment the mist of years rolled away; I saw again before me the wife and mother on whom I had once intruded. I cannot explain how I recognized her, for no change — not death itself — could have been more complete. The blooming little fairy I remembered, with her lambent eyes, was now a withered, sharp-featured, faded woman—her eyes sunk and dim, her hair thin and neglected like her garb; 'tired-out' was the most expressive description of her looks. The poor feeble baby that tugged at her wrinkled bosom, the dying boy silently passing away on his tattered bed, and the bloated snoring mass wallowing on the hearth-rug, made such a combination of the wretched and the odious, that, accustomed as I was to scenes of misery, it sorely tasked my patience. I approached the reeking heap on the rug and shook him. 'Rouse, man!' I said, though to call him 'man' seemed a libel on humanity, 'and see to your poor wife and boy.' He turned, looked up, rose on his elbow. The wife, with a pitiful cry, like a wounded hare, ran to him—'O Fred!' 'Keep off,' he muttered stupidly, adding a volley of oaths as he pushed her with his disengaged hand so roughly that she fell back with her head on the edge of the bed, where the unconscious boy lay. She quickly gathered herself up, and the loathsome creature—husband and father, oh me!—turned over and began to snore before the feeble wail of the frightened baby that had shared its mother's fall was stilled.

My medical colleague arrived, but the boy's last breath had been drawn ere he entered the room, and before the poor mother was aware that hope and help were past. I was unwilling to leave the scene. Poor neighbours came in, and gradually the truth broke upon the hapless mourner's mind. She did not weep. A sudden strength seemed to enter her feeble frame, and a new spirit to possess her. I gazed in wonder at her face, as she clutched her sickly baby to her breast with one hand, and smoothed the hair of the dead boy with the other, her white lips moving but uttering no word. Suddenly she looked round—her gaze fell on the sleeper—and a gleam of such fierce light leaped from her sunken eyes—such a flash of hatred and scorn as I never can forget. The ill usage of many years—the shattering of every hope — the blasting of every holy emotion, seemed to be expressed in that one glance. She turned away, and I saw she resolutely avoided looking on the rug again.

'How did he fall down stairs?' said a woman present.

There was a momentary struggle I saw, but the mother moaned out—'The stairs are narrow and steep—and—and —God help me!' she shrieked, and fell into a fit. I assisted them a while, but on her recovery I left the room with its peaceful dead—its miserable living. The coroner's inquest brought in a verdict of 'accidental death.' The child had gone to help his father up stairs, and his foot had slipped at an awkward turn, it was said, and the fall had proved fatal. There was no evidence to contradict this; but I had my own opinion, strong to me as a demonstration, that the wretched drunkard, quarrelsome as I had seen, had struck the boy and made him fall, and I felt sure that the mother knew this.

I called again after the funeral, but the family had removed. I learned that this Warner had begun life, not only with very good prospects, but good possessions. He was an architect, the only son of a small but prosperous London builder, and inherited his father's business and several houses. I learned that he had been the injury, if not the ruin of many; for that it was his custom, after selling the private houses that he built, to erect a fine gin palace, or a spacious tavern near, and in this way injure the property and the

the neighbourhood. The very first night I had met him he had sold the house his wife and himself lived in, for a public-house; and the consequence was, the value of the whole street was deteriorated. He did not prosper. He met with swindlers in his transactions, and was so often the dupe of others, as well as the victim of his own appetite, that he had to sacrifice his property, raise money at a ruinous rate of interest to complete contracts, and in seven years from the time I first met him was a ruined man.

He had skill in his business, and came down to superintend the building of a new church in the town in which my practice lay. But his earnings barely supplied his own wants, and his wife and children were in great poverty. I learned that there had been several children between the eldest boy and the present sickly baby, but they were all dead.

As a medical man I knew enough of infant mortality in a drunkard's home: the wickedness and misery of the parents are such, I do not say they kill the children, but I do say, they let them die; nay, they make it next to impossible that they should live. Infant life must be carefully sheltered, otherwise it goes out as surely as a taper held in a high wind.

Once soon after the inquest, I met Mrs. Warner. She looked thin, sallow, spiritless. She avoided me, and I saw that from henceforth hers must be a darkened life.

* * * *

Part III.—The Doomed Life.

About two years after the incident last recorded, I was returning in the middle of a cold but not dark winter night, from the house of a patient who resided in the outskirts of our town. My way lay across some fields, and through a low suburb by the banks of the river. When I came to the last field I thought I saw some one crouched down by the stone wall that formed the boundary. Unheard, I drew near, and saw that it was a woman, watching apparently the lights of a low neighbouring public-house, noted as the rendezvous of the worst characters. I seemed instinctively to know that it was some wife, watching for her husband; and as I passed I said, 'Go home, my good woman. This bitter night it is enough to kill you to be watching about in this bleak place.'

A voice with despair in its tone quietly replied, 'Nothing will kill me, or I should have been dead long ago.' There was a sort of laugh—a hollow ghost of a laugh—that chilled me to the bone, as the words ceased. Suddenly a throng of people, some of them women, came out of the public-house, and the crouched form rose and glided along at the side of the wall. I passed the rabble who were shouting out ribald songs, wild, odious, joyless laughter of women's voices adding a sort of chorus to the strain. I saw a tall man among them, a large tawdry woman was clinging to his arm. The light of the lamp was on his face—it was Warner. I glanced at his companion, and my mental comment was—'If that poor girl you once called wife is dead, the virago on your arm is better suited to you.' I hastened on anxious to put as wide a distance between me and a creature I could not look on without loathing; but for some streets I heard the shout of the revellers, rending with their foul cries the quiet of the night.

Next day there were rumours of a murder, one of the worst of murders, a murder called of old, and still in our law books named 'Treason!' A wife had murdered her husband in their own home. This wretched, guilty creature had shed her husband's blood on the very hearth that ought to have been sacred to love and fidelity. Men looked calmly stern, women bitterly enraged, as the tidings of this murder spread. I was no reader of newspaper horrors, but when such a crime came nearly to one's own door, I turned more eagerly than usual to the local journal laid on my breakfast-table the following day, and the first thing that startled me was the name—Warner. For a moment I thought of the woman I had seen hanging on Warner's arm, and a kind of stern contempt filled my mind. 'A drunken brawl: no wonder he ended so,' was my mental comment. But as I read, what was my surprise to find it was *Ann*, the 'Annie' I remembered—the gentle, loving wife and mother, whose sweetness of temper had been the drunken boast of her husband. How could it be possible?

The murder took place so near the time of the assizes, that the trial followed the inquest and the committal in quick succession.

succession. There was no one to urge delay for the procuring of evidence or the arranging of the defence. The evidence was clear, the accused was poor. I attended the trial. The court was very full—many ladies there, most of them vehemently against the prisoner. Oh, ladies! if you obtained what some of you deem your right—permission equally with man to practise law—few of you would prefer being tried by a female judge or a female jury. It is a wrong, say some, that woman is not tried by her peers—that trial by jury in its strict sense does not exist for her. If this be a wrong, methinks woman would cherish this wrong more than most of her rights.

The prisoner was poorly dressed. She had evidently, though still young in years, lost all care for her appearance; despair had done its work. She looked once timidly and wonderingly round the court, then collapsed into herself a still, white effigy of a woman.

How much of the proceedings were understood by her can never be known. Occasionally her fingers twitched at her old shawl, once she pressed her little bony hands hard on her eyes. I felt certain those tearless eyes were so dry and hot, that she pressed down the lids to ease them; but those around me said, 'What a hardened creature!' All the whispers I heard, and they were in female voices, 'soft in the vowels,' were—'What stolid indifference!' 'There's no tears; she puts up her hands to her eyes to pretend to wipe away the tears she does not shed.' 'Faugh! I cannot bear to look at her hands.' 'What a bad countenance!' 'Wasted to the bone with evil passion!' &c.

There was no hesitancy and no delay in the trial: all was clear. The husband had returned home late, intoxicated certainly; but this wretched woman, this base wife, had waylaid him—managed to enter the cottage they occupied a few minutes before him: he followed and fell down across the fireplace, and she had thrown a heavy smoothing-iron on his temple as he lay, and killed him instantly.

There was a feeble attempt by the counsel for the prisoner to make out that the fall might have caused death. The surgeon's testimony entirely disproved that. There was a wound inflicted with the strange weapon employed; 'not so deep as a well, nor so broad as a church door; but enough.'

Except the man's fall, no sound had been heard by the other lodgers in the house, and the tragedy was discovered by a woman noticing a small stream of blood that had run under the door into the passage. She had entered and found the man dead and cold, and the murderess crouched up in a corner of the room, looking 'calmly,' they said, at her fearful work.

And so there was no doubt: the word 'GUILTY' was spoken with less sorrow than common; and in the court there was a murmur—could it be of approval? Yes! human justice was satisfied—the traitress was condemned.

After the thrill of the moment, I was not either angry or surprised at that approving murmur. It was outraged fidelity that spoke. Marriage—honourable, tender, holy—had been violated by the red hand of murder: the ties, dear as life, strong as death, had been rent in twain, and society rose indignant to avenge the crime. Sentence was pronounced. There was the same stillness in the prisoner. The gaoler touched her. She started like one awakened from a dream, and her frame being light and small, she stepped down quickly. With deep disgust a voice near me said—'She actually seems to "trip" away!'

I went home fevered with the scene. I had looked below the surface; I had known the daily death that miserable woman had endured—the many murders her intemperate husband had perpetrated; how he had slain her hopes, her health, her peace, her mother joy, her wifely comfort. Yet that her hand should have dealt the awful retributive blow seemed very frightful.

I pondered, too, on human law, and mourned that it should be most insecure where for the safety of society it should be least so. All whom I conversed with believed the extreme penalty of the law would be inflicted. All thought it just it should be. I urged the conduct of the husband, and was, I confess, startled at the reply; 'Oh! allow a man's bad conduct to be pleaded in extenuation, and you'll have plenty of murders.' Pondering this case, my mind went through a ghastly chronicle. 'The glorious uncertainty of the law' does not cease with the verdict,

verdict, it extends to the punishment. I remembered that a man, a few years back, destroyed a woman on Battersea Bridge—a most hideous murder: no doubt, and no extenuation in the case, and yet that man was reprieved. A Frenchwoman deliberately bought a pistol and shot a mere youth, her paramour; and her life was spared. An adulteress, discovered in her amours, put her four young children to death, and the plea of insanity was allowed. A mother deliberately brings her child of ten years old to her home and cruelly murders it, making the name of 'Celestine' infernal for ever, and she was spared. A poor ill-used woman, in one of our southern counties, waits up for a brutal husband, who returns, reeking from the arms of a paramour, to insult his wife: in a paroxysm of frenzy she strikes him with a hatchet that lay at the fireside, no premeditation and the greatest provocation. In her terror she makes a bungling effort to conceal her guilt—and she perished on the scaffold!

And, more terrible still, timid or merciful jurors have allowed murderers—yes! many to escape, whom, had the penalty been less than death, they would surely have convicted. As I thought of these strange anomalies in our social system, I wished two things—that some lawyer with a sound brain and heart would make a list of crimes and punishments for one year, tabulate and compare the sentences, and send such a paper to the Social Science meeting. My other wish was, that human justice would, for the security of society, try whether a life of stern toil would not be a more deterring punishment than a death of excitement to those who by their crimes show they have no love of man nor fear of God. But I found few to comprehend or sympathize with me, and I looked with a sickening horror to the close of Annie Warner's '*doomed life*.' * *

Part IV.—The Inner Life.

While I was thus revolving this sad case in my mind, my medical colleague asked me to visit the infirmary of the county gaol. I found there, in a separate ward under the care of two nurses, the unhappy woman whose trial (I may say *trials*) I had witnessed. I had hoped to find her insane. I wished to think the deed she had perpetrated was the result of insanity; but she was perfectly calm and collected. The nervous system was entirely prostrated as if a long series of exhausting troubles, ending in a paroxysm of rage, had completely shattered the system. All that skill could do was done by myself and others to save her; for it was not to be endured that death should anticipate his prey and deprive the gaping multitude of a drama and a holiday. And so strange in some cases is the tenacity of life, that I have known some feeble wretch with disease enough to kill the strong at once, live on and on, as if merely to meet man's doom—nature delaying that law may smite. I did fear this might be Annie Warner's case. She was patched up with stimulants, fed up with dainties; and for a few days she evidently rallied. Food and quiet that she had been long a stranger to wrought some favourable effects; but she never slept. Day by day, night by night, she lay still and calm, but sleepless. I visited her at all hours. She seldom spoke except in monosyllables, and occasionally faltered the *one* name—Jesus. I recalled myself to her recollection. From that time she appeared to take some interest in my coming: the chaplain she seemed to shrink from. One night, wishing to watch the effect of a narcotic, I remained with her. The medicine we tried failed as a sedative, and I was not, therefore, surprised that its operation as a stimulant was very marked. For the first time since her sentence she began to converse. There was no question of confession; she had never (except in the usual legal form at the trial) denied her guilt. I wished to know if there was contrition.

'My Archy,' she said, 'my little Annie, do you see your poor mother! Oh! shall I reach you, my murdered babes? Sir,' she added, 'do not cold, and hunger, and blows, and bitter words that scald the heart—do not they kill? No, no! they did not kill me—they hurt you, my darlings, they killed you! *My* heart was so hard it would not break; I wish it had—oh! I wish it had!' I tried to lead her to a consideration of her circumstances. She said, with a heavy sigh, as if speaking to her husband, 'Oh, dear Fred! my poor fellow! it was the drink—yes, yes—that made a lake of fire, a river of blood between us. Who shed that blood?' she exclaimed, sitting upright, with sudden energy, and looking

looking wildly round. Then dropping her head on her clasped hands, she added, 'Good people, pray for me; the old man with the grave, stern face said, "The Lord have mercy on your soul!" that was a prayer, wasn't it? Mercy—mercy for me! Oh! there has been no mercy! Husband, have mercy! Pity your children—our Archy, our Annie—have mercy on them! No! there is no mercy here; the Lord have mercy, have mercy!' Her voice rose into a thin scream; she seemed to lose control over it; the one word 'Mercy! mercy!' came in sharp gasps. I saw she was convulsed; we laid her down, but the struggle had begun with the last enemy. Sorely the wasted frame was torn and shaken for hours ere the drops of suffering were fully wrung out, and the prisoner was released. The struggling soul went with its plea for mercy to a higher tribunal; all stained and soiled with its wretched strife of existence, it carried its sins and sorrows to Him who alone knows the hidden anguish—'*the inner life.*'

Oh woman! so tender in love, so patient in endurance, so sublime in self-sacrifice, so vehement in anger, so impetuous in vengeance—fond, rash woman! pitied and beloved of Him who said, 'Oh, woman! great is thy faith'—how often the part of victim is the only part assigned to thee on God's misused earth!

Surely if human laws are made to punish, they should also be made to protect. If justice condemns the strong, it should shield the weak. Surely our Christian nation should have a conscience at least as sensitive as that of the disciples of Mohammed or Confucius, who proclaim this truth, 'No government should enrich itself by tempting and corrupting its subjects.'

Art. VII.—OUR FRIENDS IN COUNCIL.

*** *This space in the Review is open to our Friends in Council. Brief papers on questions of Social Science and Reform will be inserted. We do not endorse the opinions of our Correspondents.*—Ed.

1. Signs of the Times in America.

(From an American Correspondent.)

THE conflict and progress of truth among those who do not approve of Maine Laws may be gathered from a variety of sources, and will form a profitable study at the present moment as well as hereafter.

The admitted necessity of a revision and change of the drinking habits of the people—of the beverages they ought to drink, and of the means of their supply, and the laws that affect the traffic, are clear indications that this question is assuming proportions which were never expected, and which can be no longer controlled by affected indifference or sullen silence.

Unwilling that the change demanded by the light of the age should be so thorough, radical, and complete as the people are willing it should be, the learned, the travelled, the wealthy, the fashionable, the conservative, as well as some of the most go-a-head men of the present day, are proposing their plans, or throwing out their doubts concerning all plans, deprecating most thoroughly the universal adoption of a Maine Law as a matter of course.

Commercially, the liquor traffic stands exposed before the world as one of the most enormous frauds ever practised upon the credulity of mankind. It is one of the signs of the times and of the progress of the truth, that through the current literature of America, at this time, our opponents are seeking to direct public attention away from the temperance and Maine-Law view of the question, and away from the real question at issue, by acknowledging that which they have denied as long as it was politic to do so, and what they would never have acknowledged, had not the facts been ascertained, and made public, by the men who, during the past thirty years, in the midst of contempt, contumely, and scorn, dared to speak and write the truth as to the hideous nature and number of the adulterations the trade has sold the people, under the name of heaven-sent, and heaven-blessed, and Scripture-

Scripture-sanctioned wine, beer, and strong drink.

By assuming a seeming indignation against a class of traffickers who are so stupid as to sell cheap, and advertise openly their recipes for making all kinds of wines, beers, brandies, rums, gins, whiskies, liqueurs, &c., from chemicals entirely or chiefly, they expect, and doubtless not without reason, that the public will be led to conclude the danger is over, if they will only trade with those who charge high prices and keep their own secrets, as the gentlemanly proprietor and the whole-souled bar-keeper of the Non-such House can, or the philanthropic introducers of the cultivation of the vine, and manufacturers of native wines will do.

The following is a specimen of the new line of argument. It is extracted from 'The New York Traveller,' a newspaper published expressly to represent the hotel and liquor interest of America, and which thus speaks on the subject of 'The Adulteration of Liquor, a Cause of Crime.'

'The "Baltimore Clipper" recently published a presentment of the grand jury of that city, in which adulterated liquor is stated to be the first cause of nine-tenths of the crime committed in Baltimore, to which sad conclusion they are reluctantly compelled to come by startling facts, which are irresistible in proof.

'The same may with truth be said of this and other cities in which liquor is sold. Our criminal statistics show that the basis of crime is the excessive use of bad liquor, which is, in fact, but a fiery poison. Under its influence, men and women, ay, even boys and girls, do deeds which appal and horrify the orderly and good.

'Adulteration of vinous and spirituous liquors is so common now-a-days, and has reached such a proficiency, that many excellent judges are sometimes unable to detect the spurious, so closely are the best flavours and brands imitated. These frauds are not only made use of where the liquors are sold, but even in the original place of manufacture; the materials for adulterating them being often imported from the very country to which the liquors are sent for sale as pure and genuine, to undergo the now exploded farce of being entered at the Custom-house, in bond, and advertised as under Custom-house lock! Afterwards they are again tampered with, and by the time they reach the customer, are often but deadly poisons, rendering their victims insane, and capable of doing any act the distempered brain may suggest; hence the increase in certain species of crime, principally in murderous assaults with the knife or pistol on slight provocation; also adding to the already great number of lunatics, victims of pernicious habits; and in engendering vile diseases, which are entailed on an innocent offspring, who have reason to curse the authors of their torments.

'How is this dreadful evil to be checked and eradicated? Have we no principle, but the all-absorbing one of accumulating wealth? Is the "put money in thy purse" maxim to be the single aim of human life? Ponder on this vital subject, legislators! Devise some antidote to this deadly bane, this growing evil, which is crowding our prisons with homicides, our lunatic asylums with maniacs, and our hospitals with incurable patients. The Nemesian garment was not more fatal to its possessor than are the effects of the vile compounds, denominated cheap liquors, upon those who use them. It is a detestable traffic, and those who are detected in the infamous cheat of adulteration should be as severely punished as the victim of the fraud, who, while under the maddening influence of drugged potations, commits a fearful crime, and expiates his offence by incarceration in the cell of a felon, or on the scaffold, while the "importer" (?) lives in a marble mansion, drives his fast trotters, perhaps attends church punctually, and gives ostentatiously for prominent charities.

'The only remedy purchasers can have to avoid being deceived, when they do not consider themselves sufficient judges, is to deal only with established houses, the reputations of which for fair dealing warrant entire confidence from the buyer, and there are many such in this city, whose word for the genuineness of the liquors they vend can be implicitly relied on.

'Avoid cheap liquors in any and every shape, discountenance all who sell them, no matter under what name they attempt a purchase for their wretched stuff, and endeavour to get an Act passed with stringent penalties against this horrible practice, this cheating

cheating traffic, which is causing the destruction of so many of our fellow-creatures, directly or indirectly. If this curse of our age was abolished or diminished by reason of counteracting laws, which would make it a felonious act to adulterate liquor, the daily papers would not teem with the long array of poisonings, stabbings, shootings, and other life-taking acts now constantly occurring in our midst, and which by their frequency dull the keen sense of abhorrence 'such crimes used to create when a capital crime was seldom committed. The State Sanitary Committee, in their recent report, gives sorry statistics of the large proportion of deaths for the population in certain wards of our city, in which there are now more low drinking dens than in others; and our police reports of riot and bloodshed from these localities show a fearful list, which is undeniably caused by the enormous quantity of the brain-exciting stuff which is sold nightly to the thousands who congregate therein, and who, under the maddening effect of the fiery liquor imbibed, become maniacs in thought, and demons in act.

'It is time for all order-loving citizens of this once respected city to co-operate for the purpose of considering the most efficient measures to curb this huge evil, which sits like an incubus on our laws, choking the very existence of sound morality, and setting at defiance the efforts of our police institution, the members of which are often maimed or slain by drunken ruffians, who, if arrested, are seldom tried or convicted; sympathy for the criminal being more potent than regret for the victim, when the act was done under the influence of intoxication.'

2. The Education of the Working Classes.

GENTLEMEN,

IN reply to Mr. Webb, who in the July number of 'Meliora' criticised a portion of my paper on 'The British Workman,' contained in the April number, I would say, after thanking him for the obliging manner in which he spoke of my article, that I think he holds far too high an opinion of the present state of our national education.

It would be absurd to deny that much has been accomplished during the last thirteen years; and perhaps in no other instances have legislative reforms been more successful so far as they go. But as yet they do not go by any means far enough. The great masses of our rural poor, at least, are still left pretty nearly in the state in which they were previously to 1846. This lamentable fact is proved by a very good authority on this subject—the Rev. Nash Stephenson, one of the secretaries of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science. I extract from a paper read by him at the meeting of 1858 the following facts and figures, which will bear out most of what I have already written.

In Somersetshire, out of 463 parishes, with a population of 443,916, there were 490 public day schools, or 1 to every 906 people. Now, of these 490 schools, only 71, or about one-seventh of the whole number, were under certificated or registered teachers. In Devonshire, with a population of 567,098, the number of schools is 503, or 1 to every 1,130 persons. Seventy only of these schools were under qualified teachers, leaving 433, or more than six-sevenths, without control of Government. In Cornwall, where there are 258 schools to a population of 355,558, that is, 1 to 1,380 persons, only 32 schools, or not one-eighth, are under inspection. So that there is

In Somersetshire, one school with a certificated or registered teacher to every 6,252 persons.
In Devonshire, do. do. 8,101 „
In Cornwall, do. do. 11,851 „

In Herefordshire, with a population of 115,489, there are 149 schools, or 1 to 885 persons, but of these only 35 were under inspection.

'From a memorial to the Committee of Council on Education from the Bath and Wells Board, it appears that of 522 schools in that diocese, 441 are without certificated teachers; and in an abstract of the National Society's proceedings, it is said, with regard to each of the training colleges of that society, that during the year ending Christmas, 1857, the number of applications for the services of teachers greatly exceeded the powers of the several councils to supply them.'

Mr. Mitchell, her Majesty's Inspector, indorses the following statement of the secretary to the Essex Board of

of Education :—' Mr. Mitchell's report shows that there is scarcely a tolerable school in any rural parish visited by him. There are not half a dozen certificated teachers in any of the parishes under 800.'

With regard to the number of training-colleges, it is possible that Mr. Webb is right. I sincerely hope that he is so. But it must be borne in mind that a large proportion of the pupil-teachers, each of whom costs the country 95*l*., withdraw from their work after a short time of service. It appears, from a return presented to the House of Commons in 1855, that there were 3,169 pupil-teachers withdrawn from the public service, as against 1,825 admitted into training-colleges. The loss to the public on the 3,169 pupil-teachers would be 301,055*l*.

Lastly, with regard to the comparative excellence of English and foreign education, I would cite not only Mr. Kay in support of my assertion that the former is inferior to the latter, but, lest his evidence should be considered out of date, quote from Mr. Stephenson's address delivered to the Liverpool Congress last year.

'The increasing inferiority in information of the labouring classes in this country, as compared with those of several foreign countries, is becoming year by year more marked. The cause is obvious. Throughout Switzerland, Prussia, Holland, Denmark, Saxony, Baden, Wirtemburg, Bavaria, Sweden, and Norway, the law strictly obliges children to attend school, justly deeming ignorance to be a crime against the community which may not be tolerated. The effect of such a salutary law is most encouraging. In Switzerland one-fifth of all the people are in regular daily attendance at school. In Prussia, in nearly the whole of Germany, and in Denmark, one-sixth of the people attend the schools regularly.' ('Transactions,' pp. 265-6.)

There seems only one possible remedy for our defects. Government should apply universally a principle which it has already adopted partially, and make education compulsory, not only in factories and mines, but throughout the whole length and breadth of the kingdom.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your faithful servant,
The author of the article on
'The British Workman.'

Art. VIII.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

THE life of a public man now-a-days is a round of constant labour. Time was, when the representatives of the people considered their duty ended with the parliamentary session, and men of benevolent aims believed that a season of activity entitled them to a short period of rest. But now by far the least onerous duties of Members of Parliament are discharged at Westminster. There they may be silent, only taking care that for the satisfaction of their constituents their names appear in the division lists. They may lounge away an hour in a well-stored and comfortable library, or chat with a friend over a well-appointed dinner, certain that a warning bell will acquaint them in time that they must rush to their posts, to be hurried with their party into the lobby without any very clear notion or anxiety about the question on which their vote is to be given. Stretched at full length upon the benches in the gallery of the House of Commons, they may snooze through the dull oration of the member for Droneshire, to be aroused only by the sonorous voice of the Speaker, or the cheers which greet some favourite debater; at the same time sustaining with their constituents a large reputation for 'constant and exhausting attendance upon their parliamentary duties.' But in the vacation each member must sit on his own stool. There are speeches to be made on the state of affairs in general; mechanics' institutions to be patronized; local interests to be studied, and local potentates to be caressed. Even the really hardworking legislator who takes a real share in the business of the country can have no rest. The vacation is the only opportunity for discussing great public questions face to face with the great public itself. The debates in St. Stephen's are merely adjourned

adjourned to St. George's, Liverpool, or St. George's, Bradford.

The events of most interest to the social reformer during the past quarter were, of course, the meetings of the British Association at Aberdeen, and of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science at Bradford.

It is very instructive to observe how readily men perceive the faults of their neighbours, and are blind to their own. When natural science as a branch of polite education was exiled from our great universities, the members of the British Association were rightly vehement in their denunciation of such exclusion; and it was justly regarded as a triumph when Oxford admitted to its due rank the study of the laws of creation. But for long the doors of the British Association itself were firmly barred against the introduction of any topics bordering on social inquiry, and it is only within the last few years that the rigidity of the statistical section has been so far relaxed as to receive into a grim embrace a few inquirers into the laws which mould man and society.

At the last meeting in Aberdeen, however, some interesting papers were read. A discussion of some importance on India, in which Sir John Bowring uttered some grievous and mischievous fallacies upon the opium trade, occupied a considerable time; and was suspended to allow the Rev. Mr. Caine, of Manchester, to recount the success of the Permissive Bill agitation of the United Kingdom Alliance, and to lay the results of a house-to-house canvass of several large towns before the meeting.

The Social Science meeting at Bradford was in point of numbers less successful than the Liverpool meeting, but for real work will bear comparison with any preceding assembly. With the exception of Lord John Russell, who was detained in London by his ministerial duties, and Sir John Pakington, also absent, the platform on the occasion of the President's address, presented the usual array of familiar faces. The president's chair was occupied by the Earl of Shaftesbury.

There, also, was Lord Brougham, his massive old head surrounded by a circle of gray hair, his limbs feebler and stiffer, but his mind as clear and his speech as trenchant as ever. The presidents of the sections, preserving the old arrangement of Jurisprudence and Amendment of the Law, Education, Public Health, Punishment and Reformation, and Social Economy, were respectively, Vice-Chancellor Sir W. Page Wood, Right Hon. C. B. Adderley, M.P., Right Hon. W. Cowper, M.P., Monckton Milnes, Esq., M.P., and Sir J. K. Shuttleworth, Bart.

Lord Brougham's annual address was indeed a wonderful production. For more than two hours 'the old man eloquent' stood before an immense audience in the great hall, discussing the progress which had been made in the previous year in social questions. His principal attention was given to the temperance movement, and to the necessity for vigorous repression of electoral bribery and corruption. Of the former question he spoke in terms of cordial sympathy and approbation; and although carefully avoiding an absolute personal committal to the agitation of the United Kingdom Alliance, he so framed his remarks, and so elaborately defended the prohibitory movement in America, as to leave little room for doubt that the convictions of this great statesman are fully gained by that association. It was indeed refreshing, after the wearisome twaddle upon the temperance and prohibition question, to hear Henry Brougham declare that he had reluctantly been driven to the conclusion that education was a palliative only, and not a remedy for drunkenness; that subject to preparation of the public mind, it was as possible here as in America to prohibit the traffic in strong drink; and that when so obtained, one would be tempted to declare that the law must have come from heaven, for it would be too good to be the work of man.

Upon electoral bribery and corruption the old reformer turned his withering indignation, declaring, that in his conviction the evil would not be cured until the candidate who might resort to such proceedings should see at the end of his path the treadmill instead of a seat in the House of Commons.

The order of proceedings adopted was the following:—

Each morning the president of one of the sections delivered his address to the association generally, and the rest of each day was devoted to the separate work of the various sections.

In his presidential address, Mr. Monckton

Monckton Milnes took occasion to combat Lord Brougham's temperance doctrine, and roundly denied any connexion between strong drink and crime unless it might be crime of violence. Now, without insisting on the obvious consideration that crimes of violence form a very large proportion, probably nearly half, of every criminal calendar, a ready answer may be found to so transparent a fallacy. The operation of strong drink upon the brain is to dethrone reason and substitute appetite and passion as the governing powers; and the danger of violence or of craft depends mainly upon the alternative, appetite or passion. The man who is insensibly drunk is no longer personally dangerous; but the insatiate desire which knows no control, and will brave every obstacle and defy every law for its gratification—and the excitement of drink, which has not paralyzed the physical, but the moral and mental powers—must result, the one in crimes of craft, the other in crimes of violence.

In the section over which Mr. Milnes presided, some very valuable papers were read, and a special opportunity was afforded to Mr. Pope, the Honorary Secretary of the Alliance, to reply to Mr. Milnes, and to explain the Permissive Bill.

In the Educational section, much interest was excited by some statements made by Mr. Templar, of Manchester, as to the success of the model free secular school there, of which school he is master. A very large preponderance of clerical over lay discussionists was perhaps hardly the fairest state of circumstances for the consideration of the propriety of cutting the Gordian knot of denominational opposition by the adoption of a national system of state *secular* education, leaving the religious element to be supplied by the voluntary efforts of ministers and parents. Undoubtedly such suggestion did not receive favour in the section.

So far as the personal experience of the writer went, the most interesting discussion in any of the sections was that on 'Strikes,' and 'Trades Unions,' in the department of Social Economy.

The meeting for the working classes which was held in the great hall, and was addressed by Lord Shaftesbury and others, partook too much of the character of patronage to be really useful. Affectionate and sincere, no doubt, was the advice given, but it will be long before social evils are cured by the descent of an amiable nobleman from his higher sphere to beg his working friends not to drink and not to strike. 'Don't strike' was the burden of all the speeches, and seemed to epitomize the political economy of the entire platform.

But in the section, men of wealth, intellect, position, were to *mutual advantage* brought into immediate contact with the leaders of the working men. The manly yet homely dignity with which George Cowell, the leader of the Preston strike, and other well-known operatives, sustained their views, must have convinced many that the question of strikes is not to be fathomed by a short plummet or disposed of by an affectionate exhortation. We have inserted a few brief suggestions for reflection in our present number.

But outside of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science many of the questions treated of there have received independent public discussion. An active agitation has been inaugurated in favour of direct taxation, which by relieving commerce of the burdens of customs duties and excise, may develop the principles of free trade. It perhaps hardly falls within our province to discuss the subject however tempting, and we therefore here allude to the fact stated.

The amendment of the law will not be neglected in the next session of Parliament. The consolidation of various departments of our law, which has been in the hands of successive governments for some time past, will, it is to be hoped, be completed.

The commercial community appear to be determined that some immediate change shall be made in the laws relating to bankruptcy and insolvency. The Social Science Association, the Law Amendment Society, and Lord John Russell, who was responsible for a Bill in the last session, appear to be agreed; and at an interview between Lord Palmerston and an influential commercial deputation, at which the Attorney-General was present, promises were made which must result in a speedy attempt to remedy the glaring defects and inconsistencies which now perplex the public, and injure commerce.

At last, the columns of the 'Times' have

have been opened to a brief discussion of the social position and claims of women.

Miss Parkes, the editor of the 'Englishwoman's Journal,' has gained access to the public ear, and has excited considerable interest in the question of industrial employment for women.

We have thought the subject of sufficient interest to devote a considerable portion of our present number to it.

If public attention be not diverted from social progress to foreign affairs, and if a sort of pseudo-military spirit be not engendered in our population, great expectations may be held of the next year. The danger most imminent is lest social reform should become too fashionable, and degenerate into mere pretty sentiment. The cold bracing air of active life, even if a little chilly with disappointment, is far more healthy for the social reformer than the heated and enervating atmosphere of the saloon. To be useful, social reform must be bold, honest, fearless, robust, vigorous.

ART. IX.—LITERARY REVIEWS.

Handbook of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. By Mrs. Wm. Fison. London: Longman and Co., 1859.

Handbook of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. By Mrs. William Fison. London: Longman and Co., 1859.

Colportage: its History and Relations to Home and Foreign Evangelization. With some Remarks on the Events and Prospects of the Country. Edited and enlarged, by consent of the Author, from an American work. By Mrs. William Fison. London: Wertheim, Mackintosh, and Hunt, 1859.

MRS. FISON must have wielded a busy pen, and exercised great mental industry, to have produced these three volumes during a year. From the amount of reading which they evidence on all branches of science and philanthropy, it must have required much careful thought to condense and epitomise, as well as to enlarge.

The first volume contains about two hundred and twenty pages of tolerably small print, and is dedicated to Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, one of the founders of the Association, of which Mrs. Fison is also a life member by the election of the illustrious *savans* who compose that learned society. The volume shows the importance of science to national progress, traces the origin of the British Association, explains its various sections, and gives a sketch of the present state of scientific education in England. The compilation is eminently creditable to the intelligence and industry of the lady who has prepared it, and it is fitted to give full information of the aims and objects of the great scientific association whose handbook it is.

The second work performs a similar office for the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, and is dedicated to the veteran reformer and philosopher, Lord Brougham. We congratulate the members of this philanthropic body on being so early and so intelligently introduced to the reading public by a handbook such as Mrs. Fison has produced. She has omitted nothing of importance. We are delighted to find 'Meliora' one of her authorities on social matters. It is also pleasing to observe that she does not hesitate to affirm that intemperance is a subject 'imperatively demanding the attention of the National Association.' 'To temperance societies,' she says, 'is delegated a great work. Both in England and America, some of the leaders of this movement are men of great ability; and, were the Christian public fully alive to the fact that to the habitual drunkard there is no medium between the indulgence of his habit and total abstinence, we should see many, now standing aloof, uniting in earnest effort to promote the foundation of temperance societies throughout Great Britain.' By a note on the Permissive Bill taken from our pages, it is evident that this lady is in favour of that admirable measure for suppressing drunkenness.

The third book, on Colportage, is a valuable collection of facts and arguments on behalf of a scheme of philanthropy

thropy not yet much tried in England. It has been remarkably successful in America for the diffusion of good literature, and in Scotland, where religious and temperance literature is carried into every district by means of the Colporteur. We commend this book to all interested in the diffusion of a pure and religious literature throughout our rural parishes. This is a reading age, and there should be a demand and supply of that which will improve as well as fascinate, and aid in the moral, social, and religious elevation of the people. This is a most economic system of benevolence; but it is calculated to do a vast amount of good. We hope to return to it.

Wedded Love. By James Cargill Guthrie, Author of 'Village Scenes.' London: Partridge and Co., 1859.

MR. GUTHRIE'S 'Village Scenes' have reached a fourth edition, proving the public appreciation of a poet possessed of unusual ability to touch the feelings, and portray scenes of domestic interest. The present volume enters into the domain of deepest tenderness; but the lines proceed from a poet who does not irreverently unveil the sanctities of home. He sings of wedded love to enhance its bliss, to calm its sorrows, to elevate its happy possessors, and, we doubt not, to give it an attraction to the single. There are passages of beautiful description, and of deepest pathos in the simple story which his muse has lisped in numbers.

Manliness. By John Brookes, Author of 'The Manners and Customs of the English Nation.' London: J. Blackwood, 1859.

MR. BROOKES has written for a class who in our large towns, and indeed everywhere, need a faithful counsellor. He exhorts young men to be manly: showing what is manliness, who is its model, and how it ought to act in relation to social position, religion, and even minor matters. Young men would do well to peruse this little work. We are astonished, however, at the commendation of Mr. Langford's work on Religious Scepticism and Infidelity, which in itself undermines the truth.

The Diamond and the Pearl. Temptation and Atonement. Two Vols. by Mrs. Gore. London: Knight and Son.

THE first of these depicts fashionable sins and woes, as few save Mrs. Gore can do. It inculcates a healthy moral by means of a striking contrast.

The second work is well written, and is worthy of being reproduced in this cheap form.

The School-girl in France. By Miss M'Crindell. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THIS well-told tale has, we fear, had a parallel history in not a few who have been sent over to France to finish their education. English parents would do well to peruse a story like this, corroborated by many facts, ere they send their daughters to a convent to be educated.

The Orphans of Lissau. By the Author of 'Emma de Lissau.' London: Simpkin and Co.

THESE tales conduct us into Jewish society, and present some touching scenes of trial.

Scotland and the Scotch, and Shetland and the Shetlanders. By Catherine Sinclair.

THIS volume is presented in a form for which ladies have long been celebrated, that of letters to a friend. There are graphic sketches of Scotch scenes, mingled with many notes of the history and people of that interesting portion of our island. The letters on Shetland and the Shetlanders will be read with interest in these cheap volumes. We congratulate the projector of the 'Run and Read Library' for the healthful tone of his issues.

Sketches of and from Jean Paul Richter. London: A. W. Bennett, 1859.

THIS book is modestly put forth without the name of the author and translator. He is perhaps afraid of holding a candle to show the sun. The short biographical sketch of Jean Paul is interesting, and the translations are full of beauty and of suggestive thought.

England subsists by Miracle. By Feltham Burghley. London: Blackwood, 1859.

UNDER the guise of wit, of which a large share belongs to this author, many wholesome counsels are sent home to the reader. Many subjects are discussed; treaties, embassies, and foreign subsidies; peasantry, freeholds, yeomanry; education; Ireland and her suffrage; colonies and navigation laws;

laws; and the defences of England. Where there is much wit there will always be a field for criticism; but the reader will get his intellect sharpened and perhaps moulded by the attentive perusal of this able little work, whose chief fault is its absurd title.

The Parson, the Parish, and the Working Men: or, Parochial Work in a Manufacturing District. By the Rev. E. Boteler Chalmer, junior, M.A., Rector of St. Matthias, Salford. London: Nisbet, 1859.

THIS pamphlet describes the laudable efforts which Mr. Chalmer has made to improve the district in which his church is situated. He has not theorized at a distance; he has gone among the working classes, and sought to take them by the hand to a higher level. He has established a 'working men's club,' which provides social entertainment, with tea, once a week, lectures, reading, &c. Penny banks and a sick society are also being established. This is a mode of philanthropy that cannot fail to reach the people. We have much pleasure in recommending Mr. Chalmer's plan to clergymen generally.

Report of Salford Working Men's College.

WE are delighted to peruse this encouraging report of an institution calculated to benefit the operations of the town.

Report of the Proceedings to inaugurate a greatly extended School of Instruction in the Evening School of the Liverpool Institute.

THIS indicates another step in the right direction.

A Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury, on the question of 'Church Rates,' chiefly as it concerns our populous parishes. By W. H. Jones, M.A., Vicar of Mottram-in-Longendale, Cheshire. London: Hatchard and Co., 1859.

MR. JONES thinks that something must be done to settle this long controversy; and he suggests that 'church rates may be made to cease in any case where there appears to be, from any available source, adequate means for the sustentation of the fabric, and the carrying on of divine service.' Large parishes, he holds, have means for this. He goes further, and says: 'Where "church rights" have been interfered with, there (and there only) "church rates" should be abolished.' His pamphlet evinces an intelligent and liberal view of this question.

Suggestions for effecting an equitable Redistribution of Members of Parliament on the basis of a Representative Claim, deduced from Population and annual value of Property. By David Chadwick, Fellow of the Statistical Society. London: W. H. Smith, 1859.

EVERY scheme in advance of parliamentary reform has a value, and the elaborate statistics of Mr. Chadwick must claim the attention they deserve.

The Bible, Teetotalism, and Dr. Lees. A concise Narrative and Lecture; with a recommendation of the inquiry, Is Teetotalism the plain teaching of the Bible? By David Williams, of Great Harwood. London: Hall and Virtue, 1859.

IT is a fair and proper inquiry to discuss the views of Scripture in relation to total abstinence. Some maintain that the Bible condemns the use of strong drink; others that the Bible gives a liberty to abstain, and almost imposes a command to do so, when circumstances such as exist in this land necessitate strong measures. We are not disposed to discuss this controversy; but any one who does, will find material in the works of Dr. Lees. All admit that it is a Christian liberty to abstain —that there is no sin in so doing. Ought not, then, Christian ministers, and religious people generally, to deny themselves for the purpose of driving this soul-destroying vice of intemperance from our beloved land? We cannot commend the spirit or matter of this book.

The Scriptural Claims of Teetotalism; an Essay. W. T. R. Ord. Darlington, 1859.

THIS is a sensible, intelligent, and well-argued pamphlet.

Christianity in its Antagonism to Drunkenness. London: Partridge and Co., 1859.

AN earnest appeal to Christians on their duty to temperance societies. The author puts the following syllogism to his readers:—

'The Gospel clearly and emphatically interdicts the exposure of the soul to insnaring and seductive influences;

'But the alcoholic liquors of these lands are such, that they cannot be used non-medicinally without exposing the

the soul to ensnaring and seductive influences;

'Therefore, the Gospel clearly and emphatically interdicts the non-medicinal use of the alcoholic liquors of these lands.'

The Author notices, also, the wonderful effects of recent revivals in religion upon the use and sale of liquor.

A Glance at the Navvies. By William Pulk. London: Nisbet and Co., 1859.

FOLLOW the navvy, and you have a most sickening sight of the evil of public-houses and drink. This seems to be the complaint of all who go down to the lowest classes. This little book shows how the rough navvy can be transferred into a genuine Christian.

The Weather Almanac for 1860. By Orlando Whistlecraft, Meteorologist, &c. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

WITHOUT giving any opinion on the meteorological predictions of Orlando Whistlecraft, we find this almanac to contain much useful matter.

A Dialogue on the Theory and Practice of Homœopathy and Allopathy. By Hugh Hastings, M.D., M.R.C.S., &c. London: Leath and Ross. Third Edition. 1859.

THIS dialogue is remarkably happy, and with great skill and cogent argument exposes the weak side of the allopathic system. Medical reform is rapidly advancing, and every able contribution to the frank discussion of so vital a question may be hailed with satisfaction. On the Continent and in America the practice of medicine is no longer sectarian and close; and it is time that this enlightened country developed, with certain limitations, its toleration of different medical systems, as it has done the toleration of different churches.

Harry Hartley; or Social Science for the Workers. By J. W. Overton. London: H. Lea. 1859.

IF this work be what the preface informs us, the literary product of an English workman, it is a highly creditable performance. It exhibits the true mean of social elevation, and sympathises with every effort for the amelioration of the masses. There is some beautiful writing in the volume, and an excellent tone is maintained throughout.

The Gloaming of Life: a Memoir of James Stirling. Glasgow: Scottish Temperance League.

WE are gratified to observe the increasing popularity and extending circulation of this admirable and spirit-stirring memoir.

The Curse of Kilwuddie: a Rural Scottish Tale in Verse. By James Nicholson. Glasgow: William Niven. 1859.

POETRY has been slow to ally itself with the temperance cause, having been from the days of Anacreon attached to the wine cup. But of late some most praiseworthy attempts have been made to win the Muse to the cause of teetotalism. The subject is worthy of a separate article, with which we hope to furnish our readers at an early period. Meanwhile we commend to such of them as can understand Scotch, this little work. The following specimens will show its superior merit:—

KILWUDDIE BEFORE THE OPENING OF THE PUBLIC HOUSE.

No a pauper in the parish,
Stent or taxes had they nane;
Neither Hielan' folk nor Erish
'Mang them yet had refuge ta'en.

Ne'er was kent a thieving bodie
Steal the guids o' rich or puir—
No' a lock in a' Kilwuddie,
Scarce a bar upon a door.

THE PUBLICAN

Took a shop in auld Kilwuddie,
Hung a braw new painted sign,
Tellin' ilka simple body
He selt whisky, yill, an' wine.

Folk at first gaed in wi' caution,
Jist to crack and taste the yill,
But it soon grew a' the fashion
Ilk ane roun should stan his gill.

* * * * *

Nor alane in big Jock Gemmell's
Sat they down to drink galore;
But at hame they took their rambles,
And for days kept up the splore.

Ilka guidwife, her doon-lyin'
Hansell'd wi' the barley-bree,
Owre ilk wab and harness tyin'
Shopmates met to haud the spree.

Ilka guidwife, honest bodie!
Held that drinkin' was a sin,
Still, a wee drap made in toddy
Sooth'd the nerves an' brak the win.

Eccentricity; or a Check to Censoriousness: with chapters on other subjects. By the Rev. James Kendall, author of numerous publications. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1859.

THE author of this indignant book has been an Ishmael among his Wesleyan brethren

brethren on account of his eccentric and facetious character. Though possessing great abilities, he still maintains the same position which he did thirty-two years ago! We are not sure that his remonstrance and complaint, published in a book, will avail to advance him in the denomination to which he belongs. No one, however, can read his book without being convinced of his genius and wit, and his power of sarcasm, and without enjoying many a hearty laugh.

The Spirit of Love; or, A Practical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of John. By the Rev. W. Graham, D.D., author of 'The Jordan and the Rhine,' &c. London: Seeley.

THIS commentary is *sui generis*, and partakes of the many-sidedness, varied learning, and earnest piety which characterise its author—a man whose ministry the gallant Havelock and many like-minded persons have loved to enjoy at Bonn. The author has made use of every commentary which he 'could find in the English, German, Greek, and Latin languages' in expounding this epistle. He considers at length its authorship, its date, its object, and its contents. The last of these is pursued throughout 360 pages. Giving the literal meaning of each sentence, showing its original reference, the author applies the truth therein contained to the present state of the churches. He argues that the possession of the spirit which breathes through this epistle would do much to cure the ills, remove the discords, and unite the branches of the visible church. There is very much to instruct, edify, and refresh the Christian reader in this excellent commentary.

Tales of the Martyrs of the First Two Centuries. By the Rev. B. H. Cowper. London: The Book Society. 1859.

THE story of the church's baptism of fire is told in this little volume with much simplicity and pathos.

The Soldier Spiritualised; or, National compared with Spiritual Warfare. With a sketch of the eventful life of the Author, the late Mr. John Mance. London: Partridge and Co. 1859. Second Edition.

EVERY military movement is made, in this little work, the vehicle of illustrating scriptural truth. The author was a soldier in the Peninsular war, and after his retirement was connected with the London police, and for thirty years governor of Petworth Gaol. He had 'the merit of introducing the new system of prison discipline, which he carried out with much firmness, tempered with extreme kindness to the unfortunate objects of his care.' He died in 1857. This work is without any literary pretension, yet may be read with profit.

Discourses. By the Rev. William Anderson, LL.D. Second Series. Glasgow: Peter Bertram. 1859.

DR. ANDERSON is a man of strong mind, great common sense, and considerable genius, originality, and power. There is no refinement in his style, and there is much nationality and sometimes provincialism; but hard thinking, evangelical doctrine, and practical application of divine truth, to the common thoughts and actions of his hearers, which amply compensate for lack of elegance. Could the roughness of the dress be passed over, English readers would enjoy the perusal of these sterling and able discourses. The volume is the second of a series which the reverend author proposes to leave his congregation and country in memory of one to whose eloquence they loved to listen. It is dedicated to his father, who still survives, 'in the ninetieth year of his age and sixty-seventh of his ministry.'

Our Charlie; or, The Book with the Silver Clasp. By the Rev. F. J. Perry, Ilminster. London: S. M. Haughton.

Broken Promises; a Fireside Story. By the same.

THESE are tales with a striking and solemn moral, written with much pathos. They paint the sad issue of indulgence in strong drink; but gild the prodigal's career with a return to his Father and to the paths of sobriety and virtue.

INDEX.

BANKS, Penny Savings, 133. Origin of Savings Banks, 135. Success of Penny Banks, 137. Their Utility, 141.

CLAY, the Rev. John, 56. His Reports, 57. Chaplain of Preston Gaol, 59. Views of Separate Confinement, 61. On Juvenile Crime, 63. Ignorance, 65. Cost of Criminals at large, 67. Tickets of Leave, 69. Causes of Crime, 71. Drunkenness and Crime, 73. Money spent in Drink, 75. Misery resulting from Drink, 79. Mr. Clay's Illness and Death, 81.

Crime and Disease, Types of, 142. Crime as it is, 143. Present Type of Disease, 145. The overworked mind, 147. Measure of Moral Earnestness, 149. Hand-to-mouth Legislation, 151. Character of Dangerous Classes, 153.

Coal-Pits, Death in, 154. Dangers of Coal-Fields, 155. Recklessness of Colliery Owners, 159. Benefits of the present Act, 161. History of the Cymner Explosion, 163. Power of Inspectors, 165; Overwhelming duties of, 167.

Church, the, and the Liquor Traffic, 248. Influence of Intoxicating Liquors, 249. Sufferings of the Church from them, 251. Attitude of the Church in America, 253. In England, 255. In Scotland, 257. In Ireland, 258. Effect of the Revival in Ireland, 259. Suggestions to the Churches, 261.

EDUCATION *versus* Drunkenness, 168. Knowledge not operative on moral nature, 169. Failure of Education on Drunkenness, 170. Reason of the Failure, 171. Modern Experiences, 173. Scottish Parishes, 175. The Tavern Key, 176. Testimony of Ireland, 179.

FRIENDS in Council, 94, 371.

JERROLD, Douglas, 17. Boyhood, 19. Enters the Navy, 21. Apprenticed to a Printer, 23. Friendship with Blanchard, 25. His Literary Merits, 27. Extempore Literature, 29. Faults of his Style, 31. His Editorial Kindness, 33. Personal Reminiscences, 35. Our Literary Immortelle, 37.

LECTURES and Lecturing, 197. Antiquity of Oral Instruction, 199. Minstrels, 201. Desire for Books, 205. Power of the Lecturer, 207.

Liberty and Mr. J. S. Mill, 83. Mr. Mill's Admissions, 85. His hasty Criticism, 87. Views on Social Evils, 89. Real Nature of Liquor Trade, 91. Rights of the Majority, 93.

Law and Liberty, 339. Social Reform related to Liberty, 341. Christian Liberty, 343. The Meaning of Liberty, 345. Liberty and Power, 347. Relation to Intoxicating Liquors, 348. Prohibition of Traffic, 349. Social Restraints on the Individual, 351. Educational Influence of Temperance, 353.

Libraries for the People, 293. Ancient Libraries, 295. Monastic Libraries, 297. Access to Public Libraries, 298. Free Libraries, 300. Mr. Ewart's Bill, 331. Adoption of the Act, 303. Manchester Free Library, 304. Liverpool Free Library, 305.

Literature of Labour, 1. Pleasures of Literature, 3. Attempts at Authorship, 5. Prize Literature of Labour, 6. Bunyan, &c, 7. Poetic Literature of Labour—Burns, &c., 11.

Literature, French, Memoirs and Chronicles of, 117. Prevalence of Private Memoirs, 119. The French always talk of themselves, 121. Their civilization selfish, 123. Ignorance of the Fine Lady, 125. Vulgarity of French Military Officers, 127. Absence of Dignity in French Society, 129. Le Premier Venu, 131.

Life, For—Tale, 363.

Mechanics' Institutes, 209. Causes of their Failure, 211. Necessary Improvements, 213. Improving Recreations, 215. Working Men's Domestic Interests, 217. Their Wives, 219. Readings for Non-Readers, 221. Experiment at Salford, 223.

Poetry, Lyrical, in France, 325. Villemain's Treatise, 325. Hugo's Legend of the Ages, 328. The Patriot in the Poet, 329. Chivalry in French Poetry, 331. Corneille and Hugo, 333. Hugo's 'Ratbert,' 334. His Political Aim, 337. Agreement with Villemain, 338. With Tennyson, 339.

Record of Social Politics, 96, 374.

Reviews, Literary—New's *Coronet and the Cross*, 97. *Journal of First French Embassy to China, ib. History of the Temperance Movement in Scotland, ib. Transactions of National Association, ib. Politics of Temperance, ib.* Stowell Brown's *Lectures*, 98. *Young Men of the great City, ib. Scottish Temperance League Almanac for* 1859, *ib. Popular Lecturer for* 1858, *ib.* Dewar's *Temperance Penny Song Book, ib. Healing Art the right hand of the Church, ib.* Wilson's *Moral Wastes*, 99. Burns' *Christian Exercises for every Lord's Day*, 100. Roaf's *Sunday-School Question Book, ib. Sketches and Lessons from Daily Life, ib.* King's *Ernest, the Pilgrim, ib. Instauration, ib. Heart Struggles, ib.* Worboise's *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 193. *John H. Steggal, ib.* Ewing Ritchie's *Here and There in London, ib.* Robinson's *Evangelists and the Mishna, ib. Local Preacher's Magazine for* 1858, 194. Hopley's *Wrongs which cry for Redress, ib.* Johnson's *Letters to Brother John, ib. What is to become of the Churches? ib.* Burns' *Christian Philosophy, ib.* Bayldon's *Treatise on Road Legislation and Management, ib.* Bayly's *Ragged Homes*, 195. Miller's *Prostitution Considered, ib.* Hastings's *Scarlatina and Diphtheria, ib. Notes on the Navigation of the Godavery, ib.* Barker's *Temperance Advocacy, ib. Temperance Spectator*, 196. Taylder's *Crime; its Cause and Cure, ib.* White's *Bible and the Liquor Traffic, ib.* Burns' *Scripture Light on Intoxicating Liquors, ib.* Leask's *Two Lights, ib.* Robertson's *Insalubrity of Deep Cornish Mines, ib.* Bailey's *Truck System, ib. A Throne! a Moan! ib. Englishwoman's Magazine, ib. Report of National Life-boat Association, ib. Handbook of British Association*, 377. *Handbook of National Association, ib. Colportage: its History and Relation to Home and Foreign Evangelization, ib. Wedded Love*, 378. *Manliness, ib. The Diamond and the Pearl, ib. The School-girl in France, ib. The Orphans of Lissau, ib. Scotland and the Scotch, and Shetland and the Shetlanders, ib. Sketches of and from Jean Paul Richter, ib. England subsists by Miracle, ib. The Parson, the Parish, and the Working Man*, 379. *Report of Salford Working Men's College, ib. Report of Liverpool Institute, ib. A Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury on the Question of Church Rates, ib. Suggestions for effecting an equitable Redistribution of Members of Parliament, ib. The Bible, Teetotalism, and Dr. Lees, ib. The Scriptural claims to Teetotalism, ib. Christianity in its Antagonism to Drunkenness, ib. A Glance at the Navvies*, 380. *The Weather Almanac for* 1860, *ib. A Dialogue on the Theory and Practice of Homœopathy and Allopathy, ib. Harry Hartley, ib. The Gloaming of Life, ib. The Curse of Kilwuddie, ib. Eccentricity, ib. The Spirit of Love*, 381. *Tales of the Martyrs of the first two Centuries, ib. The Soldier Spiritualized, ib. Discourses by Rev. W. Anderson, ib. Our Charlie, ib. Broken Promises, ib.*

Revolutions of Race in England, 263. Dr. Vaughan's Works, 236. Celts and Romans, 265. Saxons and Danes, 268. Rise of English Monarchy, 269. Religion among the Saxons, 271. Saxon Influence on Government and Social Life, 273. Norman and English, 274. Influence of Conquest on Government and the Church, 275. On Social Life, 277. On Learning, *ib.*

Science and Philanthropy, 101. The National Association, 102. Religion and Social Science, 103. Departments of Social Science, 104. Lord John Russell, 105. Lord Brougham, 106. Jurisprudence and Law Reform, 107. Education, 108. Punishment and Reformation, 111. Capt. Crofton's Scheme, 113. Public Health, 115. Social Economy, 116.

Strikes

Strikes and Trades Unions, 355. What are Trade Societies? *ib.* Ought wages to be protected? 356. The state of the Law, 357. What are the benefits of Trade Societies? 359. Their legitimate sphere, 360. Suggestions, 361.

Surgeons, Union, 181. Rate of Remuneration, 182. Replies of Guardians to Appeals, 183. Poor Law Medical Extras, 185. Mr. Estcourt's Scheme, 186. The Uxbridge Board of Guardians, 187. Proposed Amendments, 188.

Tennyson and his Poetry, 225. Affiliated series of Poetry, 226. Tennyson's Relative Place, 227. The Idyll, 229. His Female Characters, 231. Poems of 1832, 232; of 1842, 233. 'Maud,' 234. The 'Princess,' 235. The 'Idylls of the King,' 235. Male Characters, 237. 'In Memoriam,' 240. The Unanswered Problem, 241. Does Christianity not answer Scepticism, 243. Relation to Keats and Shelley, 244. To Wordsworth, 245.

What'll you Drink? 279. Science of Adulteration, 281. Rum, 282. Gin, 283. Scotch Whisky, *ib.* Bourbon, 284. Porter and Ale, 284. Perpendicular Drinking, 285. Sherry, 286. Champagne, *ib.* Burgundy, 287.

Workman, The British, 38. Pantisocracy, *ib.* The Work, 39. Employment of Women, *ib.* The Dwellings, 43. Education, 47. Industrial Schools, 48. Normal Colleges, 49. Educational Grants and Rates, 50. Compulsory Education, 51. Recreations and Amusements, 53. Provident Societies, 55.

Women, Employment of, 305. Employments most Overstocked, 307. Needlewomen, 309. Washing, 311. Domestic Servants, 312. Serving in Shops, 313. The Factory System, 314. Watchmaking, 315. Money-getting and Money-spending, 317. Ill-feeling between Employer and Employed, 319. Amelioration of existing Employments, 321. Special Training for Special Employments, 323. Bible Women, 324.

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET.

DO NOT REMOVE
OR
MUTILATE CARDS